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MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE OF MR. AMBROSE BARNES,

LATE MERCHANT

AND

SOMETIME ALDERMAN OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE.

With an Index.

"Clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus quamquam incuriosa suorum ætas omisit: Ne famam quidem cui etiam multi indulgent, ostentandâ virtute aut per artem quæsivit. Bonum virum facile crederes magnum libenter."

C. Tacitus in Vit. J. Agricolæ

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1867.

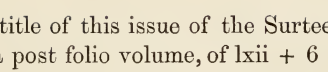
At a General Meeting of the Surtees Society, held in the Castle of Durham on Tuesday, June 5th, 1866, Mr. Chevallier in the chair, It was ordered:

"That the Life of Ambrose Barnes should form one of the publications of the Society for the current year, to be edited by Mr. Longstaffe."

JAMES RAINE,
Secretary.

PREFACE.

The second title of this issue of the Surtees Society is prefixed to a post folio volume, of lxii + 6 + 480 + 10 pages in MS. Of the average hand in which it is written, the following is a fair example :—



Some parts, such as the Contents, are much more minute. But the character of the scribe's manipulation never changes. There are evidences that the MS. was copied from a completed draft; and rough imitations of head and tail-pieces and initial letters, together with the minute punctuation and guides as to style of type and disposition, prove that it was intended as the printer's copy. In fact, at the end of the Contents, this passage occurs :—"Advertisement. The errors of the press, and the want of exactness in drawing up the contents of the chapters, are things which will be or now must be excused."

The intended publication would probably have resembled a ponderous closely-printed folio of 768 pages, entitled, "A Journal of the Life of Thomas Story :

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Containing, an Account of his Remarkable Convincement of, and Embracing the Principles of Truth, As held by the People called Quakers; And also, of his Travels and Labours in the Service of the Gospel: With many other Occurrences and Observations. Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed by Isaac Thompson and Company, at the New Printing-office on the Side. MDCCXLVII." The journalist, who was of Justice-Town, in Cumberland, directed his work to be published by his trustees. They printed a certain number to be disposed of at their discretion, as they were empowered. But it being apprehended that those copies would be insufficient even for the author's acquaintances and others who might be no strangers to the eminence of his character, the trustees gave leave to Thompson to print a certain number of volumes at his own risk, "of which number this volume is one." From this work I have obtained some curious illustrations for my notes and appendix*.

The MS. was presented by John Airey, a descendant of Alderman Barnes, to the Rev. William Turner, of

* "Though I was educated in the way of the National Church of England, yet I had no aversion to any class professing the Christian name; but, occasionally, heard all sorts; and yet did not fully approve any sect in all things, as I came to consider them closely. At Newcastle upon Tyne I once happened to hear a famous Presbyterian preacher. It was in the reign of King Charles II., when the national laws were against them, and all other dissenters from the national worship; and they, being cowardly, had their meeting in the night, and in an upper room, and a watch set below. I did not go into the room, but stood on the head of the stairs, expecting to hear something like doctrine from so noted a man among them. But all that he entertained his auditory with, was suggestions of jealousy and dislike against the government; and that he delivered in such a way as appeared to me very disagreeable."

Newcastle, who ministered in Hanover Square chapel to the successors of the congregation of Gilpin and Bennet. Mr. Turner, on Nov. 12, 1828, gave the volume to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle upon Tyne, who have kindly lent it for the purpose of this publication, and deserved the warm thanks of all persons interested in their locality and the faith and practices of their fathers.

Previously, it was only known through the scanty extracts made by Brand, who does not seem to have relished what he calls the "religious and political fanaticism" of the writer, and those contained in a small tract of the Newcastle Typographical Society, compiled by Sir Cuthbert Sharp in 1828. The knight carries abridgment to a fault, and occasionally misconceives the sense of the passages he selects, but his imprints, however imperfect, are always genial and suggestive, and his own copy of the tract, in the Chapter Library at Durham, has yielded some interesting information gathered by him from various sources available in his days.

As to Sir Theodor Talbot, to whom the work is dedicated, Sharp says, "Query—if this is not an assumed name." If this be so, the signature of the author, M. R., may be an assumed one also. Mr. Joseph Hunter, who was astonished with the reading of the author, was unable to identify him. I have not been more successful. The impression left on my mind by his style and information is one of doubt as to his being a north-country-man. He was, however, personally associated with Barnes. "We shall add what his acquaintance was with the more retired parts of learning, with some observations, which either *myself*

or others can remember *we have received from him*, by way of discourse, though the least part of what might have been retrieved, whilst these subjects were fresh in memory, had this task then been undertaken." He mentions having seen five princes, but, as this is only in alluding to the degeneracy in their reigns, he might have seen more; and the handwriting of the MS., in its uniformity and slight tremulousness, gives the impression that the author, notwithstanding his industry, was in the latter half of his life. The only person in Calamy's lists, with the initials M. R., was Mr. Matthew Randal, of Higham Rectory, in Somersetshire. He was ejected, but no account of him is given. A Somersetshire incumbent might well know many a gentleman "of the stock of the ancient Britons, cultivating the native love they always had for their dear country," to satisfy the character of Sir Theodor Talbot. Richard Randell and Peter Maplisden, booksellers in Newcastle, printed Knaggs's liberal sermon in 1689, and Randell alone was still at the Bridge-end in 1713. But I merely mention these coincidences because of the obscurity of the subject.

I find almost insuperable difficulties in determining the relative position of the Presbyterians and Independents in Newcastle and the North of England generally, and the minuter leanings of men only known to us as suffering Dissenters in the general. It seems to me that this is what we should expect. We read in a book of 1654 of "Presbyterians and Independents preaching in the same place, fasting and praying together, in heavenly harmony, expressing nothing but kindness to each other, in their meetings ready to help each other." And we must remember

that a parish had only one man, Presbyterian or Independent, in the place of an ejected Episcopalian. We do not hear of any numerous ministry besides the incumbents; so that, after the ejection, when we meet with an ejected minister and his persecuted flock, it by no means follows that they would have been all of the same mind as to church government, had circumstances allowed of competition for emoluments, or of any very regular church government at all.

"I think the narrative had been better in a less compass." So thought the author; so will every reader of his MS. think. It teems with learned illustrations and information, most creditable to the writer's erudition, but, as far as we are concerned, found elsewhere. The style, too, is diffuse. An abridgment seemed to be the only proper vehicle of presentation. And, after some years' consideration, I adhere to the plan which suggested itself when I contemplated a more formal history of religion in Newcastle.

The text is an abridgment, but no new word is introduced. The abridgment is produced simply by excision. This process is applied to the author's verboseness, his occasional coarseness, his illustrations from ancient and modern history, scriptural, classical, or otherwise, which are not wanted, and his summaries of character where events are sufficient to supply a sufficient idea of the actors in them. My plan does not extend to the compositions of Barnes, though I have extracted from them any additional light upon the times to which they refer. But as to the memoir, with which, it must be confessed, the writings of Barnes himself seem sometimes to be connected, every local fact chronicled is here given, every character drawn is

reproduced in some of its colouring, and these in the words of the original, though their number is curtailed.

The MS. commences with the *Vera Effigies* of Barnes (vide p. 24), and the title prefixed to this volume. The Dedication and Preface follow. Then come twenty-eight pages of Contents; and then "The Man of Honour: a Poem; by the late Earl of Halifax." The work itself, "Memoirs and Collections Polemical and Practical," is divided into four books.

"The First Book, an Historical Account of him," has on its title the verse given at my page 21. It contains an introduction and thirteen chapters. Twelve of them are numbered and headed like mine. The thirteenth, as noticed at p. 209, is "His breviate of the four Monarchies."

"The Second Book, His Enquiry into the Nature, Grounds, and Reasons of Religion," is prefixed by the verse, "2 Peter i. 12, Wherefore I will not be negligent to put you alwayes in remembrance of these things tho' ye know them and be establisht in the present truth." The contents of this book are enumerated in the notice of Barnes's works which forms my thirteenth chapter.

"The Third Book, The Particulars of his Character," has for its verse "Gen. 6. 9. Noah was a just man and perfect in his generations and Noah walked with God." It commences with the opening sentence of my Chapter xiv., which is composed of extracts from this book. In the original, a return is made to various subjects of Book I., and as the Third Book is of the most diffuse and technical character, and did not yield sufficient matter to justify a retention of its divisions, I have

transplanted as many of its products as possible to places beside the cognate parts of Book I. The remainder, with one exception, form my fourteenth chapter. The original arrangement of Book III., like that of Book II., is in three parts, each of seven chapters, thus—*The First Part.* Chap. 1: His oeconomicks. 2: His faith, love, and the fruits of them. 3: His sense of the vanity of the creature. 4: His spirituality of mind. 5: The means of his spiritual perfection. 6: His end attain'd by the former means. 7: His prospect of future glory. *The Second Part.* Chap. 1: The sincerity of his obedience. 2: His reliefs under new discoveries of sin. 3: His mortification. 4: His fear of hypocrisy. 5: His self-deniall. 6: His resignation. 7: His final period and death. [This chapter 7 is my chapter xv., being independent and a continuation of the subject of Book I.] *The Third Part.* Chap. 1: His daily practice. 2: His self-acquaintance and self-employment. 3: His view of the world. 4: His peaceable nonconformity. 5: His glance at Dissenters. 6: His zeal for the Christian interest. 7: His policy made up of piety.

"The Fourth Book, His Censure upon the Times and Age he lived in," has on its title "1 Sam. 4. 13. Eli sat upon a seat by the way-side, watching, for his heart trembled for the ark of God." The contents of this book are given at p. 210.

A Funeral Oration (*vide* p. 255) with broad black lines, and a face much like that of the *vera effigies*, in the character of a sun surmounting a skull, precedes an index and list of scriptures explained or illustrated, which conclude the MS.

My Appendix is founded upon some collections I

made for the intended history, but the additions to them are extensive. Among them are a number of notices of books and tracts so rare that few can hope to see, much less possess them. For this part of the volume I thankfully acknowledge much assistance and confidence, and many friendly hints. I would in particular mention my obligations to Mr. James Clephan of Newcastle, Canon Raine of York, the Rev. E. H. Adamson of St. Alban's, Heworth, Mr. T. W. U. Robinson of Houghton, the Executrix of Mr. W. H. Brockett of Gateshead, and three worthy and skilful booksellers of Newcastle, Mr. William Dodd, Mr. Robert Robinson, and Mr. George Rutland. I have also to acknowledge the courtesies of the custodiers of the Durham Chapter Library, Dr. Williams's Library, the Thomlinson and Vestry Collections at St. Nicholas', the Library of the Unitarians at Newcastle, and the old church book of the Baptists of Hexham and Hamsterley. The facilities afforded me by the late Mr. S. E. Pearse of Gateshead enabled me to give the vestry books of that town a careful perusal, and I hope that my extracts from this series will be found an interesting addition to those previously made by Bell and Sopwith from the books of St. Nicholas' and All Saints' parishes.

It would not in all cases be easy or desirable to explain my reasons for selection of illustrative matter. To me the Life of Barnes, with all its interest as a type of the productions of a particular school, seemed to be somewhat one-sided throughout, occasionally violent, and treating the alderman as a more important and persecuted character than the mass of cotemporaneous evidence would lead one to conceive. It is possible

that he was prominent in his own day. He might be like "Gateshead's darling, shining as the morning star among the living, and dying as the evening star among the dead*," and quickly passing out of men's memories, notwithstanding. Residents in towns know the frequency of such cases. But it is plain that, like most other religious biographies, the life of such a man gives no broad idea of the feelings and status of the various branches of the church catholic. Annotation of some sort was needed, and finding that severed notices would not fulfil the intent of annotating, I adopted the plan of the Appendix as the only suitable one. Of its faulty execution I am but too sensible, but I have tried to be useful and impartial.

A few errata and additions are placed in the Index under their proper heads.

In performing my task, I could not but be struck with the want of a disinterested survey of the state of the buildings, ornaments, services, and discipline of the established church since the Reformation. The writer of such a book should be a Rickman, accurate and careful, treading as it were on new ground, looking at practice and facts only, and recognizing the law that men of one century neither feel nor work like those of another. Many a custom and many a feature once familiar to us is becoming forgotten, while many an innovation is obviously such as will not be more long-lived than its predecessors.

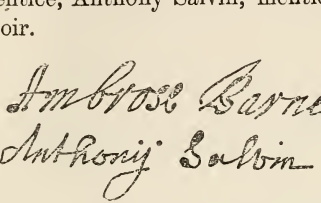
As brevity is much studied in the Appendix, it may be well to remind the distant reader that in the use of such words as Rector, Vicar, Common Council, and the names of parishes, the locality is meant to be Newcastle or Gateshead, situated on the Tyne, as London and

* See p. 422.

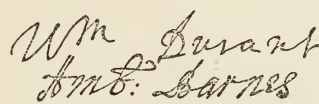
Southwark are on the Thames. Newcastle was an enfranchised borough, with a Mayor chosen by a Common Council. Gateshead was an unenfranchised borough, with a Bailiff appointed by its Lord, the Bishop of Durham, a body of four-and-twenty conducting both municipal and parochial matters, after the fashion of Darlington; but, as at the passing of the Municipal Corporations Reform Act, it happened to possess an antiquary and had kept its silver seal to the fore, Gateshead was included in the benefit of the act, and Darlington and Auckland were not. Gateshead was a Rectory. Newcastle was a Vicarage, under the Chapter of Carlisle. This vicarage held its seat of government at the church of St. Nicholas', remarkable for a lawyer's gift of its steeple, "a thing of beauty and a joy for ever;" and, by reason, either, as is most probable, of the conditions of its erection, or from a natural participation in the finer feelings of humanity, the Corporation, who had, indeed, some "gross and terrene" interest in the bells, always kept the glory of the town in good repair, though commercially careful to record in 1594 that their payment was only "so far as the steeple reacheth." There were also under the vicarage, three chapels in three townships, called All Hallows' (ranking below St. Nicholas' in status, and above it in usefulness and responsibility), St. John's and St. Andrew's. The two latter are sometimes ignored in public matters. The Corporation supported, in a handsome manner, all the ministers, and were practically, at least, the patrons. After the loss of their elective power, they withdrew their subscriptions.

I have been fortunate in meeting with two signatures of Ambrose Barnes. The first is on an instrument of 1651, to which his master Samuel Rawling, draper, is

a party, and is accompanied by the autograph of the fellow apprentice, Anthony Salvin, mentioned at p. 37 of the memoir.



The second is on a deed of 1665-6, in the attestation of which a famous nonconforming minister of Newcastle joins Barnes.



W. H. D. LONGSTAFFE.

Gateshead.

*** Since writing the above, Mr. Grosart's book, alluded to at p. 417, has appeared. I am not wishful to interfere with my reference of the reader to it any more than is absolutely necessary. Indeed I further refer him to it for many extra particulars about the Gilpins. But I must mention, from its information, that Richard Gilpin was made Doctor at Leyden in 1676, being then aged 50, that printed copies of his Disputatio Medica for the occasion are in the Bodleian and British Museum Libraries; that to his "Comfort of Divine Love," being funeral sermons, published at London in 1700, is prefixed a portrait of Dr. Manlove, the subject of them, by Vander Gucht; and that his Assize Sermon of 1660 was, in 1700, just before his death, of course, "published and recommended to the magistrates of the nation, as a means, by God's blessing, to quicken them to a serious pursuit of the memorable and truly religious design for the reformation of manners, which is now on foot, and countenanced by the nobility, bishops, and judges, in the late account of the societies for the reformation of manners, and applauded by the serious and religious men of all persuasions: by R. Gilpin, now minister of the gospel in Newcastle-upon-Tyne."

And I must give a considerable extract from a letter, addressed

by Dr. Gilpin to "the Rev. Mr. Richard Stratton, a London minister," and dated 13 Dec. 1698. Reading it in conjunction with my Appendix, my readers will probably differ from Mr. Grosart in their deductions, and discern its elucidation of the circumstances under which a man ostensibly was sometimes Presbyterian, sometimes Congregationalist, and of the origins of the modern bodies representing the old rivals. "It hath pleased God to take from me my dear assistant, Mr. Pell, by a fever. We buried him last week. It is a sad stroke upon us, but it falls at present most heavy upon me. Ever since his sickness it became necessary for me (such are our circumstances) to preach twice every Lord's day, and I must continue to do so at least every other Lord's day for some time, because there are a small party (and but a very small one) who have formed a design, and are now encouraged upon this sad occasion to open it. This party were the few remainders of Mr. Durant's congregation, who have kept communion with ours in all ordinances, without making any exceptions, about fifteen years. But when old Mr. Barnes (their politic engineer) brought home his young son Thomas, from London, they presently shewed their intentions to choose him for their pastor. But, as introductory to that, they, in my absence, thrust him into the pulpit, without so much as asking leave. I was silent, and suffered him to preach in the evenings; but they being weary of that (few people staying to hear him) they thought it more conducible to their design to separate from us, and set up at the Anabaptists' meeting-house, but no great party would follow them, and now they have chosen him to be their pastor, though before this he had in our pulpit vented some unsound Crispian notions, and at last had the confidence to contradict what I had preached about preparation to conversion. For this, I thought it necessary to give him a public rebuke, and to answer his exceptions. That their design is to worm us out of our meeting-house, and to break our congregation, is visible to all. They now openly claim the meeting-house for their pastor's use, when he pleaseth, and pretend old Mr. Hutchinson, upon whose ground the house is built, promised them so much when they contributed towards the charge of building. But Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson, his son, denies any such promise, and stands firmly to us, though Mr. Barnes, his father in law, surprised him with solicitations. But we offer to repay them all the money they contributed towards the building. You see, Sir, how much I need your prayers, and, if it could be, the nomination of a man of parts, prudence, piety, and authority to assist me at present, and to succeed me when I am gone. Much of the dissenters' interest in the North depends upon the welfare of our congregation. The episcopal party have long since made their prognostic that, when I die, the congregation will be broken, and then there will be an end of the dissenters' interest in Newcastle."

DEDICATION.

To his honoured Friend S^r. Theodor Talbot *.

Whilst my circumstances confine me to a narrow compass, I have no cause to complain, so long as you supply the want of greater store of friends. For what friendship short of yours could have supported me under the impression of those discouragements that a task of this nature must be attended with? Blessed be you of the Lord, who have not left off your kindness to the living and to the dead. Having given an account of the life and opinions †, and therein finisht the doctrinal and historical polemical and practical collections of this gentleman, for whome you alwayes had an invalluable esteem, it remains to committ them to your perusal. And for you not to censure, is the greatest commendation the writer covets. I will not say how vigorously you have promoted this undertaking, least, meeting with no success in public, I should expose your wisdom to censure, by failing in the manner of my performance. It might fare with me as it did with Chærilus, who, as mean a poet as he was, would venture upon no less subjects than Xerxes his expedition and the exploits of Alexander the Great, but his success answered the rashness of his pen; for, in all his great work, there were but seven verses that past muster, for which he

* This dedication is given in full, as a specimen of the author's style.

† "Intending to write the Life, fortunes, and opinions of a person, whose memoirs are by his friends, whose judgment I relie upon more than I dare do upon my own, thought worthy of public view, I must in the first and chiefest place, implore Divine assistance, that God would guide me in what I write, and bless what is written, to the benefit of his people here and elsewhere. I undertake it, not more from the importunity of others, than from a care I have to prevent any wrong to his memory, by their unskilfulness, who not having had so perfect a knowledge of him, may perhaps design an account of him to posterity."—General Introduction.

received seven pieces of gold, and for every other verse a buffet. I work on another's plantation. I dress the vineyard, but the wine is the owner's; if the soil be not every where alike let me bear the blame, if more fruitful, you can cover my infirmity, which is all the thanks due for having done my duty. And I might myself be taxt for want of understanding, had not the case been laid before your barr, whose learned accomplishments are of the first magnitude, you having to all your other rare endowments, added the study of men as well as books.

I wish an increase of biography or of the lives of the dead be not sometimes a sign that the lives of few survivors will deserve to be written. So much more do I give God thanks for continuing you to a good old age, whose ample fortunes give not so great a lustre to your honour as your personal worth, in whome I have a judge sufficient to render the cavils of my adversaries contemptible. The boldest enemy must be deterred from attempting the security your favour gives me, in reviving the memory of one whome you so much resemble. For similitude begets affection, and in loving such we love ourselves. What therefore to others may look like presumption, to me appears rather a difficulty how to address you. It was truly said by a Roman consul, they live upon ill tearms who can obtain no request of their superiors, but far worse who may obtain leave of them to do any thing but what is good. They who have the happiness of your acquaintance will not more readily confess than admire your generosity, no less flourishing than your zeal for religion. All must consent to his having the ascendent, whose virtues are more commanding than his orders. The more excellent any one is, the nearer he stands to heaven, and at a distance from those turbulent regions. Great men are thus far gods upon earth, as they not onely by authority, but example, line out the way for others to steer by. But whereas the rule of precept far excedes the copy of men's obedience, and laws are good though they do not alwayes make men so; it is some relief to think we have any instances of sincere piety left us for our imitation. You espouse no interest but the public, and as many as are like-minded in serving that, are naturally led to become your clients. What a change would it produce, could we see Divine Perfections shining in those of quality and distinction! All below them would be influenced into a nearer resemblance of Him who makes the difference. They are not onely capable of relieving the distresses of humane nature, but of raising those above the depressure of a mean condition, whose other qualifications fit them for useful stations. That image of the Divinity, which good men carry about with them, upbraids

the neglect of care for them, whome the goodness of God has made equal in the best things.

In that freedom of conversation you have not seldom admitted me to, I have heard you observe that the number of the laity whose lives are writ, bears no proportion with those of divines whose eulogies and encomiums are coming out every day. Charity forbids us to think this procedes from the partiality of the clergy for their own tribe, nor will modesty suspect them guilty of a politic intention to uphold an eminency of character above the people, seeing what by such an artifice was gained to their persons, would be lost to their sacred function. For that must be an useless office that is so barren in propagating examples of Christianity among their hearers, into whose minds they are employed to instill wholesome and sound doctrine. For my part I doubt not, but in the dreadful shock Christian religion sustained in the restoration of Charles II., there was as great a number of magistrates and other worthy persons, who fell under the saws, harrows, and axes of persecution, as there was of those reverend fathers, whose light was put under the bushel of Bartholomew Day. To accomodate this defect in our Nonconformist Martyrologie, have I by your direction made this beginning, not shutting the gate into a large field for others of greater skill to follow after me. In the representation of which present example it is probable it will fall out with persons as it does with things. According to the posture and scituation they stand in, the different tincture of the visive faculty, and the various mediums they look through, will the same object appear in a several view to several persons. Such may their variety of sentiments be, who have converst with our deceased author. Some may express a surprize to find a *merchant* so knowing in the tongues, dealing in sundry parts of learning and corresponding with schollars in the learned languages: others perhaps will scarce allow his parts to have been of so high an elevation: and others who are forced to acknowledge the singularity of his humane accomplishments, may be inclined to think his wit and parts overswayed his piety. All such suspicions and surmizes you and I know (who knew him best) are at once wipt away with ease. For it is certain his mental endowments were never slighted but by downright envy; his piety was never questioned but by them whose principles and whose practice would make it a question whether there be such a thing as piety or no; nor will any doubt of or disparage his learning, except those who grudge every thing that looks like learning in a *layman*. One of the letters here inserted went many years among some papers writ by another hand, which is now produced from the original of

Mr. B. addrest to an honourable person then in trouble. And, I am well assured, there is not one letter from abroad or at home, but what was intended for him, and which he was not the principal occasion of, though there be one or two sent to an intermediate hand, by whome it was conveyed to him. *Virum probum et laudatum Musa vetat mori.* The moulding and sorting these collections into such a method as was most natural to their different subjects must now be put upon their score, who had the care of revising them when they lay scattered with little or no coherence. And when, after all, I consider how slowly books of this size are taken off, how little there is for the entertainment of those who hunt after novelties and curiosities, how the scope of this volume quarrells a prodigious national degeneracy, and does the part of a barefaced reformer, not administering its reproofs with the pleasing vehicle of a fashionable style, nor the insinuateing arts that win upon and flatter the vicious humor of an age wearing on to its fatal period, I expect my drug should lie where it falls; for how salutary soever its qualities be, it must inevitably disgust their pallates who are too squeamish to swallow plain truth; upon which account I believe neither of us shall be much concerned, should it ferment like the Arcadian well, that, when a stone was thrown into it, would raise a great cloud which would break in a shower, not I suppose of blood, and they are too finical who cannot suffer a few drops of rain upon their cloaths.

There is nothing gives a more sinking reflexion upon the vileness of humane nature than the abuse of the best employments: that an office of care and pains, as the ministry of God's Word is, to which none will incline, but such as can undervallue all temporal emoluments and advantages in pursuit of the eternal interest of the souls of men, should now be eagerly sought as the likeliest way to attain worldly preferments and a life of pride, ease, and pleasure. The indulgence of princes, annexing an accumulation of wealth to the office, has, contrary to the pattern of Christ and His Apostles, quite altered the true meaning of this calling. Forgetting that they are set for shepherds and watchmen, importing a work of labour, diligence, and exactness, their industry, learning, and studies are wretchedly prostituted with all manner of craft to contend for dignity, power, usurpation, and whatever imaginary privileges their ill acquisitions give them confidence to claim a title to. Hence it is that the affluence and advancement of the clergy is all the religion of the deluded laity, and which they are taught and beguiled to think is the outmost they are required to be careful of towards their own salvation.

We had at this day been a nation of greater grandeur, had

we sent the pope's hierarchy a packing after his supremacy, but were in hopes after the Church of England proclaimed herself to be the most reformed church in the world and the very bulwark of protestant religion, that this bulwark would never fail us. The election of William III. into his father-in-law's throne flattered our hopes it would have proved a turn of Providence in favour of such high pretences. It was the loud voice of heaven he was brought to the kingdom for such a work as this. How we come after this, to find protestant religion among us upon its last leggs, requires some serious thoughts. All good men desired not a stop onely of persecution, but the advancement of a national reformation, and they had just ground for such an expectation. This had raised us to the honour of being indeed the head of the reformed interest. But whilst we are upon an enquiry into the causes of this neglect, Bishop Burnett, who makes shew of being in the secret of state, informs us, that the reason why no progress could then be made in the reformation of the manners (much less of the Church-government) of the nation, was because they who were in the highest capacity to promote it, had often heard, that the hypocricy of the former times had brought on the atheism and impiety of the present and had fortifyed libertins in their prejudices. So much more pity it is, that reformation should be crampt at first to humor the papists, and that it should now at last be laid aside for fear of offending the libertins. However, there might be some shew of wisdom in this profound policy of making reformation tarry for the consent of libertins and papists had there been a syllable of truth in what is said, that the atheism of the present times was occasioned by the hypocricy of the times that went next before. Peruse the swarms of books and sermons printed in those times; and when was the deceits and close hyprocricy of the hearts of men more searchingly traced and detected than in those times. Read the history and where will you find fraud, treachery, and knavery in public trust more disgraced and severely punisht than in those times? And let the mortallest enemy to reformation make the worst he can of those times, they never produced such an infinity of hypocrites as are gendred from age to age by continuing the Test-Act, the Uniformity-Act, and the Oath of Canonical Obedience. A redress of these grievances would have effectually secured the protestant succession, added a lustre to our crown, and rescued our country out of that weakness and contempt of our government wherein it now lies. But the loss of so seasonable an oportunity and the omission of so necessary a duty as reformation hath, it is to be feared, provokt God to swear that this generation shall not enter into His rest,

that the age has made a cursed forfeiture of the greatest blessing that could have befaln it; and as a consequence of this, a disposition to popery was never so strong, an inclination to bondage never so generally prevailing, as since the Revolution; and who knows whether the Church of England, reduced by the state of her affairs, may not at long run, for want of a better patron, betake herself to the sanctuary of the Bishop of Rome. If therefore the bishop mentioned before had spoke out the whole truth, as he can do sometimes when he thinks it convenient, he would not deny but that what feeds the atheism and impiety of these dayes, is, not the hypocricy of former times, but an hatred of true godliness, a spirit of malice against the best protestants, and a growing defection from the fundamentals of our common Christianity, which eventually will be found in those houses, that, being now superior, have in them such signs as plainly tell us this ruine is under their hand and lies at their door.

The earth reels and staggers like a drunken man, politicians toss the world from revolution to revolution like a tennis-ball, but the care of religion is little at heart with any of our state-stockjobbers. In the warrs between Marius and Sylla, the commons almost quite bore down the nobility. Cinna and Marius, under colour of justice upon the public oppressors of their liberty, took revenge upon their private enemies. Sylla in his turn proscribed the heads of the adverse party, and had nothing in his mouth but the bettering the condition of the Roman people. But whatever either of them declared for, their meaning was alike, both sacrificed the lives, and when they found it in their power, took the estates of their enemies to gratify their own avarice, and both making light of their first pretences and undermining each others foundation, the fabrick of the senate and commons fell between them and left a basis for tiranny.

A spirit of reformation, which the world is sure to prosecute with the fiercest oposition, is one of the choicest gifts of God. Every one has not the courage and honesty to tax those vices the faults of teachers have sheltered under the cloak of religion. Zeal guided by knowledge, tempered, not with false moderation but true modesty, adorned with humility, self-deniall, and mortification of earthly appetites, not aiming at low ends, but that which should be the chief end of every man, however traduced, reproacht and slandrously misrepresented, must certainly be somwhatt more than ordinary heroicall and sublime. Such inestimable souls will neither be sowered with revenge nor deterred from their glorious design by injuries, hard speeches, nor ill usage: an argument of as great a vertue as can enter the soul of man. For they, who are reproved by them, cannot with

patience indure a censurer, nor will ever be awanting to defend the constitution in Church and State, that is, public corruptions wherein their private interests are interwoven. Learned pleas and plausible glosses must be used in the controversy, and no pains nor arts spared in standing out stiffly to vindicate their cause and blemish that of their adversaries, to bring their persons under odious dislike and the worst sort of popular suspicions.

Ezra intends a revolt from the Persian Empire, Nehemiah is suspected of a design to turn the province of Judea into a commonwealth, and set himself up for the protector of it, Neh. vi. 6. Prophets are scorned for raving enthusiasts, mad fellows, phanaticks, 2 Kings ix. 11. Our Saviour is reckoned a madman and a dæmoniac, Joh. x. 20; his great apostle is thought no better, Acts xxvi. 24; nay, all the apostles are derided for a pack of intoxicated ideots drunk with new wine, Acts ii. 13. This by our sons of Bacchus is commonly used as the best preservative against turning phanatic. Had that assembly been at a debauch and spent their money in drinking and good fellowship, I am apt to think, many, who glory in their hearty hatred of a Whig-Meeting, could be content to have taken their morning's draught among them. As drinking the Church's health is practised with the head uncovered, the masters of the mob, it is likely, look upon it as a sacred rite of their society. But if it be a test amongst them to distinguish them from the Whigs, how unreasonable soever it be, it must be confest it is not (as one sais), a very rigid test, if the liquor be but good, and these drink-offerings may serve for devotion with them whose God is in their gutts and whose temple is the tavern. It is high time the name of the Church were rescued from these abuses. Let archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, and prebendaries, be as high in their zeal for God, as they are in their dignities and promotions. The public news every post mention the removes of doctors, rectors, vicars, and parish-parsons, from one rich living to a better benefice. Silken priests ruffle about with big looks, expecting low obeysance from every one who meets them in the streets, when men of brighter parts, greater learning, and more honesty, stay below, for want of mony to bribe high, or a flattering tongue wherewith to curry favour. The church is not to be confined between Dover and Tweed, nor religion to be measured by this or that mode of it, yet let a man be as fiery as Bishop Atterbury or as stanch as Bishop Gastrel, if he will not ride upon the steeple and display the bloody flagg, he is a false brother, some close presbyterian or phanattique. And what is a phanattick? Why truly, a madman, and that is neither a sin nor a scandal, not a quarter so bad as a reprobate or a rakehell,

such impudent aspersions being thrown upon the honourablest persons in all ages. Witness the best and soberest of the present bench of bishops, who, because they are unwilling to spoil all by running headlong with these furious drivers, are insulted by their inferior clergy, and become the butt of the arrows of Convocation.

The conclave at Rome hold the rod over our heads, threaten us with a posthumous family instead of that of Hanover and almost every parish church is making illuminations for joy of the desired exchange. What mean these alterations of the communion tables into Stone-Altars? What mean these rich altar-cloaths with the Jesuit's cypher embosst upon them? Our new altar-pieces are some of them fitter for the playhouse than the house where God is worshipt: some of them contrived with carved work resembling the lighted tapers of a mass-board *: others gilded and painted with figures impious if not blasphemous. In many late books, we meet with the doctrine of a middle state after death asserted, the wonderful power of priestly absolution, apostrophees to saints and angels, the efficacy of the intercession of saints departed, and, under the disguize of Charity Schools, children are brought up in disaffection to the government, malice against protestant dissenters, and the way prepared for singing dirges and requiems for the dead †. How scandalously is the discipline of excommunication and pennance abused! Pluralities increase to the shame of nonresidence. If an offender fall into the hands of lay-chancelors, officials, apparitors, registers, proctors, and commissaries, it is odds if he meet with a good Samaritan as

* See the altar-pieces erected in the Newcastle churches at the beginning of the last century.

"About this time (1687) I went diligently to the public worship, especially to the cathedral at Carlisle; where, in time of publick prayer, we used all (male and female) as soon as that creed, called the Apostles' Creed, began to be said, to turn our faces toward the East; and when the word *Jesus* was mentioned, we all, as one, bowed and kneeled towards the altar-table, as they call it; where stood a couple of Common Prayer Books, in folio, one at each side of the table, and over them, painted upon the wall, **H.S.** [*sic*] signifying JESUS, *Hominum Salvator.*"—Story's Journal, 4.

† "To some old limbs of Antichrist which should have been cut off, they add other substantial parts of altars, crucifixes, second service, and the like, in resemblance to the popish service, and this carcase is inspired with as bitter, malicious, wrathful, and persecuting a spirit, as that of popery can be. And yet all this, not as popery, by annexing old popish idolatrous superstitions, but upon such grounds, as upon which protestants themselves have continued some other ceremonies. They disclaim the name and order of mass-priests, yet affect to be called priests, and assert a power in priests to forgive sins beyond what is declarative onely. They plead for works as a condition of justification as much as faith, though not so grossly as in the way of popish merit. Popery is an image of heathenish worship under a Christian disguize, and this is an image of popish worship under a protestant reformed disguize."—General Introduction.

the wounded man did that had faln among thieves. A lord or a minister of State who has rich advousons in his gift, is often by priestly flattery hardened in that deism which misleads him to despise all the clergy as the factors of priestcraft. Spiritual courts abound with rooks whose exactions and encroachments render them abominable to the commonalty and the country gentry. We boast of our being a free nation, and we lie under the feet of a domineering priesthood. We applaud our deliverance from popery and slavery, whilst we are arrant slaves to our own vices. We bless ourselves in our peace, and yet are far from safety. Some plead for liberty of conscience, and mean nothing but libertinism of conversation. Others are out of all patience that the Church is not restored to her power, meaning her power to persecute and oppress the Dissenters.

Places and preferments in Church and State are for the most part conferred on such as are disaffected, and the government under which they get their bread, and their revennues and profitts can hardly hush them, keep them quiet, make them contented with the slender remains of our religion and liberties, and hire them to keep out our forein enemies. The King is fetlockt, and cannot move an ace for fear he touch the barriers of the Church. The Whiggs have dropt their principles, and upon every occasion of appearing strenuously in Parliament for advancing their interest, they crumble like a rope of sand and give one another the go-by. The Dissenters, instead of gaining ground, have lost it considerably. Their teachers, in hopes of a comprehension, have beat so long upon moderation, a *temper*, and a *Catholic temper*, that the people are become universally lukewarm, hang on at their meetings, but do not heartilly espouse their cause, and are of so faint an impression, so dull a stamp, that the characters of old nonconformity are quite worn out or scarce legible. We renounce old names and revive old errors. The stigmatized names of Socinus and Arminius are vehemently disclaimed, whilst, in opposition to that extreme of excluding reason from religion, it is grown the fashion to make reason the measure of all things in religion and the most venomous part of Arminianism and Socinianism is lickt up, almost by every one who intends to commence a writer of any vogue and reputation. The most sacred important truths of the Gospel are made a daily sacrifice. These observations incourage our Churchmen openly to express their hopes that the Dissenting party will in a few years dwindle away to nothing. The present party of Dissenters are indeed so degenerate that no sober man need be much concerned what becomes of it*. But let all the world

* Sixteen years later, in 1732, Thomas Story the Quaker writes: "At this time

know, the cause of Nonconformity shall not, cannot die, so long as Christ our Mediator lives; and the youngster methinks passeth but a mean complement upon his Majesty, who commends his wisdom in continuing the Toleration (M. Burnett), as if he did it not out of any good will to Dissenters, but to strengthen the Church of England, or as if his Majesty was not inclined to show favour to those who separate from the Church like the common father of his people, but onely indulged the Dissenters that they may have scope enough to ruin themselves in their own wayes. These things sound ill. We languish of a consumption, the slowest and most flattering of all diseases. Many grave worthy magistrates have been turned out, and more kept out, and their places filled up with selfish drones, gamesters, and drunkards. Temporizers will go no further in reformation than the way lies in common; when that parts, they leave us. Factious reformers are like the mixt multitude that came out of Egypt; before a few stages more be past they are thinking of a captain to lead them back again. Or they are like David's band in the wilderness, made up of a medley of debtors, malecontents, fugitives, and malefactors, who mutinyed about the spoil and were ready to stone their leader.

We talk of reformades and reformed officers, but we can hear tell of no reformation in our *Sword-blade-Company*. Our soldiery look like the legions of Belzebub. They swear and curse as duly as they speak, and their commanders are more debaucht than their men. They are maintained with the nation's mony for our defence, and are the terror of his Majestie's best subjects. And not onely soldiers, but magistrates, gentlemen of the long robe, physitions, and clergymen, are turned Hectors and bullies. Least the people should relapse into the old lumpish spirit of religion and godliness, they labour night and day to prepare the way for their master, that he may come over and burn the hereticks and dissenters. For since we are markt as sheep for the slaughter, it matters little whether we be murthered by Papists or Nonjurors, Jesuits or Jacobites.

We have seen the succession of five princes * and have lived to mourn the desolation of a reigning degeneracy through their successive reigns. How far farther future ages shall pine away in it, is left to Divine patience, which, though Infinite, is short

deism was much advanced in the city [of London] and nation, and the former zeal of all sects near expired. Yet our meetings were much crowded on first days; and though the generality of Friends in the city were young people, they delighted to hear the principles and doctrines of truth published with authority and demonstration."

* Charles II., James II., William III., Anne, George I.

of pardon. God deals more severely with a nation, as he did with the Jews, to whome he has made greater discoveries of himself, than he deals with those who never had more than the light of nature and reason for their guide, among whome, a change from monarchy to a commonwealth, from barbarity to civility, was an easier step than it is to others who are guilty of ingratitude for their greater advantages. It is the Gospel so much despised, that, let the wits of the world say what they will, makes the onely difference, and this, not as owned onely in general, but as improved in greater or less degrees of reformation. Arts and sciences, wealth and power, never flourisht so much in Greece, as when she maintained her libertie. Statues breathed, pictures spoke, and oratory charmed, and yet what barbarism has that country declined into? The Romans, who without hope of equalling them, were glad to imitate them, suffered a like fate in their affairs. After a former usurpation, there seemed to be a glimpse of day in Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, each of whome, not able to grasp by themselves that power, which they mannaged in the conjunction of their triumvirate, have left us an instance how little humane policy, which usually is so bewitching, avails in the governments of mankind. These three men who pass for the publick spirits of their age, were indeed but the patriots of their own interests. For Crassus being out of the way, Pompey carries his point in the Senate against Cæsar who had overreacht him. But Cæsar proving as successful in arms as Pompey was in faction, broke the constitution, and is made perpetual dictator, until the vengeance of the people's cause fell upon him by the hand of Brutus. This was a lightening before death. For the body of the Roman nation sunk into an irrevocable degeneration, defyed all reformation, and made a throne ready for Augustus, who was too excellent a prince to change an elective into a despotic monarchy, if this popular defection had not corrupted the senate, and extinguisht all sense of liberty.

And when we reflect how the Saints of the Most High were massacred under the following emperors, and brought forth into their spectacles games and theatres, to be used like wild beasts by those who were really so, let England never think of cultivating her lands, without draining the Fenns. Our play-houses are Satan's academies from whence he sends his missions into every corner, where his schollars come furnisht with all the liberal arts and sciences of sin. These emissaries of Hell wear the King's Arms, and call themselves the King's Servants. * * * * * In vain shall we strive to keep up so much as a heathen morality, unless we storm the devil's head quarters. If we have lost our

senses of hearing and seeing, there is no way left but to make us feel. What a brave world shall we have of it, when cheating and couzening shall be all the trade? * * * * * No virtue will be safe. Chastity will grow a scandal, honest women ridiculous. * * * Common swearing will train up knights of the post to be ready at their exercise. Perjury will make estates precarious. Men will swear round the compass. Juries and evidence will be at hand to take away the honestest man's life in the kingdom, whenever the court sends an order for it. Drunkards will knock us on the head if we be not as debaucht beasts as themselves, we shall be outraged in the streets, rapes and murthers committed by noon-day devils, our ears grated with the language of fiends, our way stopt with ruffians and rascalls, we shall walk no where abroad but through volleys of hell-shot, our windows broken, the watch stabbed, our doors forced open, and our houses fired by midnight scowrers; and, provided bonefires be but made of Dissenters and Whiggs, robberies and burglaries will serve for pastime. These are the halcyon dayes which multitudes long for, towards which we are making a daily progress, and from which our deliverance must be extreme difficult, our danger being grown desperate.

I know not what excuse to make for the freedom I use in talking thus with your honour before company, unless that being of the stock of the ancient Brittons, you cultivate the native love they alwayes had for their dear country. Not that this virtue does descend by inheritance, but comes by divine conquest over vicious nature, whereby many gentlemen fondly ambitious of places, disgrace them when they get their wishes. You for your part are limited by no incapacity but what wicked laws lay you under, for which reason, reserving to yourself a private greatness, your ability to serve the public is accompanyed with a ready and generous affection to its prosperity, so that you are in no danger of flattery, though a starving poet were your petitioner. Faith descerns what is enough to outballance the worst times we can possibly live in here: and they who scorn the yoke of Christ, shall be forced to bow under the load of what in Scripture is revealed to be eternally intolerable. If these papers contain any thing that bespeaks my weakness I am sure of your pardon of course; if in any part of them they may pretend to contribute the least assistance in your converse with things that are above, it will be an office agreeable to our mutual friendship. So great is that distance of affection from the vanity of what ingrosses the care of such heavy spirits as savour nothing but the present world, wherein you are making near approaches to a better; so

wise the exchange you have made, in the love and respect paid you on all hands in your very retirement in a remote residence, where, in a pleasant seat, you live free from envy and happy in your intercourse with Heaven, without which, Eden was no Paradice to sinful Adam. I am,

Your honour's humbly
devoted Servant,
M. R.

June 19, 1716.

[FROM] THE PREFACE.

Partly from vicious appetites and the sickish taste of many who are bookish, and partly from the party interests of such as are held in captivity to this or that profession, whoever goes abroad upon the subject of Divinity, must lay their prognostic to meet with a cold, faint, if not a thorny entertainment. Natural improvements in Astronomie, Geographie, and other parts of the mathemattiques, seem to some worthy of their diligence and application. The finding out of the longitude at sea, is proposed at present under a public reward by Parliament. There is in these things somewhat tending to the use of life, and less of trifle than in those *difficiles nugæ*, vain curiosities, which others imagine deserve their learned pains and study. Every age hath its genius. Antique buildings, urns and tombs, broken statues, ancient coins, inscriptions, and meddals, and ruinous structures, are themes for travailors to inlarge upon, to be acquainted with Egyptian, Chaldean, Greek, Jewish, Roman and Christian antiquities, passeth with most for the true measure of learning. We are inquisitive after the Mahometan, Indian and Chinese affairs, and what makes for the benefit of trade and navigation. We have hunted after antiquated rites and customs, their manner of judicatories, games, festivals, funeral-ceremonies, wars, pacts and legues, public works, and the inventions of elder dayes. We now speak with cloven tongues, and are fallen to dispute about languages and words, studying the refinements of stile more than the substance of things, starting opinions, neglecting purity of doctrine, prying into what God has not revealed, as if with Nero we would cut through the Isthmus of Corinth. And well were it, if mortality which spends so fast, were not further wasted in impertineness varnisht over with pompous and shining glosses, neither to the increase of knowledge nor to the better conduct of humane life. In Christianity, which calls us off from earthly things, there are not many who procede far in the investigation of heavenly mys-

teries. And of those who are studious of natural sciences, what yields profit, and leads to secular preferment, is sure of more votaries and followers, than what onely brings in the manlier pleasures of the mind: a clear proof of our mean indigent state of abode here below, which, finding little work for the head in comparison of the hands, leaves us toiling for our daily bread. But what ingrosses our chief care, whether it be in the active life or the contemplative, to that we addict ourselves, and to that we dedicate our most agreeable hours. Stretching upon tiptoes to reach at something new, we fall short, either into some dry speculation or utter disappointment, sinking into the level, from whence it was our ambition to raise ourselves to eminency.

From which, how remote we have been, may be descerned in the subject of these papers, who had been wronged should the measure of his learned acquirements be taken from what is here presented. No, his *Sylloge temporum antiquorum*, his *History of Henry V.*, or his *Fasciculus Legum*, had contributed more properly to set him in a due light that way, than this volume which only consists of such a sett of materialls as suits an account of his life, wherein large collections from known authors, and one or two entire treatises are abridged and applied to what they are produced for. A method that may be rather called borrowing than stealing, since every author hath his own fairly restored to him with due acknowledgments. Nor is the work less valluable, when it is considered how endless repetitions of the same thing, varied by invention and drest in new appearance, in the substance of what huge lettered heaps afford, with which the public is already loaden. Let every one follow his own scent, and take what liketh them best. For *Quæ juvenes didicere, senes perdenda fateri*, what smelled fresh in youth, grows stale in age.

In matters of scientifical disquisition, when rules and theories come to be reduced to practice, we have authors bandying against authors, and the search ends in contest and controversy. What men have asserted, that they will defend, though it drive them to shake fundamental principles and essential articles of faith, and the question is rather fixed than decided by disputation. This was the pope's humor, who thought the cardinals who called him brother, made too free with him, for being head of the Church, he could not properly be tearmed a member of it as they were. But the cardinals would prove he was a brother, because he said *Our Father which art in heaven* as they did; so that rather than yield, the sturdy pope renounced his faith, nor would ever afterwards repeat his *Pater Noster*. The Church is pestered with too many, who like this pope will renounce faith sooner than an opinion. This sort, favouring their own imaginary attainments,

cannot believe there is any greatness of mind that is not imbellisht with artificial learning.

Representing a person of an ancient stock, whose fortunes never raised them to titles of honour, whose stations nevertheless lifted them above scorn, the one screening them from envy, the other placing them out of the reach of contempt, we have indeavoured to set him out in the same plainness and simplicity wherein he lived. The witnesses to whome we now appeal, will soon be gone off the stage. The abilities and opportunities of such as were nearer akin to this gentleman seemed to concur to such a task, but his son dyed soon after him, and if God, who best knows the fittest time and the properest means to bring about his own ends, have designed the publishing these memoirs, he will when we are out of the way and envy worn off, bring them to light. The excellences of our brethren set before us, mortify our pride, promote our humility, and invite our imitation. But a needless divulging of their faults reall or imputed, breeds security and feeds our self-conceit. Let none be moved to storm and rage against Dissenters, but let this rather move those to a pious jealousy whoever they be that think themselves more inlightned and more learned, whilst they consider that, if he flourisht in such Christian beauties and graces, supposed by them to be darkened with error, enthusiasm, and schism for dissenting from the Establisht Church, how much they ought sooner to attain the same as enjoying greater advantages, and so employ themselves, not in scanning, sifting, disputing, canvassing, carping, and quarrelling at the things they dislike, but imitating the things they approve, least the supposed schism of the Nonconformists be said to bring forth more piety than the orthodoxy of the boasted Church. And whilst you say you see, your sin remain to you more inexcusable. For verily that saying may be applyed both to Churchmen and Dissenters, which in the New Testament is adopted by the Apostle Paul, and under the Old Testament went under the name of Moses for the author of it, "Neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth any thing, but a new creature."

One voluminous person there was of late years (*Sed quisquis is est—nam nomen adhuc utcunque tacebo*) whose doctrinal singularities our author was firmly persuaded had poysoned most of the Dissenters, and drawn a black cloud upon their interest, having opened the secret sluices of that Deism which since he dyed, has had many feeders. And it was a light thing to this worthy gentleman to be despised by those who have no vallue for Dr. Owen, out of whose writings he has cut large shares upon several subjects, and whome he lookt upon as *the Calvin of England.*

Whether a person whose residence I hear is in Holland (L'Clerk) has fed the inclinations of atheistical spirits I shall no further say than from what appears in his writings. Some of his insinuations are taken notice of by our Author.

His knowledge of the doctrines and opinions of the Jews was by acquaintance in his youth with the famous Mannasseh ben Israel, and was much improved by Victor Amadeus, a Jew well learned in the Hebrew language, who for some time resided in the north parts of England. What he has transcribed from Dr. Owen, in his MSS. wears the title of Oëna. In his papers he has left proposals for distributing that learned man's Latin and English Books into ten compleat volumes in folio.

I think the narrative had been better in a less compass, but it is now too late to reform it. We pretend not to Sir Francis Clark's skill, who could tell beforehand to a brick, what it would cost to finish a building.

To some it may probably not look convenient to give his character in large discourses wherein he is scarcely so much as once named, but this, when better considered, will be found to be the best way of describing him, as when the diaries and pious observations of eminently religious persons are distinctly transcribed as so many attestations to the truth. So these transcriptions of his own, either out of what others had writ or himself had experienced or both, like a man's drawing his own picture, was the properest method that could be thought of, for delineating the divine features, the heavenly complexion of his soul, and may in part recompence the irrepairable loss of his letters, whereof we have been able to recover but one or two, the most being writ in distracted times to friends in foreign parts, and of which he kept no copies; and what he had judiciously collected, in the course of his reading, does now of common right belong to all. Nor let it, in perusing the account of this life, be thought a distraction or interruption to the reader that the sayings of the Jews, Romans, and others are somtimes repeated, with many allusions and references to their conceits and opinions, since such allusions are allowable, serving as light and shade in limning, besides their being excusable by custom. Here are also sundry passages out of many written lives that are passant amongst us, but I protest before God, with all Christian sincerity, there is not one lineament, not one fine stroke applyed to this gentleman, out of the printed lives of any holy upright persons that have fallen in my way, that in my conscience I believed not to be very just, and wherein I had not an exact and rigid respect to truth.

The second chapter of the first book must go for a digression,

and good natured citizens must excuse us if the subject of trade be mannaged more like a schollar than like a merchant, though every where we strive to avoid all ostentation of learning. The thirteenth chapter of that book is but a fragment, not capable through cronological defectiveness of induring the exactness of a crittical reader in ancient history. The fifth chapter of that same book comes in as a parenthesis, wherein our author expected few would agree with him, but, on the contrary, that the world would come with open mouth upon him. And though writing any one's life does not necessarily oblige a man to vindicate all his opinions whose life he writes, yet I alwayes suspected we of these degenerate dayes of ours had not raised enough ideas of the times which went last before us.

Cromwell, who is commonly censured for the archest hypocrite, is at other times spoke of as some bully. So little do they agree who come in witnesses against him. How else comes that ridiculous slander that he would needs assassinate Morland in the Secretarie's office? To say nothing of Thurlo, who afterwards proved himself such another faithful servant to his master's memory, as Monk did, this frontless falshood is traduced through so many foul hands, it makes dirt stick to the penns that take it up, and carries its own confutation. The truth was this. The Protector, coming into the Secretarie's office, where finding Morland asleep, turns him out of the room before he would enter upon business with Thurlo, with whome he was never known to communicate any secret negociation of moment in the presence of a third person. Yet for little other service than that which a slandrous tongue does that hateth those who are afflicted by it, was Morland, when the King came in, made Sir Samuel Morland.

Rome never put her kings upon greater difficulties, than England put the Oliverian Government, Cromwell being indeed, as he would sometimes say himself, in the office of a High Constable, to keep the peace among the several parties, who when left to themselves, would never agree to any form of government: and as I was informed by Mr. Barnes, the most irreconcilable enemies he had, lived to see such times as made them wish Cromwel had hanged them all up, so that their deaths had but saved what their confessed folly had dasht all to pieces. Lawyers and civilians think it belongs to them to judge of titles to crowns as well as to private estates. A senator ought not to be a patron or advocate. If he practice the law gratis, by obliging the people he bribes and debauches them, and if he practice for hire, the law debauches him. This raised all the clamour against the Protectorship, for that government standing

one way and the stream of the laws running another there was a necessity of reforming the law; and the lawyers who bellowed to have this new government fitted to their laws, were as wise as the tailor who bid the man fit his body to his doublet. His Highness could preach and pray to better purpose than many who make these offices a distinct calling. None are keener to pelt at him than the clergy. He is a devil and sold himself to the devil, and surely he gets a lumping pennyworth when one devil buys another. Such is the language of our celestial ambassadors, whose text forbids them to call their brother Raca, while cartloads of their sermons are only fit for rakehells.

A report goes, like the wandering Jew, that when Cromwel was in his last sickness, one of his lordship's chaplains exprest himself in prayer to this effect; "Lord we pray not for his life, for that we are sure of, but that he may live to do greater things for thy name and glory than ever yet he has done." This tattle somtimes goes amongst hands, with some variation and addition, of Mr. Pet. Sterry, but Mr. Rich. Baxter, unwilling to take it upon himself, sais common fame fathers it upon Dr. Thomas Goodwin, nor was it ever contradicted by any that Master Baxter ever heard of. Dr. Goodwin was indeed a prophet like Nathan in David's court, one who had as high vallue for the Protector as the Protector had for him, to whome may be coupled another divine of high rank and of equal reputation in the Church of God, either of whome will to eternity stand against Mr. Baxter's invidious aspersions. And, however the scornful now vilify Cromwel and his prophet, these two witnesses, Goodwin and Owen, now in sackcloth, will outlive a thousand quacks and reverend Carmelites. Dr. Goodwin's prayer, if false, was a Baxterian slander; if true, the triumph fits the victor. Dr. Goodwin is persuaded Cromwel shall recover, but he is mistaken and Cromwel dies: many ministers hope to get a reformed national Church, but they are mistaken, Charles II. gets in, and Mr. Baxter cryes Hallelujah. Whatever was the occasion of Cromwel's death, it was perfect peace. That Neronian physician who gave himself out to be the contriver of it by a dose, either told a lie to make a merit to himself with his new master Charles II., or is now in the enjoyment of a murderer's reward*.

Our author's stile is unaffected and his language unstudied. He used to observe that poets and orators abound most in the

* "Morland's perfidiousness is shown by his boasting that he and Mrs. Russell poisoned old Noll in a posset, and that Thurloe had a lick at it, which laid him up a great while."—Substance of the statement of Sir Richard Willis, a pardoned intelligencer for Cromwell, cir. 1661, in Cal. S. P., sub vol. xlviii. No. 135.

corruptest times, and we have been fining and newfashioning the English tongue, whilst English manners are become wild. We are now fond of the beauties of Dryden, Boileau, and Sir Roger. But they, who come after us, will no more make them their rule and system of true politeness, than the journals of Solomon's fleet give measure of the Roman sea-voyages or of the art of navigation, which is much exceded by the discoveries of Columbus.

That comet in 1680 in the judgment of some skilled in these things, has not yet done its errand. The message it brought was as universal as it was visible, and will be as long a doing as its stream or tail extended.

MEMOIRS

OF THE LIFE OF

AMBROSE BARNES, ESQ^{r}.

Act. 9. 15. But the Lord said unto him, Go thy way, for he is a chosen vessel unto me to bear my name before the gentiles and kings and before the children of Israel.

CHAPTER I.

HIS BIRTH AND EDUCATION.

Mr. Ambrose Barnes, the eldest son of Mr. Thomas Barnes, was born at Startfort, a small town standing upon the river Tees in the edge of the county of York, where his progenitors for many descents, lived in the rank of gentlemen, being lords of the soil and mannor. The family is originally Saxon, and the estate much impaired by the irruption of the Danes, Scots, and lastly the Norman Conquest. But this was but the far distant occasion of this day, wherein the family shared in that general mixture and confusion brought upon the nation by the accession of William of Normandie. Several vavasories in Lancashire and Cheshire were then lost, but the greatest diminution was from the carelessness of his next and immediate predecessors. Another fair estate in Yorkshire in fee simple was irrecoverably alienated and conveyed away by breaking the entail, his ancestors for a long tract of years being persons of a genteel but profuse way of living, addicted to their ease and pleasures, rather than to increasing of their fortunes. He had one brother very much a gentleman, who died unmarried, and there is a younger branch of this house, who continue to be of good note and distinction, as I was informed, in the county of Huntington.

[As to his lineal descent which was very honourable and ancient, we believe he would have given such a reply as Dr. Gourney did, who, being enquired of by one who intended to write somewhat of his family, answered it was needless, for he was sure he was descended from Adam, though he could not prove his descent. This gentleman, according to the advice of St. Paul that great Herald of the Gospel, avoided foolish questions and genealogies, though the heraldry of his arms, is, by the best masters, rankt amongst them which carry the greatest marks of antiquity, having no crest. His coat armour is not like that, of which one said it was so well victualled it might in-

dure a siege, such was the variety of fowl, fish, and flesh therein. The arms of this family, on the contrary, are very plain *.

[As some observe, each county in England is innated with a particular genius, inclining the natives to dexterity, some in one profession, some in another. It may truly be said, Yorkshire has produced men of a capacity for all things. And of Mr. Barnes, it may be remarkt as of the family of the Prestons, though they were removed from their native soil and much impaired in their estate, yet retained the spirit and mettle of their ancestors; they both carried like gentlemen and were accounted such amongst those who were truly so.]

[† Our author was well descended, yet rather from a good than a great and high family, and what was awanting in big titles and large revenues was made up with interest in his own true worth, those of his ancestors, and of his own posterity. His estate as to the necessaries and accommodations of life was plentifull; though in the common estimate of estates now a dayes, but moderate.]

[‡ Persons of low descent, agreeably to their extraction, are commonly of a base, mean spirit, not fit for raised stations; but those of a better original, without force, naturally aspire to things worthy of themselves. Hence grew the affectation of ancient heroes to be thought the progenie of the gods. To raise their genius up to its spring-head, the adoring vulgar persuaded them they sprang from more than a mortal root. Mr. Ambrose Barnes was every way of a much better lineage. His gencalogy by the new birth was from the Ancient of dayes, Rev. 19. 26. Christ hath his name upon his vesture and upon his thigh. Why upon his thigh? Jacob's seventy sons are said to come out of his thigh (the ground of an heathen fable), so are all good men descended from Jesus Christ. The Holy Spirit refines the blood of the meanest person, and ingrafts him upon a royal stem. 'For blood is brute, but gentry is divine.' Memorable was the reply made by K. William's late consort Q. Mary, when reflections were observed before her upon some historians, who had

* There is in the MS. a rude indication of the intended frontispiece of the work, a portrait, which, it may be trusted, is no serious attempt to give a notion of the "Vera Effigies Ambrosii Barnesii, Armig., Senat. Quondam Novicastr. ad Tyn. Aætat. [sic] 82." Under the oval frame is the coat usually borne by the families of Barnes, Per pale, on a fess three estoiles, with a motto:—*Ne te quæsiveris extra.* The arms are alluded to again presently.

The text in brackets is from a later chapter of Book I.

† From Book III.

‡ From "The author's memory revived in a funeral oration spoken in an assembly of gentlemen and friends of the deceased, March 27th. 1710. at the Tolbooth in —— Northumberland, being the day after the interment of Mr. Ambrose Barnes. By F. V. Esq[r]."

left heavy imputations upon the memory of some princes who were of her family. "If those princes," said she, "were such as the historians represent them, they deserve such treatment, and others who tread in their steps may look for the same, for truth will be told at last." All mens' blood, a few descents backward, runs in one channel. God is the fountain of honour, as in heraldry the king is the fountain of honour.

[Great men affirm things upon their honour, and they should act upon honour and not by execrable oaths wear their honour threadbare. Men, who stand upon their honour, should not fall below their honour. Otherwise, inferiors may be abused by such as they are not willing to suspect. Flattery suits best with falsehood. Such courtiers have studied Aristotle's Politicks. Policy sets the needle, Vain Glory fills the sails, and Atheism sits at stern. Now I wish that not onely the Right Honourable person to whom belongs this building where our adjournment here happens to be, but would to God that all our noble peers heard me. For an Atheist is the grossest fool and the foulest beast. Dutch drunkenness, English gluttony, Spanish pride, Scottish hypocrisy, Irish cruelty, French wantonness, and Italian atheism, have transformed most of our gentry and nobility into greater prodigies than we can meet with in Ælian's history of animals.

[Preferable is the lowest station of life wherein we support the honour of sincere religion. You have in this country several gentlemen's seats which you call granges, as Cheesburn-Grange, Wallick-Grange, Horton-Grange, &c., which in old times had been repositories for corn. Our Author used pleasantly to remark concerning his ancestors, who he would say were certainly plain, honest countrymen, his name sounding as much as *Barns*.

[Civil honour is commonly intailed, because for the most part it is short-lived, but Christianity would intail that honour which no court in heaven or earth could break. And without this best intail, how dishonourable does Honour grow, when we see every upstart who leaps into an estate claim kindred presently of some family of antiquity and distinction. None vallued empty titles less, and coveted that greatness which is glorious in heaven more, than Mr. Ambrose Barnes.

[The name is Saxon, as the family is agreed to be Saxon, *Bere* in that tongue signifying Barley, and *erne* an house or cottage, whence according to the Runic character is *Barnes* compounded, the two final letters being the contraction of *Vis*, a place westerly scituated.

[The Saxons came from Ultzen in the Dutchy of Lunenburg.

They who returned after the expedition into England, in memory of their success, put up in the market place a gilded ship, a rellique that was to the fore several years after our Author was born till the Town was burnt in the year 1647. This warlike nation in the plain of Ambrii (now Salisbury), murdering the inocent Britons who met to treat with them, sullyed their reputation. The Roman general Aurelius Ambrosius revenged the treachery, purchasing to himself (as it is supposed) the monument of Stone Henge, whence the town of Ambresbury received its name. Of this clan and tribe we hear of some baptized among the Nor-Angles by Paulin in King Egwin's reign, and the last of this name in ancient times, was Eorl Barnes, who being decoyed into a ship, was conveyed away and slain amongst the Eastern Saxons. We read of another detachment of native Saxons coming over to serve in Alfred's wars. The commander in chief *Martuth Barnes* distinguisht himself under Arnulph, and the victory being obtained the day after the appearing of *se steorra boc-leden Cometa*, a comet or blazing star, those of this name and family give Three starrs Or in fess Azure in a field countercharged Or and Vert *. Many of this name are found in Scotland, occasioned probably from the Saxon auxiliaries frequently sent to assist the Scots against the Picts. A place called Barnes in Twedale, if I am rightly informed, was the seat of the Cunninghams, and heretofore of the Turnbulls, of whose name was that Archbishop of Glascow who incompast the College with a wall. Egfred destroying several places, and Edgar making himself master of Dublin, introduced the charter of Oswald's Law, and left those scatterings of this name in Ireland, that survived the confusions of the Danes, Swedes, and Normans. By which last, although this ancient people were grievously disperst, yet by God's goodness, the favour of King Henry I., and by their own patience and industry, they propt up their shipwreckt estate, and afterwards recovered some competent condition. The several counties of this land could not miss of some remains of the Saxons, among which, I know not whether it be worth while to take notice of Athelstan Well, remaining in or near the ground † that I take for granted belongs to the gentleman's family, whose obsequies we are performing. Speed finds a well of that name near Dunbar. Perhaps sundry wells had the name, or perhaps the monks to their profit might ascribe the same miracles to different wells. But we may on the strongest presumptions here fix the place of Athelstan well. Athelstan united the kingdom of

* The old Barons Berners, or, as they were frequently called, Barnes, wore the field of quarterly or and vert, *without* the fess and stars.

† Startforth near Barnard Castle.

Northumberland to the monarchy. The story goes that this king in his wars with the Danes, being in his camp greatly distrest for want of water, after offering up ardent devotions, struck his spear an *ell* deep into the rock, whence the water hath continued to flow ever since. The well is to this day greatly frequented.

[So much less reason was there for an obscure writer (Guy. Burnel. Onomastic. Technic.) to speak diminutively of this name as producing no persons of eminency and remark, when there are few of our English families give so clear a prospect into antiquity. Juliana Barnes, who flourisht anno 1460, was of an ancient and illustrious house, and was commonly stiled the Diana of her age, and writ diverse treaties of Hunting, Hawking, Fishing, and Heraldry. In the battle of Gladmore near Barnet, fell the Lord Barnes. In the reigns of Edward III. and IV. our chronicles hint two of this name to have been Lord Mayors of London. In 1505 Dr. William Barnes was bishop of that same city. This offspring of the Saxons (of whom among the old gentry of Lancashire Mr. Ambrose Barnes was lineally descended) are by the best antiquaries computed to be the bulk and main body of the English nation, and who have signalised themselves amongst the clergy as well as amongst the laity. John Barnes went into Spain, where his tutor used to call him John Huss. He was a Benedictine, and being releast out of prison, where he had suffered for his opinions, he past into Normandie, then taught in the monastery of Diewleward, and was afterwards Professor of Divinity at Doway. In Elizabeth's time, Mr. Bartholomew Barnes was one of the patentees concerned in discovering the East Indies. We find Dr. Barnes suffering martyrdom for the Six Articles in the reign of Henry VIII., and Dr. Richard Barnes in the see first of Carlisle and then of Durham, a favourer of Puritans. It seems indeed to be a blemish upon the memory of this bishop that he carryed unkindly to that honest clerk Bernard Gilpin. But because this churchman was related to the Altham family, of whom our author is directly descended *, we

* In a pedigree (see it in extenso in the History of Darlington, p. lxxxi.) which was found among the Chaytor papers, and seems to have been made for the bishop's eldest son, it is stated that Sir John Bærnes [sic] had issue, 1, Sir James Bærnes of Berners and Roding in Essex, a great favourite of Richard II., and beheaded as a traitor and enemy to the public, through the influence of the great lords, in the eleventh year of that king's reign (ancestor of the Lords Berners or Barnes); 2. Edmund, who, with his sons, having espoused the part of King Richard, whose marshal he was, was proscribed by Henry IV., and had his estate confiscated. His sons, following various courses with varying fortunes, at length settled in divers parts. These sons are said to be—

1. Oliver, *dictus Sudovelgius*, who lived in Lancashire, and was forefather of the bishop.

cannot let the observation pass without doing him the justice that history has done before. For he who considers what ill offices Hugh Broughton (a man of more learning than gratitude) did him with the ordinary, will not hastily censure him. The Bishop thought he might use his own prudence in trying Gilpin's patience, when being satisfyed in the man's simplicity and integrity, he gave him frankly as great an encomium as any could do, confessing Gilpin was fitter to be Bishop of Durham than himself was to be Rector of Houghton.

[Neither has time run this name to a dregg. The Hebrew Lecture in Oxford founded by Dr. Barnston was learnedly supplyd by Dr. Barnes, professor of that tongue in that University, and, to say nothing of Captain Barnes, an officer at this time in the Hospital of Southwark, here was Mr. Ambrose Barnes.

[His ancestors had forfeited their lands in Cheshire and Wiltshire in the times of the Baron's warrs, and but a little shred of the ancient patrimony descended to our Ambrose.

[His immediate ancestors held an estate of 500*l.* a year of the Earls of Rutland and Belvoir, one of whom, commonly called Ambrose Roast-Wolf, from the many wolves he hunted down and destroyed in the time of Henry VII. *, riding out to hunt, the noble Earl offered to make the estate free to him and his heirs for ever, if Mr. Barnes would but complement him with the fine hunting-horse he was then mounted upon. Mr. Barnes, being bent more upon the diversions of a country gentleman, than upon making additions to his fortunes, returned a suddain answer, that he vallued his gelding as much as his Lordship

2. James, *dictus Surreius.*

3. Ralph, *lived in the county of York.*

It may be remarked that the pedigree of Barnes affords a strong ground for supposing that, although families at first took names from places, and not places from them, yet that they afterwards named places after themselves. The rule is said to be that the family name is always found added at the end of a geographical name, as Dalton Percy, but this does not seem to be a rule sufficiently wide. Ralph de Berners died in 25 Edw. I. seized of Bernestone Manor in Essex. In 15 Edw. IV. Sir John Bourchier Lord Berners died seized of no less than five places bearing the name of Berners. *Berners* Bury in Iseldon, in Middlesex (which is Iseldon only in the former inquisition), Berners in Ikelingham, Suffolk (formerly Ikelingham only), *Berner*-Mershe, *Berners* Roding, and *Berners* Berwyke in Essex, which, perhaps, with other places, constituted the Manors of Bernestone, Rothings, and Berwyke in Essex, of the former inquisition. (Collins.)

* The oration, as will have been perceived, though probably founded on fact, must be taken *cum grano salis.* Belvoir is not a title, and the Manners family did not become Earls of Rutland until 1525, in the reign of Henry VIII. On the other hand, the period of Henry VII. is late for wolves, although Richmondshire might well yield some of the latest specimens in England. Doubtless they were familiarly associated with wildness of country long after their extinction. Many a tradition about it would linger in the families of their destroyers. Ambrose Roast-Wolf was probably a real person of some date or other.

vallued his land. So that, holding the estate onely by a lease for lives, it became void upon the last demise. His great uncle* Lambert Barnes, went a bow-man under the Earl of Surrey, and was slain in the battel of Flodden; and his grandfather, Ambrose Barnes (the names of Thomas and Ambrose passing alternately time out of mind from the eldest to the eldest of the family †)

* This must be an indefinite term. Of course Lambert slain at Flodden and Ambrose who waited on James I. in 1603, and died in 1615 leaving issue under twenty-one, could not be brothers.

† Ambrose Barnes of Barnard Castle, tanner, by will, 30 May, 1566, mentions his wife Isabel (who survived him), his brothers Anthony, John, and William (the last dead), and his nephew Ralph, William's son. On 10 March 4 Eliz. (1562) Anthony Barnes (elsewhere styled of Startforth, gentleman) had lands in Startforth assigned to him by Henry Wycliffe and George Bainbridge.

Thomas Barnes purchased property in Startforth from Philip Brunskill, 6 July, 1566.

Ambrose Barnes of Startforth, the Alderman's grandfather alluded to in the text, made his will 16 April, 1615. The following are notes from it.—To be bur. at Startforth in the stall or seate where I did usually sitte. To eldest son Thomas B. my lands and leases in Startforth and in the parish of Brignell. 2nd son John 20*l.* at 21. My brother Wm. Barnes and friend John Dowthwaite of Westholme and John Granger of Barnard Castle to assist him. My godson Ambrose Barnes son of my brother Wm. my gray nagg. To Mary dau. of my brother Wm. all my apparell with my wives and the truncke they are in with a syde sadel. To my brother John B. 9*l.* which he owes me. To Robt. Brisco 5*l.* To my servant Isabel Vinte a black cowe. To my servant George Rowlandson a payre of graye cloth trowsers and a fustyan dublett. My sister Jane Phillips—My sister Betteres Barnes, 5*s.* each. Son Tho. B. sole exor.—Prob. Richmond 5 June 1615. Inventory, 25 Apr. 1615, calls him *yeoman*. One gallibalke of iron with the supporters. *The Hall*—one skutchon of armes. *The parler within the hall*, one old swaule table, one lookeinge glasse, one stroce fann. *The little parler within the great parler. The chamber over the parler*—two headsheets for a childe, a swedlebelt. *Apparell.* One blacke sattayne suite laced cut with a taffatie upon a sarsnet, 2*s.* A blacke paire of sattayne britches 25*s.* A paire of crimsin sattayne britches with a silver lace 20*s.* A paire of blacke velvet britches thicke laid with a curled silke lace 40*s.* Fower payres of silke stockings and one paire of garters 40*s.* One white cut fustian dublet and one paire of cloath britches 30*s.* One canvas dublet, a paire of cloathe britches and a frecke girkin 20*s.* Two cloath cloakes 53*s.* 4*d.* His lininge apparell 30*s.* Two rapiers, one dagger, fower paires of hangers and thre girdles 30. Thre hatts 13*s.* 4*d.* One paire of white knitt stockings and a knit night capp 12*d.* Two paires of bootes and spurs, 3 paires of showes, and two payres of pantables 10*s.* Item, One lookinge glasse 2*s.* Ten little bookes 6*s.* 8*d.* Two brushes 8*d.* Gloves and other old things 2*s.* One trunke with a suite of apparell therin. Two silver spoones and other litle odd toyes, 13*l.* A woman's sadle, a pillion with all furniture 20*s.* *The chamber over the hall*—a copper oven. *The chamber over the kitchen. The buttry. Milkhouse. Kitchen. Barne. Bakehouse. One wood peele. Stable.*—145*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

On 2 Feb. 40 Eliz. (1598) Dame Jane Bowes of Streetlam, widow, bequeathed to her "servant Ambrose Barnes" the tithes of Barnard Castle, he paying yearly 6*l.* to her son Richard. And in the great Neville Survey of 1614, Ambrose Barnes of Stainton, within the manor of Barnard-Castle, is mentioned as having enclosed half an acre of the lord's waste adjoining his house.

Administration of the goods of Thomas Barnes of Blackwell, sen., was granted on 26 May, 1626, at York, to John Barnes of Startforth, his brother. Though not mentioned in the will of 1615, he may well have been another brother of Alderman

waited among the rest of the gentry of Yorkshire (for, in the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, the family was sorely reduced, and driven to what estate they had remaining in Yorkshire) upon King James I. at Walworth, when he came to take the Crown of England. Walworth was then the estate of the Jennisons, who were strong Papists (in probability descended of that noted zealot mentioned by Bishop Carleton in his life of Bernard Gilpin *), yet here, upon their observing the king's temporizing falsehood, this family received a lasting confirmation in the Protestant religion, and our Ambrose, renouncing all claims to birth, wealth, and perishing honour, by quitting the road of his progenitors (of which he said *vix ea nostra*) sunk in the low levell of that party who are kept down for endeavouring to go a step further from Popery, living out his days amongst us, a suffering Protestant Nonconformist.]

Our author was born in the latter end of 1627 †, when King Charles called his third Parliament.

His father being left young, great solicitation was used for getting his ward, particularly by a petition in these words:—'To the Right Honourable the Lord Knollis, treasurer of his majesty's household and master of his highness his court of Wards and Livries,—the humble petition of Thomas Hutchinson yeoman of his majestie's guards in ordinary. In all humility beseeching that your Lordship will be pleased of your honourable favour to grant unto him the long concealed wardship of the body and lands of the son and heir of Ambrose Barnes, Esq., late of the County of York, deceased, whereunto this your supplicant will at his own charge endeavour to intitle his majesty by office, and ever, as in duty bound, pray, &c.' To this the Lord Knollis with his own hand writ the following answer:—'July 2,

Barnes's grandfather, and uncle of his father, who would be the Thomas junior of the day.

There was a third Thomas Barnes at that time, a yeoman, living at Westwick. By his will, pr. 1629, he desires to be buried at Barnard-Castle, and mentions his wife Elizabeth and sons Christopher and Michael.

Ambrose Barnes (the nephew of 1615?) was buried at Barnard-Castle 11 Mar. 1642.

Jemett Barnes of Barnard-Castle, wyddowe, made a nuncupative will 12 May, 1646 (proved at Richmond), leaving all her personalty to her son Cuthbert Barnes.

Administration of the goods of Ambrose Barnes of Barnard-Castle was granted to his widow Mary 17 Aug. 1669. He had four daughters, Elizabeth, Mary, Sarah, and Anne.

Ambrose, son of Robert Barnes, was buried at Startforth, 23 June, 1693.

* Very likely. See the life quoted, and the pedigree of Jennison in Surtees, iii. 320.

† In the MS. the 2 has been altered to 3, erroneously, as Alderman Barnes died in 1710, aged 83, and the whole chronology requires 1627 as the date of birth. On 19 Mar., 1626, his father Mr. Thomas Barnes of Startforth settled Startforth Hall, &c. on himself and *Ana* his wife. He was living in 1649-50.

1616, Let him resort to any two of the Council of the Court whereof the Attorney to be one, and that he then shew sufficient matter to prove a tenure and procure an order, I will have consideration of him in the composition, so as he prosecute with effect and find the office before the end of Michaelmas Tearm next. W. Knollis.'

But whether the soccage tenure of the estate impower'd him to chuse a guardian or by whatever means it was, a worthy person Mr. Stothart had the guardianship of him in his minority. This Mr. George Stothart lived in Barnardcastle, a town standing on the other side of Tees, joyned to Starfort by a bridge. A gentleman he was of competent estate. What he was in rank and degree in the world's reckoning short of Mr. Barnes, was well balanced in the piety of his family, into which Mr. Barnes when he came to years being married, we shall further notice his father-in-law. He was so well verst in the Common Pleas, that his parlour was as much frequented by clients, of whom he never took a fee, as if the law had been his profession. But what, in the opinion of good men, will be a greater honour to him, was his being one who, in those days, went under the name of a Puritan, an invidious name, by which the Papists prejudiced many against Protestant Christianity.

The state of the Gospel being perfective of whatever went before, though our Saviour has altered the exterior form of religion, and, as he is Lord of the Sabbath, changed the day, as well as rased the consciences of his disciples from rigorous self-devised burdens of the Jews, leading us to a more heavenly Sabbatism in spirit and truth, yet the absurd and impious declaration for sports on the Lord's Day was an open commencement of hostilities against whatever might be called sacred. That declaration prohibited the indulgence to Popish recusants, implying, if I mistake not, that violating the Sabbath was a favour allowed to none but Protestants, nor must any have this licence, but they who were diligent in attending Divine offices, that, when God had got his service at the church, the devil might come in for his share, in these sabbatarian gambols. This horrid invasion upon divine, and this eager inforcement of humane institutions, with the bitter animosities hereby created, left it harder to find an humble, savoury, peaceable Christian, than it was to find a wise man in Plato's Commonwealth, and portended those calamities which soon after followed, whilst such as Mr. Stothart kept many dayes of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, to bemoan the sins and deprecate the heavy judgments threatened. To these private meetings in his house, resorted young Sr. Henry Vane, and some other gentlemen, who bore a great figure in the

changes which quickly befell the nation. It was his custom to keep, every year, a day of thanksgiving in memory of a deliverance his family received from the fall of the floor of a great malting, which it pleased God so to order that none of them received hurt. Upon one of these dayes, did Mr. Rothwel, whose life has long been printed, a familiar preacher and famous in the Northern parts, preach from Exod. 3. 2, "The bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed."

King James I. used to say, the knave Puritan was a bad man, but the knave's Puritan was an honest man. Our author's mother was one of the knave's Puritan's daughters *.

This Mr. Stothart had a daughter who married Mr. Henry Dodsworth †, a gentleman happy in his two sons. The eldest, Mr. Matthew Dodsworth, was an eminent example of holiness. Whilst his phisitian was giving direction, the patient after some

* If it is meant that Mrs. Barnes's father was George Stothart, who also is said to have had the wardship of her husband, the memoir is incorrect in this name, but it may be that by obscure language, the Puritan's character refers to one of the same family only. However, certain it is, that Mrs. Barnes's father was *Matthew* Stodart of Barnard-Castle. Sir C. Sharp gives an extract from his will dated 1 Nov. 1642. He bequeaths to his son-in-law Thomas Barnes, a burgage in Briggate, Barnardcastle, and after his decease to his son Ambrose. His Puritanic notions steal out in a small bequest of 40*s.* to his daughter Anne and his daughter-in-law Elizabeth, he making it on condition that 'they give over wearing gold rings.' Sharp in his MS. addition to his tract adds, as children of Matthew Stodart, Winifred and Matthew, which Matthew junior had a son George.

† Henry Dodsworth of the West Park, par. Romaldkirk, where his father also lived, was married to Elizabeth the daughter of Matthew Stodart at Barnardcastle, in May 1633. In Sep. 1619, he had been appointed to attend the king in hunting. In Feb. 1624-5, Henry Dodsworth was Yeoman Pricker of the Privy Buckhounds. In July 1664, there was a warrant to pay a Yeoman of the Privy Buckhounds in place of Henry Dodsworth *deceased*. (State Papers.) The local dates agree. On 1 Apr. 1664 we have the will of Henry Dodsworth of West Briscoe, desiring burial in the church of Rombaldchurch. To my deare and loveinge sonne and heire *Matthew* Dodsworth over and besides my customary lands and houseinge that will descend upon him all my lands and houseinge at Brisco in Birkewoodfeild, and the house close at West Briscoe, the Roode banke, the Acre, and the dales in East and West Briscoe, with the best signet ring the best cupp and purse that was my deare fathers. My frehold land at Merebeck and a close adjoining in Baldersdale to Ezra my son and my gray gelding and my best sword. To my dau. Anne over and above her part 20*l.* Rem. to my children Jonathan, *Robert*, Anne and Judath. I have promised my son in law Nicholas Rawlinge 100*l.* with my dau. Frances. Son Matthew executor—and my deare and loveinge *brothers* Ralph Simpson, *Matthew Stoddarte*, George Daile, and Henry Jackson, Supervisors. Witnesses the same four.

Three days afterwards, the testator was buried in Romaldkirk church, "in the north porch att the farr end of the alley neare unto his wife," 4 Ap. 1664. His will was proved on the 28th of the same month. His wife survived until November, and was buried on the 24th of that month.

He had issue:—an infant, bur. Sep. 1634: Frances, bap. Feb. 1635-6, mar. at St. Oswald's, Durham, Oct. 1663, to Nicholas Rawling of Elwick: Matthew, bap. July, 1638: Ann, bap. Oct. 1641: Jonathan, bap. 31 Mar. 1644: Ezra, bap. Sep. 1647: Robert, bap. Jan. 1648-9: Judith, born May 1655.

silence said, 'Doctor, you may order what you please for me, but at such a time I shall die; my God hath told me so.' And at the time mentioned it fell out accordingly. The other son, Mr. Robert Dodsworth, was a barrister of Gray's Inn, an able lawyer whilst a young man. He was of counsil for the noble Lord Russell at his tryall. An early death defeated great hopes of him. His loss was bewailed at his funeral by Dr. Burnett, then Preacher to the Society of Gray's Inn, and afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

And this was the line of Mr. Ambrose Barnes. God, not designing he should begin the world with so full an estate as his family long enjoyed, did recompence by stocking him with larger sense, and with Sir Walter Raleigh, for whom he had a great honour, though he neither was a younger brother nor of so narrow circumstances in his beginning as he was, bequeathing him the richer donatives of the mind. Father Paul of Venice had his uncle Ambrosio Morelli, who proved a happy instrument in that great man's education, and Divine Providence was visible in using the care of a grandfather and of an uncle in guarding this youth against snares and temptations.

He did not only consider the diminution brought upon his patrimonial estate, by the expensive course of life of those who should have prevented it, but he had in his youth observed the havock and waste made by the kennell of hounds his father constantly kept. He has complained how long dinner staied upon their coming from hunting, and often when the meat lay before the fire to keep warm for them, the hounds which run before would come into the kitchen and snatch it away, whilst none in the house durst mutter a word against it.

We must not dissemble the defects which are seldom rectifyed in the minority of nature. His chief recreation was cock fighting, and, long after, he was not able to say whether it did not at least border upon what was criminal. He is said to have been the champion of the cock-pit. One cock he had called *Spangcounter*, which came off victor in a great many battles, a la main, but the sparks of Streatlam Castle killed it out of mere envy. So there was an end of Spangcounter, and of his master's sport of cocking ever after. His book was his principal delight. His parts were bright above ordinary, and were cherisht by a seasonable institution with other gentlemen's sons in the grammer school under the erudition of a prudent master. His modesty and sweetness got him the love of his master, his progress at his book drew the eyes of strangers, and his pleasantness and genteel and witty discourse made him the darling of his schoolfellows.

Being one evening in his father's ground, where one of their maids was milking cows, the bull which was amongst them began to make at him, being grown into rage with the colour of the scarlet hose he had upon his leggs. But the wench nimbly threw the pail with the milk full upon the bull's face, which somwhat staying the rage of the beast, gave the youth time to get out of his reach.

He despised a set formal way of speaking, or whatever lookt like affectation. These appear in those who are hugely pleased with themselves, how little soever they please others. This pride and starchtness loseth young men a great deal of esteem, and whilst they expect to be admired and courted, they are despised by superiors, inferiors, and equalls. As for this young man, his deportment won upon young and old. Among his school-mates *Amber-Rose* was the worst nickname that I remember was ever given to this Ambrose.

Sir Nathaniel Brent was strangely taken with him, and did him honour as his equal for his discretion, reasoning, and judgment, in a case in Doctor's Commons which called him to London a good while before he had put on his gown of manhood, that learned knight speaking of him with no little surprize upon a public occasion afterwards.

His uncle Dodsworth was well known to King Charles I., and sometimes appeared at the head of the hounds when his majesty went to hunt, the gallant old * gentleman being alwayes favourably received by his prince. The King making his first progress into Scotland, Mr. Dodsworth, with many gentlemen and his nephew, Mr. Barnes, waited upon him as he past through some parts of Yorkshire. He confessed he exceedingly disrelisht the court conversation. The King one day, standing among the nobility and country gentry, pointed to Mr. Dodsworth to come to him. Young Barnes, instead of kissing the King's hand as a great many then did, would not suffer his uncle so much as to mention him to his majesty, but purposely stood at a greater distance. The whole interview between the King and his uncle past in talking about some buck-hounds, which the king knew Mr. Dodsworth had formerly in his keeping †, and thus our

* A gentleman of the olden time and of olden habits. The language must not mean more. For we have seen that Barnes's father lived into the troubles, and that this uncle was not appointed huntsman until 1619, and did in fact live until 1664. Charles's first progress was in 1633, when Barnes would be between five and six years of age.

† The bugle horns in the arms of the Dodsworth families may point to some very early associations with the forests. The following notices of their connexion with the royal hounds are chiefly from the State Papers. The genealogical matter is abridged from my friend Raine's pedigrees.

young courtier escaped a bait, which many would have greedily snapt at.

Silvester Dodsworth was appointed Serjeant of the Buckhounds 20 Aug. 1603. In 1604, he was commissioned to take up hounds in the north parts for the king's hunting, and to hunt with them in the king's parks or those of his subjects. In 1605 Sir Pexall Brocas was ordered to deliver to George Hume and Richard Wray the seven couple of hounds which he had from Silvester Dodsworth in Yorkshire. On 26 Nov. 1675, there was a bond from Samuel Dodsworth of Bowes 'ephipparius' to administer to his son Silvester D. of Watlass (Richmond).

Thomas Dodsworth had been appointed Yeoman Pricker of the Privy Buckhounds before 10 Jan. 1606-7. On 21 Nov. 1626, probate was granted at Richmond of the will of Thomas D. of Richmond. He had five children. His eldest daughter Mary was executor. On 24 Nov. tuition of John, Thomas, Mary, Anne and Margaret the children was granted to Anne the testator's widow.

Christopher Dodsworth of Jolby, par. Croft, made his will in 1551 (see it in Richmondshire Wills, 71) leaving issue Rowland, eldest son (ancestor of Dodsworth of Jolby and Barton, a family in which Rowland was a common name), Francis, Arthur, Christopher, and *Robert*. His widow's name was Mabel. Her son Arthur administered to her in 1564.

Robert Dodsworth was of the Low Park, par. Romaldkirk, and was buried there 12 Dec. 1587. He married Jane, dau. of Simon Lightfoot of Barton. She died in 1603. They had issue

1. *Edward Dodsworth*, eldest son. See below.
2. Francis Dodsworth of the West Park, par. Romaldkirk and of Cotherstone, gent. He married Elizabeth Lockey in 1601 (she died in 1660-1) and died in 1624, leaving issue
   1. Henry Dodsworth, the King's huntsman from 1619 to 1624, the uncle of Barnes.
   2. Ferdinando, died young.
   3. Francis, born 1612. Francis Dodsworth was a Yeoman Pricker of the Buckhounds before 9 Feb. 1634-5, when he was promoted to the office of another Yeoman Pricker of greater value. In June 1661, he had 100*l.* a year for feeding the Buckhounds, which was excepted from the expenses of the Master of the Buckhounds. In July, we have a grant to Francis Dodsworth, Serjeant of the Privy Buckhounds, on surrender of a former patent, of the fee of 10*s.* 11½*d.* a day. In August the 100*l.* is stated to be on condition of the recipient's surrender of all pensions granted to him as *Master of the Buckhounds to Charles II. as Prince*, amounting to 220*l.* a year. On 20 Feb. 1662-3, there is a warrant to pay 10*s.* 11½*d.* a day to Wm. Pittman, Serjeant of the Buckhounds in place of Francis Dodsworth *deceased*, and 50*l.* a year for feeding and keeping the Buckhounds.
3. Anthony Dodsworth, youngest son, bap. Mar. 1583-4. In 1624? Anthony Dodsworth and others were authorised to destroy conies within the royal parks and forests, which, by making the ground hollow, have endangered the King in his progress, and much injured the deer. In Feb. 1634-5 he had become Serjeant of the Buckhounds, having 16 couple of buckhounds in his custody, and ceased to be a Yeoman Pricker.

Edward Dodsworth, the eldest son in 1587, is now thought by Raine to be perhaps he of Chevington, the ancestor of Dodsworth of Barton. We formerly considered that he was the Edward (not a common Dodsworth name) mentioned in the will of Laurence Dodsworth, Rector of Gateshead, 1571, as his son, Christopher being another. The Edward of Chevington, by will, Apr. 1630 desires burial in Warkworth churchyard, sealing with a chevron between three bugle horns. In that churchyard, a stone, still called "the Huntsman's Grave," was sculptured with three bugle horns and the inscription "Here lyeth the body of Edward Dodsworth, of East Chivington, *huntsman to King James*, who departed to the mercy of God the 30th of May, Anno Domini 1630." (4 Ant. Rep. 436.) Considering this in-

For God, who had chosen him to salvation, had another design to accomplish in him, never intending he should be a man of this world, and disposed of him into that employment wherein he served the will of God in his generation.

The Marquess Spinola counted it no disparagement to him, that he was the son of a merchant; Rabbi Zachai, the father of Rabbi John, followed merchandice forty years before he took him to his studies; and our English Rabbi, Dr. Jackson, was, by Archbishop Laud, made Vicar of Newcastle upon Tyne, the

scription, the connection of the family with the chase, and the circumstance that his son Robert in his will mentions his "*cozens Henry* Dodsworth and *Roland* Dodsworth," a strong primâ facie case is made out for Raine's supposition. It must however be stated that the identification with the Rector's son was aided by Thomas the son of Robert talking about his "*cozen* John Dodsworth of Wattlasse Esq." The Rector's wife was Catherine, dau. of Roger or Richard Dodsworth of Thornton Watlass. These cousinships, after all, do not amount to much. Relationships were complex, and it is plain from the Christian names that all the branches of Dodsworth were in no distant manner related to each other. The name of Rowland in the Jolby line appears to be the most distinctive.

The successor of Henry Dodsworth, as Yeoman of the Buckhounds, in 1664, was George Simpson, jun. Dodsworth's sister Margaret had married in 1626 Ralph Simpson of Shipley co. Durham. In 1670 Ralph settled Shipley House or Marwood Hagg on the marriage of his son George with Eunice Johnson of a Whorlton family, which in the Tudor period had given a wife to Ambrose Barnes, Bailiff of Barnardcastle, grandfather of *our* Ambrose.

"The Simpsons of Shipley are said to have been royal huntsmen. Over the door of their house at Shipley is a carving shewing a stag and hounds." (Inf. Canon Raine.) "There is a tradition, that one of the Simpsons of Shipley was huntsman to James II., and left his country to share the fortunes of his royal master.—Brayley and Britton's Durham, p. 239.—It is there said that Shipley was 'a hunting seat of James II.;' but James could never have hunted here after he wore the crown." (Surtees' Durham.)

To the Simpsons, leaseholders and freeholders at Shipley in or near to Marwood chace, from at least the time of Elizabeth, the deer, which in early times had afforded a subject to the Saxon sculptor of a cross at Winston, were familiar objects. On the Durham side of the water, the forestal rights in the forest of Teesdale had not been granted away by the crown with the rest of the old hereditaments of Baliol, though the Vanes acquired, with the parks of Barnard Castle and Marwood, the deer and wild cattle therein. In 1626 Sir Henry the elder "disparked the said parks and sold the deer." In 1635 he obtained the mastership and range of the Teesdale forests. After the attainder of his son the office was granted to the Earl of Carlisle. In a grant to him in 1672 are covenants for repairs, payments of keepers' wages, and replenishing the forest of Teesdale and chace of Marwood with deer, as directed by the Commissioners of the Treasury. "At Rood-day, 1673, there was above 400 red deer in Teesdale Forest, but were destroyed in the snow." (Chr. Sanderson's Diary.) Sir Wm. Bowes, through Sir L. Jenkins, applied to Charles II. for the reversion of the office, representing the enjoyment of it by his ancestors successively, before the coming of the Vanes. "I have, sir (said he) a chace adjoyning thereto, there being only a river between them, and I assure you, sir, 'twould be very much for the benefit of His Majesty's forest that it were under my care of a smal vallue." Before the Lords of the Treasury reported on the application, both King and Earl died. The new Earl waived any claim, and James II. granted a patent to Bowes in 1685. The King said "Sir Wm. Bowes was an honest gentleman, and, having petitioned for them, 'twas fitt he should have the place."

place wherein his friends had advised him before to become a merchant *. In this toun was Mr. Barnes bound apprentice to that calling, the year after the toun had been surrendred to the Scots †. His mistress, who afterwards was the Lady Jennison, had an high value for him whilst she lived. His master entirely confided in him. The weight and burden of the trade which was very great, lay upon him. His opinion was a law to his master. How great soever his haste was, he never was heard in a passionate or imperious tone.

Trade then flourisht mightily in all branches. His master treated him like a partner, permitting him to venture on his own bottoms, whereby he cleared seven or eight hundred pound to himself and this before the tearm of his apprenticeship was expired. There was in the same family, fellow apprentice with him, Mr. Anthony Salvin, a gentleman of good estate, of the city of Durham ‡. But the stress of all business fell to Mr. Barnes. They kept up a friendship and correspondence to old age, and would, when they met, divert themselves with the remembrance of pleasant passages during their being apprentices. Another apprentice run out his time without ever learning his trade. He was Mr. Barnes his bedfellow, and kept such disorderly hours, Mr. Barnes never knew when he came to bed, and Mr. Barnes was so assiduous in his master's business, the other never knew when he got up. He observed that men of large abilities, relying upon their wit, and neglecting application, suffer meaner capacities to go beyond them, which made him industrious.

He was constant at the public worship, nor did the greatest hurries of business hinder him from times of secret retirement to God every day. But from the time of religion first settling deeply in his mind, he used what precaution he could to conceal

* He was son of Henry Jackson of Smelthouse, par. Witton le Wear, co. Durham, yeoman, and was born on St. Thomas's day, 1579. It is stated that many of his near friends and alliances lived in Newcastle in great wealth and prosperity, but his passion for learning baffled the designs of his parents that he should become a merchant there. At the instance of Lord Eure, the owner of Witton Castle, he was sent to Oxford.

† Ambrose Barnes, son of Thomas Barnes, of Startforth, co. York, gent. was apprenticed to William Blackett, merchant adventurer and boothman, of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1 Aug. 1646. On 2 July, 1647, he was set over to Samuel Rawling, merchant adventurer, who was sheriff in 1649, and buried at St. Nicholas 2 July 1656. His wife, Jane, the daughter of Ralph Carr, merchant, remarried, on 28 Oct. following, barely four months after her former husband's death, Sir Ralph Jennison of Newcastle and Elswick. She was buried at St. Nicholas' 30 March 1698.

‡ He heads the pedigree of Salvin of Sunderland Bridge in Surtees' Durham, iv. 120. He was 8th son of Gerard Salvin of Croxdale, and, as to the city of Durham, lived in Elvet. He was buried at Elvet church, 9 June, 1709. He was ancestor of the late Rev. Hugh Salvin, the well-read Vicar of Alston and sometime curate of Gateshead, of whose absence of mind many amusing stories are told.

it, least, after having got a name for piety, he should do some enormous thing, whereby his name might turn to the reproach of his Saviour. But amongst the devout fraternities of young men, and in the esteem of the most eminent saints in the town, he grew to an uncommon reputation.

The Pestilence * had made for some months an horrible devastation in Newcastle. Heaps of dead bodies were every night carried in carts to be buried without the walls, and the town was very much become a solitude. One of the maid-servants, in the family where Mr. Barnes lived, was lying below stairs, sick in bed, the other was, to appearance, in health, waiting at table upon her master. Mr. Barnes informed him of some dangerous symptoms, which the maid, who was sick, begun to have upon her body. The master, perceiving the contagion had reacht his house, arose immediately from dinner, leaving shop, counting-house, 'scritore, debt-books, keyes, and all his effects to the care of Mr. Barnes, and, the same day, took ship at Shields for Hamburgh. That night dyed the maid, who at dinner-time, was waiting at table in perfect health, the next day dyed the other maid, who had been sick before. Mr. Barnes was quickly after infected, and shut up in an empty large house near the Exchange, without any living creature besides himself, but they rapt at the door when they brought him meat, and he himself came and took it in to him. In this hideous lonely manner, he spent severall dayes and nights, but God was with him. A huge tumour rose upon his neck behind, the suppuration whereof, physitions were of opinion, saved his life. He was not in the least intimidated with the view of suddain death.

During the remainder of his apprentiship, he was the best half of his master's wealth, what estate he raised in trade being, under God, owing to the blessing he enjoyed in this young gentleman, who, having received his indentures, went shortly after to Hamburgh, to take his freedom, and learn the course of foreign trade. Whilst at Hamburgh, he observed what a figure England made abroad, what reputation our affairs had acquired, and how solicitous other states were to be in tearms of amity with us. A Lubecker had given an Englishman a slight hurt with a boat-hook, and though the party that received the harm was but an ordinary common seaman, yet upon complaint made to the Counsil, the gates were shut, the militia was presently in arms, and, upon search made, the offender was delivered up to the

* Barnes was apprenticed in 1646 and was free in 1655. The disease was at Newcastle in 1647 and 1651. Of the two visitations that in the former year was the more serious.

Englishman, to take what satisfaction of him he could in reason demand.

I am not sure whether our Author did not pass from Hamburgh to Coningsberg, but in his way home he saw Altinoa the residence of Anna à Schurrmann, that wonder of her sex for all sorts of literature. And having spent what time he intended to stay at Hamburgh, where he received sundry marks of favour from the English envoy, in the dispatch of his business, and taken leave of several considerable burghers, among whome were some of his own name, he returned in safety to Newcastle.

CHAPTER II.

HIS CONCERNMENT IN TRADE.

Our way of traffiquing is, by bartering goods for goods, bargaining for mony, or exchanging mony for mony. Somtimes men buy and sell for part money part time, sometimes for part mony part goods by bill of assignment at such a day, and somtimes only by bill of exchange. The merchants' dollar at Lubec is worth 33 stivers, the Slecht dollar is worth 32 stivers, the mark is 16 stivers, and 5 stivers is sixpence sterlin. A livre or pound, at Amsterdam, is 20 schillings Flemish: 120 stivers makes a pound of grosz, 20 stivers makes a gilder, which commonly is 2*s.* sterlin: 6 stivers is a Flemish shilling, and five stivers is reckoned at sixpence sterlin. The Rixdollar, at Dantzic, is worth 90 grosz, which is worth 4*s.* 6*d.* sterlin: 18 of their pence makes a grosz, and a gilder is worth 30 grozsh.

This was the ballance of trade in the parts where our Author's business lay, and this exchange of mony is of great antiquity and very convenient. London and Amsterdam draw at Hamburgh on the specie rixdollar or so many dollars banco; the course usually about 102 to 105 grosh Polish for one banc dollar. And because the Riksdollar is current mony at Dantzic and Koningsberg at 4*s.* 6*d.* sterlin, the merchants commonly reckon, what they get in exchange above 90 groz Polish for a dollar in banco at Hamburgh, is so much profit and advance by the exchange, according to that moderate gains turn to most profit. But he who lends mony on Bottomry and insures it, whether a ship comes home or be lost, for the most part gains 20 or 23 per cent. if his mony were lent at no more than 30 per cent. By these policies of insurance, the hazard is born by four or five, with mutual consent.

Freightage is an agreement in a Charterparty, executed between the owners and merchant, or the master on the behalf of himself and the owners, or himself, and the merchant, or between them

all. Averidge is a small gratuity for the master's care over the cargo, when he takes tonnage, over and above the freight*.

Some say our coin got the name of sterling mony from the Saxon word *ster*, weighty †, but with more probable reason, it was so called, from the Easterlins ‡ brought into England, in the time of Richard I. For the purest mony was coyned first in the east of Germany, and some of those Easterlings, as they were called, were sent over hither, and imployed in King Richard's mint §.

In the reign of Edward I., in 1296, the ancient company of Merchant Adventurers obtained privilieges of John duke of Brabant, to establish themselves in the city of Antwerp. Our Edward III. observing the great trade in Flanders, by *indraping* the English wools there, when he joyned in league with the Flemins against the French King, did incourage the English merchants in these parts, to deal with clothiers in that nation, to come over into England, and erect their looms and manufactures. Which took such effect, that the said king, by the advice of his parliament, first prohibited the exportation of wool; next, by privilege granted by parliament, invited Clothmakers and cloth-workers into England; and lastly prohibited all importations of forein cloth into this realm. Henry IV. in 1406 taking notice of the services of this company in the rise and increase of the woollen manufacture, and the benefit of the government of the said company, establisht the same grant under the great seal, which, by all his successors, except Edward V., has been confirmed

* "A third species of average is that we are accustomed to meet with in bills of lading, 'paying so much freight for the said goods, with primage or average accustomed.' In this sense it signifies a small duty which merchants who send goods in the ships of other men pay to the master, over and above the freight, for his care and attention to the goods so intrusted to him." (Bac. Abr.)

† Rather *steore, styre*, a rule or standard, something to steer by.

‡ Ruding agrees, and would fix the period between 1086 and 4 Hen. II., when the first instance of the term occurs, arguing that if the derivation had been introduced before the completion of Domesday Book, it is scarcely possible that it should not have appeared in that record, where such various modes of payment are stated. This derivation has the sanction of considerable antiquity. Walter de Pinchbeck, temp. Edw. I. says:—"Moneta Angliæ fertur dicta fuisse a nominibus opificum, ut Floreni a nominibus Florentiorum, ita Sterlingi a nominibus Esterlingorum nomina sua contraxerunt, qui hujusmodi monetam in Anglia primitus componebant."

§ "It has been insinuated that his necessities induced him to corrupt the coins; but there is as little foundation for that assertion as there is for the supposition that he introduced the Easterlings into the mint, to bring the money to perfection, for Sterling is mentioned in a public record of the latter end of the reign of King Henry II." Ruding.

My theory that Richard I. and John continued to coin short-cross pennies with the name of Henricus and so united those coined by Henry II. with those of Henry III., was proved to be well founded when the Eccles find was investigated by Mr. Evans, independently of the circumstances on which I had grounded my opinion. The coins of Richard are inferior in workmanship, but do not seem to be so in quality of metal.

and inlarged. Elizabeth, after her breach with king Philip, impowered this company to treat with the States General of the United Provinces and with the cities and princes of Germanie, for a Staple and residence, as they enjoyed in the Netherlands, which greatly promoted the vent of English Cloth, first at Embden, then at Hamburgh, then at Stoed. And now the company have two marts, one at Dorcht for the Netherlands, the other at Hamburgh for all Germany. Hence, all new draperies being therein comprized, the company is become large and splendid.

To this company was our author bound, and in this trade was he concerned. This Eastland Company was incorporated 21 Elizabeth, in 1579*, and has been since confirmed by ample privilieges and a large scope to traffique in, under the kings of Poland, Prussia, Denmark, from the Oder eastward, and in Finland within the Soundt. Our Author in his apprentiship soon grew expert in negotiating bills of exchange according to the par, that is vallue for vallue. He perfectly well understood the customs, imports, and duties upon goods according to the book of rates. Dealing in the woollen manufacture, they made every year vast returns in silks, kersie stockins, chamlets, dimities, gold and silver lace, scarlet and broad cloth. He was well acquainted with goods prohibited, restrictions of goods, imported or exported, rules of freightage, averidge, insurance, and the entries of the Custom house. The port of Hull was not then much used, which increast the trade of Newcastle, and they shipt yearly a vast number of bales of cloth, allowing ten per cent. in prompt payment, which yet they seldom needed. What he confined himself to before he died, was the vending of lead, for he seldom meddled with potter oar or litteridge. Our trade with France was prohibited in the time of the late confederate war, nor would he, as some did, to the great increase of their estates, enter into contract with French merchants, contrary to law, but without sending his oar to the Smelt-Miln, contented himself with selling it washt from the Chiver. It was the Estland trade he applyed himself to in his younger dayes. There be heaps of martly letters written to him from Dantzic, Staden, Hamburgh, Vindow, Amsterdam, Ostend, containing an account of what goods were in demand. The following letter [was] writ to him 20 Febr. from Hamburgh by way of Antwerp, 1661.

"Honoured Sir, I know not in what bottoms to account ourselves safe; the Dane has in effect declared against us, and the Swede not to be trusted. I had rather, as things stand, have my goods lie in England, than sent for the Sound,

* See Brand's Newcastle, ii. 229. The merchants of Newcastle had the privilege of taking up the freedom of this new society.

and it may be more comfortable, if, for a while, we spend our estates ourselves, than let enemies eat them up, who now increase every day. Skipper Jacob Xenalde is ready, but has been kept in by some Holland men-of-war, that have for eight or ten dayes lain off at sea. Mr. Jan Wanhier, not knowing their intentions, was cautious of adventring him. But the men-of-war being now gone, when the wind presents you may expect Ditto Xenalde. Please to direct to him at Sr. Jan Wanhier's house in Oostend. There is an averidge* in Lanerich Teeman for an anchor and cable lost under Heligelandt, which troubles me not a little. The thirty last of rye are delivered, and the mony received at Lubec. Your ship the Concord is arrived with nine bales of cloth specifyed in the invoice. Fifteen chalder of grind-stones and coles have been laid up in the Duke of Courlands spiker. The Duke will shortly be at VVindow, and agree for the rest with Mr. Fell your agent. But the post has not past this long time, because the Duke's soldiers have been passing there to and again, and have committed great disorders in the country. There is something of Hedges his estate in the company's hand, but not all yet reduced to mony, the dividend I doubt will be but small. I have agreed for bringing the rye to you and Mr. Hutchinson with primage and average accustomed, to pay duties at Dantsig and in the Sound of Denmark, the master of the ship, with her apparell, tackle, munition and fraught, being bound to it, and he, as usual, subscribes two bills of lading, whereof, the one being accomplished, the other to stand void. I have sent you a runlet of mead, and please also to take notice, I could get but Danish Gelt for the — [sic] and have received your letter with the bill for 300 pound, payable to Mr. T. Cutler. The fleet, I hear, is getting ready, and, 'tis hoped, will be an hundred sail. "Tis said the Swede promiseth, at last, to be faithfull to England, and will fall upon the Dane. The Dane desires the French to excuse him as being unable to assist him, having many enemies at home. I have remitted 1600 rixdollars in specie, not onely sound, but such choice pickt mony, I could have had 3*s.* 6*d.* per cent. for them. The *sickness,* blessed be God, is not great, the number last week was but twenty-three, as I read. I fear you will find some of the tarr dammaged among the coles. I am sorry for the loss of the rye, it was all over the Bash, a story I care not to be the teller of, you will hear it of others. The God of love and peace bless, preserve, and keep you and yours from the contagion of these evil times. I am, your affectionat friend and servant, Pet. Watson."

For those who, merely by frowns of providence, were become

* Average is here used in its ordinary sense, a contribution towards losses.

bankrupt, he was instrumental to procure a favourable composition. Which was the case of a dear good man who wrote piteously to him, May 5, 1667. "If you will write me a few words under covert of Mr. W. it will be an addition of favour.—I bless the Lord, though there be trouble without, there is peace within.—I take notice of W. B.'s impudence, it had been better I had taken notice of his villainy sooner.—If I knew but as well how to get my mony as to prove my debt against him, it would be easy work. I do give you, Mr. Alderman, many thanks for that kindness you express to me, in resolving to consign some goods to me by a licensed ship, which you expect to fetch prisoners. Mr. Thomas Gerhard, I thank him, does me great kindness in that kind. This day I met with a friend Colonel Owen [*in margine*, this was Dr. John Owen's brother,] with whom I have formerly had considerable dealings, though no acquaintance till now. He tells me he has some mony lying in a friend's hand in Newcastle, which he will order to be laid out in lead, and consign it to me, that is, to Mr. Gerhard for my benefit. As to Mr. Johnson, I never refused to declare myself bound in conscience to make him and all men full payment, if God hereafter inable me to do it: but the question was never put to me by him, therefore my refusal cannot justly be alledged against me. Sir, I did declare in the open congregation of those servants of God, before whom I walk, that if God should inable me, it was, and is, my full purpose to pay every man;—But for me to be too open in my promises to worldly and carnal men, were to put a weapon in their hands, to wound me with at pleasure. And sure I am this is not the way for me to thrive and come forward in the world, whilst I am kept from all business and imployment, and have the charge of a wife and five children. I hope to do Mr. Johnson some acceptable service here shortly, and forbear writing in hopes, when that is effected, I may have opportunity to write to better purpose, and shall send it open for your perusal."

Nor could any merchant have more consideration upon men fal'n low in the world, if they appeared to be honest, than he, even where their compositions proved considerably to his loss. 29 Decemb. 1663. "Sr. I was fain to give Langerke 2*s.* per cent. commission for getting in the mony from Hinkeldey, and got but Danish Gelt at last. Hedges continues still at Altinoa and offers 1*l.* 5*s.* in the hundred ready mony and another 1*l.* 5*s.* in a twelve month, but performs nothing, and unless the creditors would agree to take up his Geleidt, one man can do nothing. The gentlemen came to no unanimous resolution, and what one man recovers, the rest will all share in."

Somtimes he was helpful in relieving poor strangers. I shall

translate the following letter [from the latin]. "To the worshipfull and much respected Mr. Ambrose Barnes, merchant and alderman of Newcastle upon Tyne. Honoured Sir, The writer of these lines is a poor schollar, born at Antwerp of Dutch parents, trained up in the university, and laureated in Scotland: who, through necessity intending to venture upon the world and come into public, am unhappily fallen sick among strangers, and detained from my own country by the poverty of my circumstances. I therefore, Sir, intreat you, according to your innate goodness and that humanity towards all men wherein you excell, to please to assist me, to get passage by sea from this port to my own coast. Your favour in this shall never be forgot nor unrequited by me, if I have but oportunity. Meantime begging your pardon for this trouble, and wishing you all happiness, I rest, Sir, Your most humble servant, Adrian Schotter. 25 Apr. S. N. 1662 *.

A famous minister, having removed beyond sea, he was a patron and a Mæcenas to him, in the place he was gone to, and was solicitous for a comfortable settlement of him in it. "I parted with Mr. H.† at Blankennaize. We got a vote passed, that Dr. Elborough should let him have his pulpit part of the Lord's dayes. For though as a Court, cognizanse could not be taken of him, yet several are well affected towards him, and though the liberty be precarious, I hope he will not want a subsistence, but that the number of his benefactors will increase."

A friend of his was gone to America to begin a plantation in Guyana near Surinam, in order to spread the Gospel among the heathen. What was necessary to support the first essay of it, by the application made to him from the undertaker, it seems by what follows he had ingaged to furnish. "Comaween, 29 Octob. 1662.—My family, through mercy, among whom are some servants who came from the North, are all well. But I perceive if you intended a carpenter for me, it was otherwise designed by others, and I would be loth to be either as the buyer or the seller, who have got him away from me. If you could now procure for me, either a carpenter, topsawyer, smith, cooper, weavor or potter, though for few years, and to have yearly wages besides passage, or for a reward at the end of the term, you would do me a singular kindness. If you have such an oportunity, make the indentures to yourself and your assignee, and then assign it over to me, the mony will be answered by my wife. I have written largely of

* Poor scholars were abundant in this century. In 1630 the churchwardens of Darlington gave 2*s.* 6*d.* to "Mr. Goodwine a distressed schooler," perhaps the "poure scholler, being a churchman, and wanting means to travell withall" relieved with a groat at Chester le Street the same year.

† Can this be Samuel Hammond of Newcastle?

the country and its hopes, to Mr. Hay's at the Katherine Wheel in Gracious-Street, and directions to my wife, of whome you may learn, at the Sun in Lothbury, London. In short, I would say, that having many English servants is not good; but some negros, cattle, and Indian trade will bring an ordinary English estate, to a comfortable subsistence and use in these parts. The people are more peaceable than in Florida and other parts of the North, so is also their language more smooth, sooner learnt, and of more extent, one tongue carrying near a thousand miles. My dear love to all that love me and the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ. To him I commit you, and rest your affectionate, &c. J. O."

Thus was our author every where imployed for God, whose count-book he kept as carefully as his own, and wherein, on one side of it, he alwayes wrote himself Debtor et per contra Creditor.

But turbulent times suffered him not to carry on the East-land trade very long. For which reason, I shall take leave to borrow what an ingenious observing travailer sais, concerning the mischievous influence, which the usurpation and tyrannie of the clergy never fails to have upon trade, persecution being the cause which put a stop to this gentleman's concernment in it. At Rome there is no way to imploy ones mony to any considerable advantage. Landed men lose all the profit of their ground by the preemption of corn. The public banks are all in the pope's hand, which in effect pay but 3, though they pretend 4, per cent. Yet actions on the pope's bank were* bought at 16 the hundred, till he broke through this, and declared he would pay in all men their mony, unless they gave him 30 per cent. for continuing this interest. So that for 100 crowns principal, one paid at first 116, afterwards 30, in all 146 for the hundred, which is almost the half lost; for all the rest is lost, whenever he pays them back their mony†. And this is but agreable to the state of the rest of the pope's secular jurisdiction, where the fertil soil of Ferrara and the vast rich champaign of Rome, is in a manner desolate; confiscations, heavy taxes, and the severity of the government, having dispeopled his territories, his nephews devouring many families and driving away more.

To which we may add, that the greatest trade of Italie, having been formerly in silk, the vast importation of it, which the East India Companies bring into Europe, hath quite ruined those who deal in this manifacture. Genoa, on the contrary, that scarce has

* "See Sr. W. Temple, Observ. Netherlands, and Sr. Walt. Raleigh, Of Trade with Holland."

† With reference to this strange state of things the article on Lending and Pawnbroking in Beckman's History of Inventions may be read, as to their early progress in Italy.

any soil, and where the sea affords few fish, yet the mildness of the government makes it so populous and full of wealth, that mony goes at 2 per cent.

If, from Italie, we stride as wide as Nimeguen, by its scituation and its liberties, it draws so much trade to it, that though it be under the command of a citadel, there is more appearance of wealth in it, than in any town in France. However, it be not usuall for places to continue long in a flourishing condition, where numerous garisons are kept. Popish religion creates an unaptness for trade. Whereas, among the reformed, who purposely discourage idleness, the greater their zeal is, the greater is their disposition to industry and business, which in most places is made good by experience. No city in Spain or Italie can boast of any great trade driven by the natives, the greatest part of their commerce being carryed on by protestant strangers, Amsterdam, alone, having more trade than all the sea-towns of Italie and Spain put together. But in Germany, even in those cities, as at Cologn, where they are papists, without tolleration to any other, the reformed may be said to carry all the trade. In other towns where they are Lutherans, with a public toleration to papists, which is denyed to Calvinists, there the reformed carry the trade clearly, both from Lutherans and papists, the latter having little, as at Francfort upon the Mhain. In other places, where the cities are half papists, half Lutherans, without toleration to any other, as at Augsburg, there the latter have the trade. This made the reformed flourish in France, both in number and wealth, where, by reason of the industry of their traders, there were no beggers found among them, though they were computed to exceed three or four millions of souls; whereas the multitudes of popish beggers was such, that in the compass of two English miles and an half, from Rouen to the English church, it would cost a louis d'or or 17*s*. English, to give every begger no more than a double which is scarce the sixth part of a penny.

Germany is accomodated with the navigable rivers of the Weiser, the Rhine and the Elb, which fall into the Northern Seas, accomodated with good ports and havens upon the Baltic. But the multitude of sovereignties obstructs the trade, by the many tolls laid upon merchandice that pass by land or water, there being little incouragement, but in the free imperial cities, whose rights and liberties it is their interest to maintain. For conquest and despotic power obstructs trade, which evermore decays as fredom does. Thus Magdeburg and Munster are miserably poor, in comparison of what they were under liberty. And the Elector of Hanover, now King of England, from a sense of the benefit of trade in his hereditary countries, is designing to

improve Staden, since he became master of the Dutchy of Bremen. The want of fredom in the government makes Poland fall short of Germany in wealth and trade. Had France succeded in the universal design they have been long carrying on, they would be obliged, for securing their acquisitions in Holland, to wave their principles for arbitrary government, considering the maritim towns of Holland, Zeland and Friezland, are in danger of being swallowed up by the sea, without trade to defray the charge of maintaining their banks against it. So that they must rely upon citadels for keeping them in dependence, as the best way to serve themselves of them, depriving them of all liberty being sure to ruin their trade and disperse the inhabitants to Embden, Bremen, Hamburgh, Lubec and Dantzic, where they can have it, the four first being imperial free cities, and the latter the same under Poland. A government that must be maintained by the sword, and the idle calling and rude manners of soldiers, will alwayes cause traders to exchange bondage for liberty, or at least, in hopes of better entertainment, one country for another, as the subversion of the Florentine government did there, and as they were preparing to do in Holland, when they were jealous of the Prince of Orange.

For a merchant, as Basil Zeleucus calls him, is a client of the sea, and our author, in the management of the government of Newcastle, with respect to trade, would somtimes speak to this purpose, in the meetings of the Merchants Company, where his discourses were alwayes heard with great attention.

All countries of commerce have still held it their interest to keep their great trading towns free from a mercenary militia, of which the late French king * was an instance so far as the nature of his arbitrary government would admit. As to the rest, Denmark, having convenient ports, might improve in trade, by exporting their natural commodities of hides, tallow, stockfish, cordage, masts, deals, pitch, tarr, wainscot, and buckskins, if their gentries, undervalluing it, and the jealousy between the king and his nobles about dominion, did not hinder it. Which also may be said of Sweden, which produceth iron, copper, steel, hony, wax, hides, and tallow, with many other commodities usefull for all countries, which would make them find their own interest this way in trade, if, after the mode of the northern countries, they did not lie under the same foolish conceit, that trade is below a gentleman, and that their military officers affect state above their revenues; an habit which they have learnt by their warrs, which makes their king †, since his becoming absolute, burden trade

* Louis XIV. † Charles XII.

with such excessive customs and impositions, that his barbarous manner of government has utterly ruined his country.

It is the interest of the empire, to keep the Baltic divided as it now is, without the Emperour or the Xzar of Muscovy their ingrossing it, especially the latter, who is an active ambitious tyrant *, and suddainly improved in naval and military power. Of this, in reference to their navigation and commerce, it concerns England and Holland to hold the ballance between the Northern crowns, neither of their ships being safe, longer than the sea remains divided among several princes and states, whose general interest it can never be to deny them necessaries, which might happen, if the Baltic were in the sole power of one Sovereign. This is the opinion of our best writers, upon the subject, and is agreable to that rule the Dutch acted by, some part of the time this gentleman imployed himself in the East Country business. In 1643, when the Dane had like to have run down the Swede, and in 1658, they still assisted the weaker side. So should they act now with Denmark and Sweeden in reference to the Xzar of Muscovy, by which means, all the three will be kept within tollerable limits.

And this, questionless, is the truth of the case, as to this branch of the English forein trade, which, as well as that to the streights, our author was apprehensive, we should grow indisposed unto, by the many state-lotteries invented of late years, together with the pernicious practices of brokers and stockjobbers, which would find men a new way to imploy their mony, to the neglect of trade, which would bring a terrible shake to public credit some time or other.

* The active ambitious tyrant was Peter the Great, 1685—1725.

The following passage, from an old geographical work of the time of Charles I., may be interesting:—"The countries of Russia or Muscovia, are very large. All the cities, towns, castles, villages, woods, fields, lakes, and rivers, thereof are under the command and government of one Prince, whom the inhabitants do call the great Czar, that is, King or Emperor, and all the revenues that arise from them, are brought into the Prince's exchequer. There are no Dukes or Counts which can possess any thing by a tenure of freehold, or can passe the same unto their heires. Hee doth bestow some villages and tounes upon some, but yet hee useth the labour of the husbandman, and when hee list taketh them away againe. So that hee hath absolute command over his subjects, and againe his subjects honour and reverence him as a God, and do show obedience to him in all things without any refusall. They make matrimoniall contracts, and do permit bigamie, but they scarcely suppose it to be lawfull marriage. They do not call it adulterie, unlesse one take and keep another man's wife. They are a craftie and deceitfull nation, and delighting more in servitude than libertie. For all do profess themselves to be the Duke's servants."

CHAPTER III.

HIS MARRIAGE AND FAMILY.

An overture had been made to our Author, in reference to his master's sister, whilst as yet he had served but seven years of his apprentiship; but he thought it not convenient to close with that offer, resolving to serve out his time*, ten years being the full term required of merchant adventurers. There is a peculiar direction of Providence attends good men in their change from a single life. He was in no haste to take this new turn till his judgment was satisfyed in the main inducements of discretion, piety, and agreableness. Nor was it difficult for so taking a person as he, among many gentlewomen of good education and merit, to be favourably entertained.

The party whome He, who sets the solitary in families, had designed to make happy in him, was Mary, third† [second *erased*] daughter of Mr. Thomas Butler ‡, merchant of Newcastle. Her mother was Elizabeth [*lege* Mary] Clavering [of the house *erased*] of Caliley §. We shall pass the collateral line of this

* This he does not seem to have done. He was apprenticed 1 Aug. 1646, was free of the Company of Merchant Adventurers 19 Jan. 1654 (Sharp's MSS.), and married 12 June, 1655.

† The correction is right. The family of which she was a member, consisted of

Sons . { 1. James, bap. 22 July 1622. 2. Gregory, bap. 18 Dec. 1625. 3. Thomas.

Daughters { 1. Jane, bap. 26 Mar. 1621. 2. Grace, bap. 31 May 1631. 3. Mary, bap. 26 Nov. 1632.

‡ Sixth son of Gregory Butler of Old Acres, co. Dm., baptized 14 Feb. 1591-2. His will, dated 24 May, 1643, was proved 10 May 1645.

§ Her name was *Mary*. She was baptized at St. Nicholas', Newcastle, 30 Oct. 1597, and was married there to Butler, 1 Sep. 1618. She was youngest daughter of James Clavering, mayor of Newcastle in 1607, 1618, who died in 1630, by Grace

genealogie, as affording us no materialls to write of, whatever wealth they might have to boast of, not willing to offend any, by branding them like Mica's priest, who, for his degeneracy *, is stiled in the sacred Register, the son of idolatrous Mannasseh and not of Moses, whose reall grandson he was. (Judg. 18. 30. מנשה with the *nun* lift up, instead of משה †) The name of Moses was not to be disgraced by such a profligate creature. The original of the Claverings, as Camden informs us, was in Henry II.'s time, who gave Clavering in Essex, which formerly belonged to the Piersies ‡, to the son of Roger Fitz Richard. Whereupon, leaving the old fashion of framing sirnames out of the Christian names of their father, at the command of Edward I. they took the name of Clavering.

Mrs. Elizabeth [*lege* Mary] Clavering the wife of Mr. Butler

daughter and coheir of Roger Nicholson, a merchant of Newcastle. Her mother died in 1605. Her father, who originated the line of Clavering of Axwell and Greencroft, was a younger son of Robert Clavering of Calleley, who died in 1583.

* Mrs. Butler's cousin Sir John Clavering of Calleley, died a prisoner for his loyalty to Charles I. His issue continued the line at Calleley, as "papists and malignants."

† This very curious passage occurs thus in the authorized version:—"And the children of Dan set up the graven image; and Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh, he and his sons were priests to the tribe of Dan until the day of the captivity of the land." A modern annotator remarks that "this may refer either to the subjugation of the Israelites by Jabin, or to some other servitude in the time of the Judges. At Dan, in later times, Jeroboam set up one of his golden calves; probably induced to do so in part by the previous idolatrous habits of the people. Many critics suppose that, instead of Manasseh, the true reading here is Moses, and, indeed, some of the Jews acknowledge that the single letter which makes the difference in the Hebrew has been interpolated in order to save the credit of the family of their great lawgiver. The alteration, however, is not sanctioned by any ancient authority, except the Vulgate." Our biographer seems to date the passage after the time of King Manasseh. But does it follow that Gershom was Gershon the son of Moses? "And these are the sons of Gershon by their families; Libni, and Shimei." (Numbers, iii. 18.) Cf. two or three registers of the Levites in 1 Chron. vi. 16, 17, 20, 21, 43. The tribe of Dan is not mentioned among the cities of the Levites in that chapter, but by Joshua, xxi. it appears that it contributed four cities to the children of Kohath, and none to those of Gershon.

‡ Sir James Clavering, who read Dugdale's Baronage on Sunday, would have been more trustworthy on this subject. Eustace Fitz-John, who married the heiress of Vesci of Alnwick, in no way connected with the Percies, its later owners, had a grandson Roger Fitz-Richard to whom Henry II. gave Warkworth in Northumberland, and Clavering in Essex. His descendant John Fitz-Robert was summoned to Parliament from 28 Edw. I. to 25 Edw. III. under the name of Clavering, by appointment of the former king, as it is said, he disliking the iteration of Fitz. However this may be, in return for an increase of manors for life estate he settled the reversion of his original inheritance on Edward I. and his heirs. Edward III. granted Warkworth to Henry de Perci, and Clavering to Edmund Clavering brother of John for life, with remainder to Ralph Nevill and his heirs, "whereby the younger branches of this antient family, the chief whereof is still in being at Calnley in Northumberland, were bereft of that fair inheritance which otherwise had descended to them."

and mother of Mrs. Barnes, was the onely surviving aunt of Sir James Clavering, Bart., of Axwells in the county of Durham. [Mr. Barnes would pleasantly tell, yet with a mournful sort of pity, how speaking one day seriously and closely to Sir J'ames' C'lavering' concerning a life to come, and what a call old age is, to prepare for it. "Ay, cousin Barnes," sais Sir J. "you say true. I hope I shall be saved, for I never make visits on Sundayes, but keep within doors, and read *Dugdale's Baronage of England**."] Her husband Butler had a younger brother †, whose son ‡ happening to be Sherif of Newcastle that year when King Charles I. was brought prisoner out of Scotland, it fell to his lot, to have the king in his custody, during his confinement there §. [*In margine eadem manu.* A mistake in the time. For,

* From chapter viii. Sir James Clavering was buried at Whichham 24 Mar. 1701-2, aged 82.

† John Butler, merchant, Newcastle. He was *elder* brother, and died in 1643.

‡ John Butler, also a merchant at Newcastle, baptized 1619, living in 1666, has been supposed to be meant, and he certainly was not sheriff in 1645-6. But the son *in law* of the elder John Butler, Christopher Nicholson, who married his daughter Jane, *was* sheriff at that time. He died in 1670, aged 68, and his monument occurs among those in St. Nicholas' church, with the arms Ermine, on a pale three martlets, and a lion sejant for crest. It does not follow that the tradition of the king's lodging at the noble house of Sir Walter Blackett (destroyed in making Grey Street) is unfounded.

§ 1646. May 5: Charles I., Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham joined the Scots army. May 13: The King entered Newcastle, without any solemnity, (Whitelocke) a lane of musquets and pikes being by order from Sir James Lumsdale, the governor, made from Gateshead all along the streets to General Leven's quarters, where his Majesty took up his lodging. (Rushworth.) The ceremony due to him as King was not suffered to be paid him at his entry. (Burnet.) He was caressed with bonfires and ringing of bells, drums and trumpets, and peals of ordnance, but guarded by 300 of the Scottish horse, those near him bareheaded. (Bourne.) Leven proclaimed that papists or delinquents should not come near his person, and that although his Majesty was present, yet all men should obey the ordinance of parliament. (Ibid.) A little after his coming a boldly preaching Scotch minister after sermon called for Ps. 52. The King called for Ps. 56. The people sang the latter. (Whitelocke.) May 23: Parliamentary order to fetch Hudson and Ashburnham to London, for conveying the King to the Scots. They escaped the messenger. May 29: Charles's controversy with Alexander Henderson, sent to convince him to the Covenant, commences. His Majesty's first paper. June 2: Letter to the Prince of Wales. June 10: Charles's letter to the Speaker, desiring propositions of peace, and an arrangement for his presence in London, proposing the disbanding of all extraordinary forces and garrisons, and enclosing an order to that effect on his side. June 11: His letter to Ormond not to proceed in any treaty with the Irish rebels. (Eikon Basilike.) July 7: Parliamentary commissioners ordered to repair to Newcastle and return in ten days after their arrival there. (Com. Jour.) July 14: Charles answered a letter of May 14 from Thos. Bushell asking permission to surrender the useless isle of Lundy to Lord Say its owner, the committee of both kingdoms having promised their assistance in restoring to him his silver mines in the discovery of which in Devonshire and in the royal service he had exhausted his means, but stating that he would keep it to his life if necessary. The King commended his fidelity and gave the leave desired, "with this caution, that you do take example from ourselves, and be not over credulous of vain promises, which hath made us great only in our sufferings and will not discharge

according to the Town Book, Mr. Butler was not Sherif til the year 1652.] Some, from the disappointments and reduction of

your debts." The island was not delivered till 24 Feb. 1647, after the garrison had been reduced to eat horseflesh. Bushell surrendered on honourable terms, employed his garrison on his mines in Wales and commanded respect. (Fairfax Corr.) July 16: the King's last letter to Henderson, who went home, discomforted. (Eikon Bas., Sanderson.) July 17: "Duke Hamilton was the first that told his Majesty of the result of a conference betweeu the Scotch commissioners and a committee of the English parliament, who arriving at Newcastle July 17, 1646, did presently kiss the King's hand, at which instant of time, the day having till then been fair and pleasant, there began a terrible thunder, with lightning and rain, which continued extraordinary all the night." (Guthrie.) "When he had just kissed the King's hand, his Majesty and he blushed at once, and as the Duke was retiring back, with a little confusion, into the crowd that was in the room, the King asked if he was afraid to come near him, upon which he came to the King, and they entered into a large conversation together." (Burnet.) July 24: "Came the Marquis of Argile, and, as he kissed the King's hand, just the like thunder, lightning and rain, as had been the other day, began and continued all the night also." (Guthrie.) July 24: The Commissioners the day after their arrival presented their propositions. (Herbert.) The King moved them to divide the articles. They replied *all or none.* (Guthrie.) Aug. 1: The King's written reply, the Commissioners having no discretionary powers, again proposing to treat in London. (Eikon Basilike.) The King gave them his hand to kiss and dismissed them with a friendly aspect. (Herbert.) Aug. 10: They reached London. The Newcastle Corporation had paid 34*l.* for wine as a present to them. Nov. 4: Lanthorns to be hung out in every ward in Newcastle. A common lanthorn to be provided for each ward. The lanthorns to be lighted at 6 o'clock and to burn until the captain goes. Nov. 4, 30: Coals for his Majesty, the General, and the Governor to be provided out of Sir Thomas Riddle's pit in Gateshead, the Corporation being at half the cost. (Corpn. Books.) Dec. 6: Hugh Brown, "the King's kouchman," buried in St. Andrew's church, lending colour to the tradition that Charles resided in the mansion in that parish which afterwards belouged to Sir Walter Blackett, who there showed the King's bedchamber and his antique bed therein. (Brand's MSS.) Dec. 8: The Commons settled the terms with the Scots. (Com. Journ.) Dec. 10: The King repeated his proposal. (Eikon Bas.) Dec. 17: Lord Lanerick wrote from Edinburgh to Charles, in relation to the miscarriages in Scotland, begging "that what your Majesty intends to do be quickly done, for our resolutions here will be sudden and sharp." Charles, on receiving the ill tidings, took no notice, but continued in a game of chess as cheerful as before. (Burnet.) Circa Dec. 24: A Dutch captain, who stayed at the sign of the Peacock at Newcastle received 100*l.* to convey the King out of Shields harbour. Circa Dec. 25: His Majesty sat up late, expecting the vessel to have been ready for sailing, but the wind proved unfair. (Desid. Cur.) Mr. Murray had provided a vessel by Tinmouth and Sir Robert Murray was to have conveyed the King in disguise. Charles disguised himself and went down the back stairs with Sir Robert, but apprehending it was scarce possible to pass all the guards without discovery, went back. (Burnet, on inf. of Sir Robert.) The Dutch captain was examined before the Mayor. The next attempt was by Hartlepool, but a letter from Murray to the Governor of that port having been disclosed by the messenger to the Mayor of NC., he sent Ald. Bonner and Mr. George Dawson to acquaint Leven. (Desid. Cur.) The local tradition was that Charles fled from the house by Lorkburn, which now is covered by the roadways of Grey Street, Dean Street, and the Side, and was apprehended where a grate was afterwards existing in the middle of the Side. (Brand.) The plot, some way or other, was divulged before the set time and talked of in the army. (Guthrie.) A guard was now stationed at the King's chamber door, both within and without, by which he was deprived of exercise, quiet, and enjoyment, and exposed to their smoking. (Bourne.) 1646-7. Jan. 23: The Commissioners reached Newcastle,

this good family, have made bold with Providence, as if it were a judgment for their ill usage of that unfortunate king: whereas he was no where treated with more honour than at Newcastle, as himself confest, both he and his train having liberty every day to go abroad and play at goff in the Shiel Field without the walls, till a design for his escape was discovered, which occasioned stricter orders to be sent down concerning his person. And this being the office of Sheriff Butler alone *, wherein none else of his family was concerned, those judgments which some rash zealots are apt to fancy, were most likely to fall upon *his* family, rather than *another*. But the worst disaster that I ever knew befell his posterity was, that this gentleman left a daughter, a sober and religious woman, who married Mr. John Rawlet, a conformist minister, a devout and laborious lecturer at St. Nicholas Church †. They had been somtime in love together; but he falling sick, he, at her request, that she might bear his name, married her upon his deathbead, and left her both a maid, a wife, and a widow. And this surely was no judgment.

Mrs. Butler had also a sister ‡ married to Roger Liddle Esq. of

their presence and business appeared acceptable to the King, and on Feb. 3 he went with them from the north. On Jan. 28, when he was delivered by the Scots to the English Commissioners, he had dispatched a letter to his Queen. In 1647 Major Bosevile was examined about having carried it into France (Lords' Journ.), though in 1660 Sir Anthony Jackson claimed the honour. (Cal. State Papers.) Possibly there were two letters. On Feb. 1: the King had also slipped a paper into the hand of Mr. Mungo Murray, formerly his servant, but never in arms, who was permitted to take his leave of him in the presence chamber. The action was observed, and Murray supposed to have been surprised by the King, as, on examination, he readily suffered the letter to be taken out of his pocket. It contained some lines all in cypher, and was directed to be delivered to the French agent. The King arrived at Durham at two o'clock, and proceeded to Auckland on the 4th, the Commissioners avoiding travelling in the evenings, for obvious reasons. (Lords' Journals.)

* Butler, as has been seen, had nothing to do with the shrievalty of 1645-6. His tomb, in Brand's time, was near Bewick's porch. "The burial place of John Butler, merchant-adventurer, and sometimes sheriffe of this towne, and his wives Ann and Isabel, and their children. He departed January 12th, 1695-6. Ann his wife, 14th June, 1655." By his first wife, Anne, daughter of Thomas Nicholson of Hartlepool, he had issue, John, bap. 1644, liv. 1666; Thomas, bap. 1646, d. inf., Jane, bap. 1647, Anne, bap. 1650, and Mary, bap. 1654, bur. 1656. By his second wife, Isabel, dau. of Geo. Milburn of East Chirton, he had issue, George, bap. 1659-60, d. inf.; William, bap. 1660-1, aged 5, 1666; Ralph, bap. 1664, aged 1, 1666; and Catherine, bap. 1665-6.

† John Rawlett was lecturer from 1679 at 90*l.*, and from 1682, at 120*l.* per annum. He died Sep. 28, 1686, aged 44 years. Granger mentions a print of him. Gyll, in his Bourne, writes "There is an original picture as I take it, of this Mr. Rawlett, in the parsonage house at Lanchester in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Patrick, drawn by Sir Peter Lely."

‡ Grace Clavering, older than Mrs. Butler, being born in 1592. She married, in 1614, Roger Liddell, a man of the same age as herself. He was a merchant of Newcastle, and afterwards a gentleman of Darwencrook co. Durham. He had numerous issue. His wife died in 1642 and was buried at Lamesley. His father Thomas Liddell, the purchaser of Ravenshelm and Lamesley, left an estate to each

Fairnakers, near Ravens*worth* [helm *erased* *] Castle in Bishoprick, and I think of that family.

Mrs. Butler was a gentlewoman of strong parts and great knowledge in divine things: but of so stern and harsh a temper, they used to say of her, what has been said of other, she had as much grace as would serve half-a-dozen saints, but not half enough for herself. Being left a widow by her husband Butler, she married that holy, humble, and truly reverend Mr. Elkana Wales † of fragrant memory, the author of a plain and choice treatise concerning our redemption by Christ ‡. His mildness made the raggedness and severity of her society more easy to him than it would have been to many. We shall in Book iii. [part 1], Chap. 1, Sect. 9 hint somewhat further about her §. He was a man of such mortifyed passions, so dead to the world, so honoured in the seals which God gave to his ministry and so dear to all good people in those parts of Yorkshire where he fulfilled his ministry, that no pressing instances from other places, nor the greater benefices the Lord Fairfax was ready to force upon him, could prevail to remove him from his little Chappel [parish *erased*] of Pudsey. This man of God was physition, I may say an Angel to her soul. As the pomcitrons yield fruits of various growths, some ripe ready for falling off, others at the same time budding forth: such a fruitful tree was Mrs. Wales in the shadow of her husband. Yet at her death, she laboured under sore darkness, which intercepted the light of God's countenance, whereas the wicked have no bands in their death. Now, with King Hezekiah, she mourned like a crane or a swallow. (Some have compared the cry of cranes to that of mermaids, but their cry is lower by night, and the idol of Egypt was called Isis, from *sis* a swallow, whose tone by night is not unlike the chirping of a crane.) She

of his three sons; the two manors just mentioned to his eldest, Thomas; Farnacres to his second, Henry; and Darncrook to Roger. Farnacres and Darncrook have been bought up by the descendants of the eldest son.

* The text was right as it stood. It was the "Castle of Ravenshelm" that was purchased by Liddell. Ravensworth is the destroyed village near. Ravensworth Castle is a comparatively modern appellation, just as the term of Lambton Castle is applied to a seat in the old manor of Harraton. Two towers of Early English work perpetuate the memory of the earlier owners of Ravenshelm. At the Newcastle Congress of the Archæological Institute I heard a very absurd insinuation that they might be Saxon!

† This marriage was unknown to Surtees, and should be added to his pedigrees of Clavering and Butler.

‡ Elikia Walles preacher of Gods word and Mrs. Mary Butler widow were married 3 Sep. 1661 by Mr. Richard Stote preacher of God's word in presence of Thomas Butler and George Chatar clerk. *St. John's Register.*

§ This however will follow in the text. I retain this minute reference as showing that there was a draft of the whole work, and that what we possess is a fair copy.

sentenced herself for an hypocrite, and thought herself lost for ever. There was nothing in her distemper to bring convulsions, yet such was the agony of her soul, it brought a trembling upon her dying body, and the bed whereon she lay was seen to quaver with a tremulous shaking, as if the wind had moved it, nor did this amazing eclipse go off, until she had lost the use of speech. But then, being by son-in-law Mr. Barnes requested to give some sign if she had recovered any more sense of God's favour, when those about her supposed she had not strength to stir a finger, she suddainly lift up her right arm and waved her hand about after the manner of a triumph, and then immediately expired. If the righteous be scarcely saved, saved by fire or saved with difficulty, if they be carried to Heaven through the very suburbs of Hell, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?

This gentlewoman was allyed to Dr. Nicholson of York *, brother to Mrs. Carr, whose son William was a long time alderman and burgess in parliament for Newcastle. She was likewise by marriage akin to George Ritschel of Deutschana, a Bohemian protestant, whose son George by his wife Gertrude educated at Strasburg, sold his estate to his younger brother, when Ferdinand drove the Protestants out of his dominions. He † came first to England, then to the Hague, then to Leyden, then to Amsterdam. Afterwards he went into Denmark and Poland, whence coming

* Her mother, as we have seen, was a daughter and coheir of Roger Nicholson of Newcastle, merchant. William Carr was M.P. for Newcastle in 1689 1 W. & M., 7 W. III., 10 W. III., 12 W. III., 1702, 1705, 1708. On the last occasion William Carr, who was elected with Baronet Liddell, beat him on a poll for priority. In 1710, William Carr, Esq. alderman, was rejected. The name of Carr disappears until 1722, when William, son of Joseph Carr, Esq. was at the head of the poll. In 1727 he was at the bottom; but, after Sir Wm. Blackett's death in 1728, his petition of 1727 was heard, and, having disqualified above 600 of Sir William's voters for bribery, he was declared elected. In 1734, and 1741, he was at the bottom of the poll. He petitioned, and died in 1742 before the matter was gone into. The Carr of 1722 was of St. Helen's Auckland by marriage with a coheir through Ellison of a family of the same name there. The William Carr of 1689—1710 must be meant in the text. He was perhaps William the son of the William Carr of Newcastle who died in 1677. His mother's name was Mary. Carr of Auckland was also of Coxlodge, and his father Joseph was probably the person living in 1666, aged 16, 7th son of William Carr of Coxlodge and brother of Ralph Carr who purchased Cocken. The families of Cocken and Auckland seem originally to have been radically distinct, and I presume that these marriage ties account for Auckland passing to the Cocken line on failure of issue of the older owners.

† That is, George the son. He was born in 1616. Wood also states that he agreed with his younger brother that he should have the estate to which he was heir, conditionally that he would furnish him with money to travel into foreign parts. He was a learned and esteemed author. Dying Dec. 28. 1683, he was buried under a blue marble stone in Hexham choir, the inscription of which is printed in Brand, ii. 92. His son and successor was also called George.

Ritschel became master of Newcastle School in 1648. Amor Oxley was appointed in 1662, having been displaced as a loyalist in 1645. Ritschel, however, in after life, stood well with Bp. Cosin.

back to England, he became Chief Master of the Free School in Newcastle. From thence he was removed to the vicaridge of Hexham, to whome his son succeeded, and died lately an old man in that cure.

[Mrs. Mary * Butler, the mother of these three gentlewomen, had in the eminency of her Christian graces, what she wanted in what the moralists of this world call the amiableness of a good nature. She was of such conscientious strictness, that looking upon all usury to be unlawful, she would never put any mony out at interest, though she was left with a very good personal estate. Being now a widow, she resolved upon removing her family to London for the better education of her children and took ship at Newcastle accordingly. In very fair weather they cast anchor in Yarmouth Rodes. Now let prophane boobies cry out Enthusiasm, we shall be neither affraid nor ashamed to go on reciting the matter as it was. This holy matron was much given to prayer, and whilst she was this way in her cabin secretly conversing with God, it was revealed to her, they were near some great distress. She ordered her youngest to bed, the rest of her children she would have to lie upon their beds with their cloaths on. She herself retired again to God in prayer, and still it was born in upon her mind they should suddainly be in great extremity. There was a reverend minister on board with them, to whom Mrs. Butler goes in her uneasiness, awakes him in his bed, and desires him to get up and seek God for them, for they were near some eminent danger. The good man with much tenderness and respect indeavoured to quiet and compose her, telling her it was a calm sea, no wind stirring, nor any the least appearance of hazard. But this not abating the tumult of this gentlewoman's restless thoughts, to satisfy her importunity, he raised himself out of his bed, but had not slipt his cloaths loose upon him before the wind blew a very stiff gale, and before he had ended prayer raised the sea, and increast to so furious a degree of violence that the ship drew her anchor and struck upon a sand. In the hurry and consternation that all were now in, the ship's crew were getting out the long boat to shift for themselves, but the honest master would suffer no more mariners to go off than would serve to man the boat. So putting Mrs. Butler, her family, and the rest of the passengers on board, himself with some other seamen staid in the ship till the boat should return and bring them off. Mrs. Butler having left in the cabin a bed-rug made of camel's hair, the wind boistrous, and the sea riding lofty and breaking

* This second notice of Mrs. Butler is transferred from the later portion of the MS. Her Christian name is here stated correctly.

over the ship every moment, the poor master wrapt himself in the rug, climbed up with his men that mast which was left standing upon the forecastle where the vessel stuck immoveably in the sand, and there they hung all night. The boat, as soon as the day appeared, with inexpressible difficulty recovered the ship and took them in, where they were no sooner entered, than that part of the ship which stuck fast, broke to pieces, and the mast, which had saved them, fell into the sea. Mrs. Butler had sewed two hundred broad pieces of gold in a fardingal, which she caused one of her maids to put on, and got two of the seamen to carry along with her a large box, wherein she had saved a good quantity of plate, all other wearing apparel besides the ordinary mean things they had on, were lost. In this ship-broken condition they marcht through Yarmouth, but neither public nor private house would take them in. The distressed gentlewoman with her children and servants having passed to the far end of the town, stood in the street, and began to say it was strange that nobody would receive them, for she was sure they could pay for their quarters, and none need fear loss by them. A woman of the Town-end overhearing what she said, askt her where they came from? She told her, from Newcastle. The woman then enquired of her what people of Newcastle she was acquainted with, and whether she knew Mr. John [James *rightly erased*] Clavering Sir James his father? She replyed, Mr. Clavering was her own brother. "Thanks be to God, Madam, for your wonderful deliverance," sais the woman, "for I was a servant in your brother's family and marryed from thence to Yarmouth," and so got them into one of the best houses in the town, where they stayed till they got another ship which carryed them safe to London.

[Whilst Mrs. Butler lived at Newcastle with the rest of her family, her daughter MARY went to London, was placed out at a boarding school at Windsor, and had been there for some time. The master of the ship of whome we have just now spoken, intending for London, waited upon the old gentlewoman to know if she had any service for him, and whether she pleased her daughter should return home in his ship? She thankt him, and said she left her daughter at her liberty to stay longer or shorter as she thought fit, but in case she inclined to come home, she thought she might better do it with him than with another. The master goes to Windsor and acquaints Mrs. Butler [Barnes *erased*] her mother had said she might come with him. This happening in the time of the Holland war, during the voyage they came in sight of a Zealand caper, and the master being perplext that he had brought his passenger into danger, steps into the cabin and informs her how uneasy he was upon account of his bringing her

from Windsor: for though it was true her mother had consented she might come along with him, yet he confest he had concealed it from her, that at the same time she left her at her liberty. The young gentlewoman understanding how he had drawn her from the agreable society she had at the boarding school, was so netled she made the cabin-door fast against him all the rest of the voyage. But the Dutch caper sheered off and they got safely to Newcastle. There was not at this time the least design of Mr. Barnes his marrying this gentlewoman, yet the providence of God, which makes the most trivial accidents serve its own purposes, did so order things, that her coming home sooner than was intended, proved the occasion of Mr. Barnes his making courtship to her *, who was before an utter stranger both to her and her family. And this master, whose name was Reigh, a very pious man, deserves to be mentioned with honour for the bravery of taking the last chance for his life in the shipwrack, as well as for the truth of the story of this last voyage, which the worthy man with pleasure made his remarks upon, when Mr. Barnes his elder son, many years afterwards, marryed the said Mr. Reigh's only daughter †.]

Mrs. Butler, having no issue by her last husband, left three sons and three daughters by Mr. Butler.

Her eldest son James Butler, by a criminal conversation with the Lady M. proved debaucht, extravagantly wasted his fortune, and married a common woman in his drink, so that, to get him bread, his friends got him put in master of a small vessel.

Her second son Gregory Butler was major of a troup of Horse and adjutant general under Venables, in the expedition to Hispaniola. He gave signall proof of his courage in the reduction of Jamaica, for his horse being shot under him, he fought it out on foot, untill his leggs being shot away, and refusing quarter, he was in the field slain by the Spaniards. It is an odd story, but I have it from unquestionable hands of James Butler, about

* The marriage, as we shall see, was in 1655.

† The licence for marriage of Joseph Barnes with Sarah, only daughter of Cap. Richard Righe, is dated 8 Oct. 1689. She survived him and was buried 27 Jan. 1737 at St. Nicholas', Newcastle.

1789, Jan. 13. Will of "Ric. Righe of Newcastle. Son in law Joseph Barnes, Esq., and dear daughter Sarah his wife executors. Rem. Dr. Christopher Young. Mrs. Jane dau. of said Chr. Mrs. Young his wife. Nicholas Fenwicke alderman and his wife Robert and Nicholas his sons. Mr. Matthew White his wife Jane. Mrs. Elizabeth Smith. Ambrose Barnes. Dr. Ric. Gilpin. Mr. Jos. Gill.—Righ married a sister of Robert and Christopher Young. R. Young of Ne., 1670, names sister and brother Righe." (Sharp's MSS.)

"Ambrose Barnes, seized in fee of lands in Startforth settled them on his eldest son Joseph Barnes with Sarah Righe his intended wife: rem. heirs of Joseph &c.: rem. Ambrose in fee." (Ibid.)

the time that this action happened at Jamaica; he touching at some port beyond sea, in his voyage home, the people of the place told him they had the day before been surprized with the apparition of an army fighting in the air, where in the midst of it, a tall lusty man seemed to fall down slain in the fury of the combat. The people who told this were strangers to Mr. Butler. He had not seen his brother for some months, and as they say omens are as the mind interprets them, so his brother being a tall propper man of statture, it suddainly struck his thoughts, that this was a presage of ill news concerning his brother Gregory, which, accordingly, upon his arrival in England, he found true.

Both these sons died without having any legitimate or illegitimate children.

Her third son* Mr. Thomas Butler died unmarried, and be-

* According to the dates in Surtees, iii. 49, he was eldest son, being bap. 26 Mar. 1620-1. This double year however is inconsistent with the day of the month. Mrs. Oxenbridge his sister was bap. 26 Mar. 1621. The names of deceased children are often repeated and baptisms are not always rightly applied.

Will of Thomas Butler of Cleatelam in the county of Durham, farmer, dated 16 Aug. 1675, proved at Durham. I doe order my executor to cause my bodey to be opened that it may be knowne what was the cause of the paine in my side. To Mr. John Rogers my brother in lawe 2*s*. To Mrs. Grace Rogers my sister 1*s*. To Timothy Rogers sonn of my sister Grace R. 1*s*. To each of her daughters 6*d*. I order my executor to selle the two tenements or farmes in Marwood called by some *Hole Hoole house* by some *Holdsworth alias Hoole house feild* in the possession of James Gibson and Ellenor Dent widow for the maintenance of a preacheinge minister in Bernerd Castle chappell and the feoffees to be chosen by the minister of Bernerdcastle. I give to the use of the Minister of Bernerd-Castle chappell and the churchewardens of the saide chappell a booke called Mr. Foxe booke of Martirs, my will is that whosoever is minister of Bernerdcastle chappell shall ever have the booke in the months Maye, June, July and August, the churchwardens of Bernerd Castle chappell September and October, the churchwardens of Marwood and Westicke November and December, the churchwardens of Streatelam and Stenton January and February, and the feffees if they please to have it March and Aprill. To Thomas Butler sonn of my cossin William Butler Olde Akers my gold ringe with the Butlers armes one it, as allso my younge horse or bay colte as allso my *clocke watche* as allso my best rapier for a legasi. To Betteris Applebey my servant 20*li*. To Mr. Brokell minister of Bernerd Castle chappell 3*l*. and he to preache my funerall sermon from these words "Blessed are those that die in the Lord, they rest from their labours and their workes doe followe them," and he to have 40*s*. for his paines. To the childeren belongeinge unto the followeinge persons which I give Christendom to, halfe a crowne a peice, that is to saye, to Cuthbert Raines sonn of Shipley; Ralph Sidgewicks sonn, of Langeledaille; Ambros Binkes sonn, of Marwood; William Halls daughter, of Parkewall house; Ralph Cowton's daughter, of Bernerd Castle; and Anthony Vasey daughter, of Marwood. If my executor sell the two abovementioned farmes Mrs. Anne Bowes widdowe of Thos. Bowes Esquire of Streatelam shall have full power to demand 300*l*. as a legasi by me bequeathed for the maintenance of a minister for the saide chappell. To Mr. Edmund Fotherbey, vicker of Gainford church, a booke stilled Williams' True Church or Solloman's Viniarde. To my brother in lawe Mr. Ambros Barnes, merchant in Newcastle, my executor, to discharge this my wille, and for my respects to him, all the rest of my estate—and he to enter into a bonde of 400*l*. to Mrs. Anne Bowes for the fullfilleinge of my will—and if he refuse he shall be noe executor of this my last will

queathed a good parcel of land to the Church of Barnard Castle which it enjoys to this day, and in his last will left order, that the Incumbent and Churchwardens should have the Book of Martyrs, which he gave to the parish, to keep and peruse, each of them three months in the year.

[Men of a different communion did acknowledge the disinteressdness and impartiality of [Mr. Barnes's] acting in the conveyance of Mr. Thomas Butler's estate to the church of Bernard Castle, the Councel Sir Robert Shaftoe giving his opinion under his hand, that the "disposition of the said estate in Marwood for maintenance of a preaching minister, was a good * appointment within the statute of 43 Eliz. However he thought the land well devised to Mr. Barnes, who might convey as the will directed: and that none of the devises in the will would make mortmain, there being no devise of the land to the parson or vicar and his successors." So was he willing to serve the interests of religion whether amongst conformists or nonconformists.]

Mrs. Butler's family is thus extinct in the male line. But her daughters, like those of Job, carried *Perfume*, *Paint*, and *Perfection* in the very air and sound of their names, having all the beauteous ornaments of perfection in a naturall plainness.

Her eldest daughter, JANE, was another Sarochia, few divines equalling her skill in textual divinity. She married the Reverend Mr. John Oxenbridge, M.A. of Magd. Coll. Oxon. where he was tutor: he was also fellow of Eaton College near Windsor, and went afterwards to Bermudas. But the more the grace of God adorns any, the more dirt will the enemy of all goodness throw upon them, as appears by the sordid reflections cast upon these two worthy persons †, by Antony Wood the Oxford Antiquary,

but shall have onely 5*s*. as a legacy and each of his children 5*s*. and Mrs. Anne Bowes to be executor. *Thomas Butler. Seal*, T. B. Extracted by Canon Raine.

* *Money* to maintain preaching ministers has been held to be within the act of 43 Eliz. for the protection of good and charitable uses. The land itself in this case was retained, and produced 63*l*. a year when Surtees wrote his history. The passage is brought from Book III.

Mr. Butler, says Sharp, charges his executor, Ambrose Barnes, to fulfil his will, "as he will answer it at God's judgement seate."

Mr. Thomas Butler, Marwood, and Merioll Bainbrig, spr., mar. lic. 29 Dec. 1664. Sharp's MSS.

† The following is Wood's article in question:—

"John Oxenbridge, son of Dan. Oxenb., sometime Doct. of Phys. of Ch. Ch. in this university, and a practitioner of his faculty at Daventry commonly called Daintry in Northamptonshire, (and afterwards in London,) was born in that county, became a commoner of Linc. Coll. in 1623, aged 18 years, and thence translating himself to Magd. Hall, took the degrees in Arts, and soon became a tutor there; but being found guilty of a strange singular and superstitious way of dealing with his scholars, by persuading and causing some of them to subscribe, as votaries, to several articles framed by himself, as he pretended, for their better government, as if the statutes of the place wherein he lived, and the authority of the then

the design of whose writing is to put the best face he can upon the champions of Popery, treating such as Woolsey and Bonner with great respect and tenderness, whilst scarce a man who bears the name of a puritan, or reforming protestant, scapes the lash of his scurrilous pen. He tells us Biddle the Socinian was in Oxford put under the tuition of John Oxenbridge, "a person then noted to be of no good principles *." But this cannot be this gentle-

present government, were not sufficient, he was distutored (Gesta Cancellariatus Un. Ox. Gul. Laud, p. 76) in the month of May 1634. Afterwards he left the Hall, and shewing himself very schismatical abroad, was forced to leave the nation: whereupon he, with his beloved wife called Jane Butler, went to the Island of Bermudas, where he exercised his ministry. At length, the Long Parliament making mad work in England in 1641 &c. he (as other schismatics did) returned, preached very enthusiastically in several places in his travels to and fro, while his dear wife preached in the house among her gossips and others. So that, he being looked upon as a zealous and forward brother for the cause, he had some spirituality bestowed on him, and at length was made Fellow of Eaton Coll., near Windsor, in the place of one Simonds deceased, who had been thrust into the place of Dr. David Stokes, in the time of the Rebellion. Upon his Majesty's Restoration, Oxenbridge was outed of his fellowship, and afterwards retiring to Berwick upon Tweed, he held forth there till the Act of Conformity silenced him, an. 1662. Afterwards he went to the West Indies, and continued there at Syrenham for a time in preaching and praying. At length, having received a call, he went to New England, where he finished his course. This person was composed of a strange hodg-podg of opinions, not easily to be described, was of a roving and rambling head, spent much, and I think died but in a mean condition. And though he was a great pretender to saintship, and had vowed an eternal love to his wife before-mentioned, who died 22 Apr. 1655, yet before he had remained a widower an year, he married a religious virgin named Frances, the only daughter of Hezekiah Woodward the schismatical vicar of Bray near Windsor, who dying also in the first year of her marriage (in childbed I think) aged 25 years, he took soon after, as I have been told, a third wife, according to the fleshly custom of the saints of that time. He hath written A Double Watchword: or, the Duty of Watching, and Watching to Duty; both echoed from Revel. xvi. 5, and Jer. i. 4, 5. Lond. 1661, Oct., and perhaps other things. [Some are mentioned in Palmer's Calamy.] He died at Boston in New England in 1674 [of an apoplexy with which he was seized as he was preaching a lecture, Palmer, i. 236], and was buried there. In the church or chappel belonging to Eaton Coll. was a monument with a large canting inscription set up by this J. Oxenbridge for his first wife Jane Butler, wherein 'tis said that while he preached abroad she would preach and hold forth in the house. But the said inscript. or epitaph giving great offence to the royalists at the restoration of King Ch. II. they caused it to be daubed or covered over with paint. There was also a monument and inscription set up for his second wife [in the chappel], the contents of which and the other I have, but this last is not defaced."

To Wood's account it may be added from a MS. in Her. Coll., Norfolk vi. 36, (mentioned to me by Mr. Durrant Cooper, who is anxious to connect Jane Butler's husband with the Oxenbridges of Sussex) that his grandfather was John Oxenbridge, B.D. of Southam and Coventry: mentioned by Strype (Grindal p. 320) as joining with Paget in creating disturbances in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, in June 1576, on the attempt to introduce a new form of prayer—for which he was convened before the High Commission in 1576 as he was also in 1583. (Brook's Lives of the Puritans iii. 510.) He subscribed the book of discipline temp. Archb. Whitgift (Neale i. 387) and was buried at Trinity church, Coventry, 22 Sp. 1617. Daniel his son, father of our John, died in 1643.

* "He was entred a student of Magd. Hall, and for a time, if I mistake not, was put under the tuition of John Oxenbridge, a person &c." This was in 1634. The

man, who was known to be clear of Socinianism and all such principles as tend to Popery and Atheism, which is more than can be said of many of this man's favourites. But he adds, Mr. O. was "composed of a hotch potch of opinions not easy to be described," not such a hotch potch of malignity and blind malice as this Tony, his writings left behind him discovering him to be a wise intelligent and an holy man. But he "removed from place to place." More shame for those who persecuted him. This was no more a fault in him than it was in his kinsman Ritschel we have just mentioned. But to strike home the blow, he tells us, "though he was a great pretender to saintship, and had vowed an eternal love to his wife Jane Butler, yet after her death, he married, before the year was out, the onely daughter of Hezechiah Woodward the schismatical vicar of Bray, who dying also in the first year of her marriage in the twenty-fifth year of her age, he took, soon after, a third wife, according to the fleshly custom of the Saints in those days." None in their wits can impute for a fault that he married Dr. Woodward's daughter and another wife after her rather than patronizing the church of Rome according to the "fleshly custom" of some sort of saints in our days. He must be more than ordinarily good, when this hater of goodness can scrape nothing together for an accusation but what impartial readers will think ridiculous. But as if the Devil owed him a shame, he can find no holy women to abuse, but two. The one is Mr. Joseph Allein's wife; the other is Mr. Oxenbridge's first wife, who, he sais, "whilst her husband was preaching abroad, preacht in the house among her gossips." It was past her art, I dare say, to have preacht nonsense out of this idiot, and I am persuaded her *gossips* were better hearers than those, who for others, promise at the font and vow to renounce the devil and all his works, and then let the devill run away with the bond before God has ever cancelled it. But what this Oxonian sais of Marchamont Needham, may be applyed to himself, that Barsæus meeting with the devil sitting at his ease in a chair, bid him rise up and give place to his *betters*. For, considering how this virulent pen mentions the most precious names, this *wooden* chronologer may challenge the precedency of Satan, having thrust him out of his chair, the seat of the scornful, wherein he has outrailed all the Shimeis and Rabshekas, and outlyed all the Simmeasses and Psedolusses that ever sat in that chair. But Dr. Mather hath in part done Mr. O. justice, in a short account of him amongst the New England ministers. He had three

passages in inverted commas are in Italics in the MS. Some of them are not verbal quotations from Wood.

sisters, who all came to be *ladies* by their second marriages, that is to say, the Lady St. John, Sir Matthew Boynting's Lady, and the Lady Katherine Philips. This last gentlewoman's first husband was Mr. Fowler, a merchant of London, by whome she had one daughter, named Katherine after her mother, who married her stepfather's eldest son, the match thereby being made double. This is the lady, who among her sex, has distinguisht herself by her celebrated poems * and letters; she was bred in the school at Hackney, and if it be any advantage to her character, as the author of Fasti and Athenæ Oxonienses will have it, it must be owned she was a woman of the times, and loved *poetry* better than *presbytry*.

[Mrs. Jane Oxenbridge had an infirm body, but was strong in faith. Her husband and she had tumbled about the world in unsettled times. They lived sometimes at Barwick upon Tweed, then they removed to Beverly, then to London, then to Winchester, then to Barbados, then to Surinam, then to New England, and then to Heaven. Her husband a grave divine and of great ministerial skill, she being a schollar beyond what is usual in her sex, and of a masculine judgment in the profound points of theologie, loved commonly to have her opinion upon a text of scripture before he preacht from it. A friend taking her by the hand when she lay a dying, askt her whether she felt any pain? She smiled and answered No, the sting of death was gone, nor felt she any pain more than the warm hand of the gentlewoman who put the question to her.

[Besides their son Dr. Daniel Oxenbridge, a gentleman of rare accomplishments both as a christian, a phisitian, and a schollar, who died 'young †,' a batchelor, she had a daughter, who whilst a child exprest great dutifulness to her parents, studying every thing that would please them. She marryed Mr. Scot of Jamaica, a gentleman of a great estate, and dyed there not many years ago, an old woman, having no issue.]

But let us return and go on with Mrs. Butler.

Her second [youngest *erased*] daughter Grace was a gentle-

* "Poems by the most deservedly admired Mrs. Katherine Philipps, the matchless Orinda," 1677. Dr. Jeremy Taylor published his "Measures and Offices of Friendship in a letter to the most ingenious and excellent Mrs. K. P." in 1657. "By this K. P. is to be understood Katherine Philipps the wife of Jam. Philipps of the Priory of Cardigan, Esq., daughter of John Fowler of Bucklersbury in Lond. merchant, by Katherine his wife, daughter of Dan. Oxenbridge, Doctor of Physic. Which Kath. Fowler alias Philipps was born in the parish of S. Mary Wool-church in Lond. and baptized there on 11 Jan. 1631, bred up in a school at Hackney under Mrs. — Salmon, where she then much delighted in poetry, nothwithstanding brought up in the presbyterian way." (Wood, sub Taylor.)

† The text is from Book III. The word "young" is from a still slighter notice of Dr. Oxenbridge in Book I.

woman of great meekness, wisdom, sweetness, and every way an eminent pattern of Christianity. She married Mr. John Rogers *, Minister of Crognel. An account of him is given by Dr. Calamy amongst the ejected ministers. He had one son, Mr. Timothy Rogers †, who has writ several books (Early Religion; Discourses of Sickness and Recovery; A discourse of melancholy and trouble of mind in these parts; Fall not out by the way; Character of a virtuous woman; besides sundry other funerall sermons;) and was for some years a preacher of note in London.

Mrs. Grace Rogers languisht long of a cancer. There is a paper handed about of her dying speeches, one whereof was this, "Do not think my triumph over death is less because I speak less, my assurance continues, my joy is full, but my body is weak, my pain great, my voice spent, I cannot speak as I would."

[She and all her pious family are now at rest in the Lord ‡.]

* Of Wantage, Bucks. (Calamy continued, 226.)

† Mr. John Rogers was born 25th Apr. 1610, and died at Startforth, Nov. 28, 1680. He was sent by Parliament to Barnard Castle in 1644 and, on the presentation of Lord Wharton, removed to Croglin in Cumberland in 1660, whence he was ejected in 1662. When he came to Barnard Castle he made out a list of the number of souls in his parish, which were about 2000. He took an exact account who of them were persons of knowledge and who were ignorant, who were fit or unfit for the Lord's Table &c. Those who were ignorant he conversed much with, gave them good books, catechized and instructed them, till he thought them qualified for that sacred solemnity. He visited Sir Harry during his imprisonment, having been the intimate friend of his father and himself. The minister found him resolute and unconscious of crime. In his younger days Rogers had been acquainted with old Lord Crew, and he was, in consequence, always received graciously by the Bishop of Durham of that name. It was customary in the north to have an *arval* or funeral dinner after an interment. Mr. Rogers generally spoke of divine things on such an occasion, even in the midst of the entertainment. Hence "malignant people" used to refuse to be present when he was to be there, "because," said they, "we shall find Rogers preaching there." During his retirement he preached one Sunday in the wild lead-mine countries of Teesdale and Weardale, and the other in what Calamy calls his own house at Startforth, but which is believed to have been that which belonged to Mr. Barnes and was occupied lately by Miss Galland. Only 10*l.* a year was raised for him in his wide sphere of labour, but an independence placed him beyond the reach of want. He is stated to have been buried at Barnard Castle, his funeral sermon being preached by Mr. Brokill (curate, 1673—1682).

‡ From part III. During her residence at Barnard Castle, Jonathan son of Mr. John Rogers, minister, was buried there 10 Nov. 1650, John &c., bur. 2 Sep. 1652, Mary, daughter, bap. 15 Aug. 1653. A plain small brass on the south side of the chancel memorializes the two sons.

Jonathan Rogers, filius primogenitus
Joh'is Rogersi, A. M. et Gratiæ, uxoris ejus, obiit
An'o X'ti 1650, Nov. 8.

Hee peep'd into the world, where he could see
Nought but confusion, sinne, and misery;
Thence scap'd into his Sav'or's armes: thus hee
Gott heaven for fourteene dayes mortality.

Mrs. Butler's youngest [second and middlemost *erased: In margine is written* a mistake: she was Mrs. Butler's youngest daughter] daughter Mary Butler was married to Mr. Ambrose Barnes *, and the gunns which were fired from some ships then in the Harbour, as the new pair came back from church, made not so good a report of the nuptial solemnity as did the respectful visits paid them upon this occasion by persons of principal rank and distinction in the town. Their first care was that God who they knew must build their house, might have an altar erected in it. The good master of this house was not satisfyed unless he saw Holiness to the Lord in the countenance and behaviour of every one under his care. He blest them and prayed *for* them and every day failed not to pray *with* them, reading and expounding the scriptures *to* them. His expositions were judicious, practical, and succinct. *Ps.* 119. David rejoyced in God's word as those *who find great spoil.* "The spoils (sais he) of Egyptian, Chaldean, Persian, Greek and Roman learning are here to be met with in abundance. Christ spoiled principalities and powers, and here is the prey of a great spoil divided. Let us adore the fullness of the scriptures. When we read such a renowned poet as Homer, replenisht with the rites, customs and fables of the heathen gods, so much in request for that magnificence of invention, which runs through the whole of his rhapsodies, we can conclude no less, than that the Psalms, and particularly this 119 Psalm, is reputed so choice a part of Scripture (though the poetry is peculiar and grown obsolete, in comparison of the new turns and supposed beauty of modern languages) because, being inspired by God, the matter and spirit of them continue to convey a gustful relish to gracious souls." Thus fruitfull was he in reading the Book of God. Several books of sermons of his writing, after the ministers whom he heard

John Rogers, filius 2dus I. R. et G. R. obiit
A'no X'ti 1652, Aug. 30.

Bles'd soule, thy name did mind of God's grace;
Thou wast his gift, whose love shew'd us thy face;
But Hee that gave did take; in 7en moneths' space
Thou foundst in Father's armes a resting place.

Grace, wife of Mr. John Rogers, was buried at the same place, 5 Feb. 1677-8.

* Ambros Barnes of Newcastle, merchant adventurer and Mary Butler of same town, spinster, daughter of Thomas Butler merchant adventurer deceased, published at St. John's, Newcastle, 27 May, 3, 10 June, 1655.

Ambros Barnes married at St. John's, Newcastle, to Mary Butler, by Mr. Christopher Nicolson J. P. and Alderman, 12 June, 1655, in presence of Mr. William Coale, Mr. Samuel Rawling, Mr. Richard Prideaux.

The marriages of the interregnum, and since 1 May, 1642, were legalized by an act of the Convention Parliament at the Restoration. (Neale, iv. 303.)

preach, are still to the fore. On Lord's dayes, a sermon of Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Charnock, or Dr. Manton, was read, or the sermon they last heard was repeated, and then, with holy David, he lift up his heart to God in prayer, that God would accept their service instead of incense. He lookt upon family-worship in the evening, as answering the sin-offering under the Law, wherein there was no incense, and there was no sin-offering after the evening oblation. The morning sacrifice was included in that of the evening, and the *mincha* of fine flower is somtimes put for the offering of the whole lamb, which was offered at three a clock in the afternoon, the usual hour of prayer. After this manner he took care of his family devotions, so as they were never omitted, and so mannaged them, as not to make them burdensom, such a perpetual serenity of mind accompanying him, as kept him in a posture of spirit ready to pray alwayes.

And thus far has there been a remarkable answer of his prayers, that his posterity have not fallen into the national apostacy, but been antidoted against those vices, which our age has violently run into. He did indeed extremely dislike their practice, who upon other accounts, made high pretences to religion, yet to set off their children and make them appear with more advantage for worldly preferment, indulged them in such liberties of conformity to the excesses of the times which were times of fearful prophaness and persecution. The children of God must be like olive plants about his table. The olive will take no graft of another tree. Aliens differ from children. Scripture compares a whore and a dog together; and the Athenians offered a dog to Hercules, because he was a bastard. Many, who boast of high birth lie under the ignominy of bastardy in religion. Pallas, the governour of Judæa, was brother to that Felix, whome the Apostle Paul was summoned before and who is stiled most *noble Felix*, being of the family of the kings of Arcadia, who married three queens, Agrippa's sister, his daughter, and his grand-daughter. But all this made him not a *gentleman*, for he was otherwise a man of a base spirit. The Bereans are said to be better bred, because they searched the Scriptures. The Bereans of this family were learned in the mystery of Christ a Saviour. When the elder were well grounded in the rudiments of godliness, they taught the younger their catechisms, and all, day by day, had their sett times of retiring to their several closets by themselves. The Heathen wore amulets and charms, God bid the Jews wear sentences of the law. This was the finery wherein he would have his household shine, wisdom instead of gold, good books instead of smutty plays, and unaffected piety instead of philacteries and fringes. Plutarch shows how God may deferr punishment

because the sin of the father is not continued in the child, yet both sin and punishment may be revived in the grandchild: like the woman who bore a mulatto, when neither herself nor her husband were black, and being in hazard of dying an adulteress, an old man testifyed the grandfather of that child had been a negro. This quickened the vigilance of this good man, that they who descended from him, might inherit as little as possible of the original depravity of humane nature. Without pharasaical preciseness and over-doing strictness, pleasant and inocent society was maintained. Nothing unbecoming good manners, had any place in this society, or if you will, the holy church in this house.

He was a great smoker of tobacco, that weed so much condemned and commended. He thought, with Dr. Preston, it composed his thoughts and helpt him to sleep. Somtimes he would play at tables, somtimes he would be upon the bowling-green; but his leisure time was commonly spent in reading, writing, or inocent mirth, himself often telling stories, or reciting the wise or witty sayings of others or such things as had occurred to his own observation. His way was to suit himself to the genius and improvement of those he converst with. Corrupt communication was bannisht from this family by a law. Some words, used even in Scripture, were of inocent signification in the age wherein they were used; but corruption of times has brought on a corruption of speech, and many words so degenerate, that chaste ears cannot bear them without offence, so that clean phrases must be exprest in the most cleanly and decent tearms we can.

Whilst he was owner of a plentifull estate, he turned his house into a Bethesda, an house of mercy. The Cretians, though faithless, are noted for hospitality, providing quarters for travailers, charging the parochos with their entertainment, in allusion to which officer, I suppose the district wherein alms were distributed, was first called a *parish*. The Spaniards' phrase for one who is merciful is *hombre de buenas entrañas*, a man of good bowells. The miserable, without distinction of parties, with this good man, were sure to find mercy. Onely, with such another eminent person as himself, he thought that to give to those who received relief from the parish, was but to save so much mony to the rich.

His houskeeping was mannaged with a decent plenty, tempered with frugality. As was his appetite, such was his dish. He would eat heartily upon one plain dish of meat, but never cared for sauces and many dishes, and rarely tasted the venison that was somtimes sent him. He avoided, as much as he could, long

and tedious feasts. Now, as a Jewish Rabbin sais, when two eat together without good discourse, it is as if they eat the sacrifices of the dead, so the subject, at dinner-time, was sure to run upon what was profitable, as well as what was pleasant. The furniture of his house was good, but not sumptuous, their apparell fashionable, but not flaunting.

Much of this homolitical prudence was owing to her, the partner of his virtues as the companion of his fortunes. She took care to instill betimes into her children, the A, B, C, of religion, as Bathsheba did to her son Solomon, Prov. 30, [31] which chapter is set down by way of alphabet. Man is conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity, and this holy matron did what in her lay, to be before-hand with it, and whilst great with child, would make a deed of gift of the fruit of her womb to God, that it might be his delight. When her children were infants, she would take them one by one into her chamber with her in secret, and, with many tears pour out her soul to God for them. Her eldest son being at the inns of court, she inclosed these few lines within a letter of his father's to him. "Dear Jo., My weakness lets me not write much. I have comfort in your being sober-minded. I pray you may be a Joseph to your father's house. Joseph nourisht his father and his brethren. Remember, you were not born for yourself onely, be kindly affectionate to your brothers and sisters. Long life and abundance of dayes are promist to those who love their parents. You have an honourable father, to whome you owe all loyalty and obedience. The stork gets her names from her nature, she provides for the old ones, and the Apostle 1 Tim. 5, 4, exhorts children to requite their parents. To be without obedience and without natural affection, is monstrous. My son, if thine heart be wise, my heart shall rejoyce even mine. I must break off. Your loving affectionate mother, Mary Barnes." Some dark events which happened in her family after her death, with the cloud which her son's death brought upon his own family brought to remembrance the prophesie his mother taught that Lemuel of hers. Escuage is a tenure of service, derived from the Escuir or Esqr. that amongst the Lombards carried the shield, and she was for having this eldest son to discharge the duty of it, by shielding his father's family, as well as taking care of his own.

Of her daughters she was a most prudent governess keeping them at their needle, after they had left the boarding-school. She put them in mind of the tortoise, the emblem of a woman who should be a keeper at home, as the tortoise seldom peeps out of its shell. She directed them in their carriage abroad, that visits were not made with too much freedom, nor too much fre-

quency, which would be the best way to keep up friendship. She insisted not upon the ceremonious niceties of many haughty dames with their daughters, the custom of calling women ladies and mothers madams, being crept in, as Euripides sais in Stobæus, with the corruption of ancient manners.

Her servants she would also have her eye upon, and let them know, with an honourable woman we read of, that the sermons they heard on Lord's dayes, were not over, though church-time was over, untill they were put in practice. Besides the pills, electuaries, conserves, candies, sirrips, and many distillations she made for the use of her family, she kept a closet of receipts for salves, ointments, pouders, and diet-drinks, which she sent to the poor, somtimes visiting them her self, somtimes sending to see how they did, and taking care in their sickness, that they were clean kept. But, being naturally of a tender conscience, she fell into decayes of health some years before her departure out of this world. And here, without disturbing myself with the scornful reflections of frothy persons, I will not suppress this passage, that, being a sober judicious Christian, far from fancifulness, she was for somwhile greatly dispirited. The occasion of it was her being fallen with child, when she feared she should not have strength to bring forth. But God did wonderfully indulge this handmaid of his, giving her such assurance of her adoption and the eternal safety of her soul, accompanyed with such heavenly refreshment, that she was delivered of the child, more by the strength of her spiritual comfort, than any strength she had of body. Those words in Isa. 33, 24, "the inhabitant shall not say I am sick, the people that dwell therein shall be forgiven their iniquity," were with such a marveilous power set in upon her mind, attended with so full an evidence of her own interest in that promise, that the pains of childbirth seemed to be clear gone, and she bore the child with as much ease as if she had been in bed fast asleep. This she seriously profest afterwards to the gentlewomen who were present at her lying-inn. It was the last child she ever had, and proved to be a son * who was educated to the ministry, and was alive at the writing of this. But she never perfectly recovered her strength again, but, after above two years languishing after the birth of this last child, she yielded to mortality, and not many eyes in that multitude of all ranks who followed her body to the grave, but were dissolved in tears. She was interred in the church of St. Nicholas in her uncle [brother *erased*] Clavering's burial place, where her flesh rests in hope of a blessed resurrection.

[Mrs. Barnes dyed the last of these three sisters, and had as

* Thomas Barnes.

blessed a victory over death as either of them. "God," she said, "had knockt off her fetters and had bid her go and die." She was naturally timorous, yet raised above all fear and eased of the solicitude she had been in about leaving her children. One of her phisitions, Dr. Gilpin *, who attended her with much obsequiousness, sitting upon her bedside, she lookt at him and said, "I want breath—but all is well;" "Ay," replied the Doctor, "and will be well with you to all eternity." Mrs. Emmerson, whose husband had been Mayor of Newcastle †, coming into the chamber, sais to her, "Mrs. Barnes, you may lift up your head for joy, for your Redemption draweth nigh!" She did so, and immediately dropt her head down again and expired ‡.]

Unspeakable was the loss her dear family sustained by her death. None but such a master as was left, could repair the want of such a mistress as was lost. He had now a new choice before him, and had considerable offers. But remembering the inscription upon the monument of Rubius Celer, how he had lived so long with his beloved wife Caia Ennia, contenting himself with his five surviving children §, our author soon took up a resolution never to marry again. He took up his cross with entire resignation. When mention was made of some who beyond expectation were well disposed of, this, said he to his children, may be incouragement, children, to trust in God. Speaking of an heavy loss he had sustained in his estate, he said, if God help us to improve his providence and recompence our loss in better things, there is no reason to be disheartned.

He seldom changed his servants. He was merciful to his beasts, his horses were well kept. By looking pleasantly upon his servants and speaking kindly to them, incouraging and com-

* Who combined his profession with the office of dissenting minister. Notices of him occur afterwards.

† John Emerson Esq., Merchant Adventurer and Alderman, was mayor in 1660. He died 9 Aug. 1673, and his tombstone in St. Nicholas also commemorates his son in law Thomas Jenison Esq. Merchant Adventurer and Alderman and sometime mayor who died 7 Dec. 1676, and Alice his wife. The arms on the stone give those of Emerson impaling the coats of three wives, Shafto, Lawson, and Sanderson.

‡ From Part III.

§ Mr. Barnes's children are enumerated below.

I. Mary, wife of Jonathan Hutchinson, "the eldest of all the children."
II. Joseph, barrister at law, baptized at St. Nicholas' 2 April 1658.
III. Anne, wife of George Airey, born 26 Feb. 1659, bap. at St. Nicholas.
Sarah, buried 17 March, 1662.
Hannah, buried 8 March, 1669.
IV. Sarah, living unmarried 1711.
V. Thomas, a divine.

"He buried two sweet children, Sarah and Hannah, in their infancy, and afterwards his dear and invalluable consort." (MS. p. 89.)

mending them when they did well, he gained wonderfully upon their love and esteem, their interest became his interest. Now and then he light upon some who proved faithless wretches in matters of consequence, yet they seldom escapt the avenging hand of God. Others he had, who, in perilous times, would run all hazards, to keep him out of danger. He never persuaded his servants to the way of the Dissenters. But no servants went from him but against their will, and, if they became not seriously religious, they were however convinced, that religion was an excellent thing.

He was a pattern of prudence and crittically markt the *indoles* and early dispositions of his children. What occasioned the apostacy of Julian was that his youth was tainted by two heathen preceptors, and Constantine took great care of the education of his son Crispus. The like care took our author, what schools his children were put to, and bestowed upon them all a genteel and liberall education. He was against sending his sons to the English universities for fear of debauchery. He saw young gentlemen learn little there unless to be grossly conceited with a sort of pedantic learning, which is of no use to the public. He loved all his children, and although they were not alike circumspect in their duty to him, it was not easy to say which of them he loved best. Nor was he industrious to seek great things, and if any advantage befell any of them, he was as little instrumental in it as a man could be. Of all his three children, his eldest son and two daughters, who marryed, not one of them went from him, until the motion was first made to him by those who sought and courted the alliance as a privilege and a blessing.

[Their father left them an example as had for ever given himself a name better than of sons and daughters. His presence gave a check to sin ever where that fear had no place. Never any was more valiant for truth or could put on severer looks to deter blasphemous wretches from their outrages against Heaven. Such cattle where he came were sure to refrain their kicking against religion, his presence bridled scurrility, and the jolly fellows, when he came in, would grow sober. A daughter of his, one day asking one of these joviall blades of the bottle, why he still put on such grave airs when he was with her father? "Oh child," replyed he, "thy father is a grave Don *.]

His eldest daughter, MARY, was a child he had a particular regard to. There was so great a sympathy between him and her, they scarce seemed to differ. She was of masculine reason and uncommon judgment and Christian experience. She marryed †

* Book III. † On 2 June 1679.

Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson, the eldest son of Mr. Wm. Hutchinson, one of the considerablest merchants of Newcastle in his time *. The father was sometime Mayor, and father and son were aldermen of the town. The father was a good, generous, public-spirited man. After his death, the son was chosen burgess for the town of Barwick upon Twede. And for the twelve years he sat in the House of Commons, he made not a penny profit to himself, but spent his own estate, whilst he served the public. In this respect he was a copy of his father-in-law Mr. Barnes. For, though he was none of the Long-Heads, who are fit to steer the helm of state, yet, for his honesty and steadiness to his principles, he was well known and respected by both the factions of Whig and Tory. Coming one day out of the Speaker's chambers, Mr. Robert Harley, since that made Earl of Oxford, observing somwhat lying in the way, which they must pass over, sais after a jocular fashion, "Come, Mr. Hutchinson, lend me your hand, and I'll help you down." The other as nimbly replyed, "Sir, I thank ye, and I promise ye I had rather have your hand to help me down than to help me up," meaning that he cared not for rising on the Tory side of the House, or rather, that he chused to fall with honest men rather than to rise with knaves on either side. The Duke of Marlborough and Prince of Mendleheim showed him peculiar sivilities, and when there was some intention for making barracks for the garrison of Barwick, his grace, as General of the army, assisted him in it. He died a Member of Parliament, and was succeeded by Richard Hamden Esq. of the county of Bucks †.

[The best as well as the eldest of all the children whome God

* M. I. in All Saints' church, Newcastle. "This is the burial place of William Hutchinson, merchant adventurer, who departed this life ye 6th of March 1680. Jonathan Hutchinson, esqr., died June 11th 1711. Mary his wife, daughter of Mr. Ambrose Barnes, died Jany. 11th 1724. William, their son, died Sepr. 20th 1710. Mr. Joseph Airey, merchant, who married Ruth Hutchinson their daughter: he died 2nd of Feby. 1748 and is interred here: she died 4th Novr. 1767, aged 77, and is interred here. Julia Airey, wife of Joseph Airey, esqr., and daughter of Christopher Fawcett esqr., obiit 29th Sepr. 1792, aged 30 years. And, on the 30th of Jany. 1794, Joseph Airey, esqr. aged 34 years." Arms on the stone: Per pale, a lion rampant, within an orle of eight cross-crosslets. Crest: out of a coronet, a demi-lion rampant.

Joseph Airey who died 1748-9 "established glass houses in the Close. Old John Cookson the present Isaac's father was apprenticed to him." Sharp's MSS. He was legatee in 1731 of the books and papers of Thomas Barnes the youngest son of "our Author." His wife Ruth was legatee of "my father's picture."

† Jonathan Hutchinson was presented with his ticket of freedom of Berwick in 1702. By will, 1711, he bequeathed his moiety of North Charlton, his houses in Newcastle &c. to be divided between his wife and daughter Ruth Hutchinson. To his daughter Hall 5*l.* and his daughter in law Margaret Hutchinson 20*s.* His brother Joseph Barnes to assist his wife, whom he appoints sole executrix.—And see the above M. I.

graciously gave unto his servant, was his daughter Mary, who came nearest to the example of her blessed father. She was a mother in Israel, and a mother in her father's house, a blessing to all who had to do with her. Old Mr. Hutchinson, whose eldest son she marryed, would say, he would give a thousand pound his wife had the sincerity, reason, and discretion, that his daughter in law was mistress of. In her greatest exaltations she was still humble, though naturally of an high spirit, and, when in the easiest posture of her condition in the world, God still by one means or other knockt her off from taking up her contentments in the creature. I question if any out of heaven excelled her. Setting aside humane imperfections, she lived at a rate for God that in her example Christianity lookt like itself. A person every way valluable, though not vallued, as she deserved, by the [unworthy *erased*] members of that family she was matcht into, which to them was a greater loss than to her. Her husband praisd her in the gates, and that not from the softness of his affections, for his favourable inclinations lay alwayes towards his own kindred, but, trying her in the balance of rigid justice, he could not deny the testimony he gave her without exposing himself. God, that he might perfect her, would have her tryed by the two extremes of prosperity and adversity. Her onely son * proved a prodigal, sunk their estate, which broke the heart of his father, and left his mother in such shattered circumstances, she expected nothing else than a jail. But God made her a family wherein she lived to a good old age, with far more pleasure than when she was in her greatest secular grandeur, which occasioned her to say, "I was marryed into a family which bore themselves high upon the score of their being richer than my father, and now is their wealth perisht by evill travail, and I have lived to experience God's providence is my surest inheritance." She was a kind mistress, a tender mother, a firm friend, a liberal benefactor, and one of the best of women. She was for many of the last years of her life confined to her chamber, suffering without any totall intermission, the pain of the stone in both her kidneys, without the least murmuring or sign of impatience. Being once in great extremity she said, "I neither desire death nor life so much as I desire that God may be glorifyed in me †."]

His second daughter Ann was of very good parts and had a deep sense of religion not inferiour to her sister. She married a man, [Mr. Airey] who began the world with a good estate, but

* William, who, as seen in the M. I., died in the year before his father.

† From part III.

all was blasted, and he broke, God seeing fit to bring her to her rest through a storm of trouble and disappointment *.

[One of his daughters, [Mrs. Ann Airey] partly imbittered by worldly disappointments, partly from an harshness of temper derived from her grandmother, though otherwise a choice Christian, had not that tenderness for her father, that was due to such a father. The same unhappiness of temper disposed her to unkind mistaken thoughts of her sister, conceiving her father's vallue went comparatively too far towards her, who being born and cherisht in the sunshine of his prosperity, left the rest of his children to the want of like advantages, when the reduction of his estate rendred, what, he who did for them all even beyond his power, more difficult †. Whatever mistake there was in these ill-natured surmizes, her eldest brother was not so much on his guard as to act by a better formed judgment. He imagined fondly enough, that sister had too much of his father's ear, and influenced the affairs of his family in the way of I know not what intrigue, that she had her own views, keeping the ascendant so as alwayes to appear to deserve it with her father, steering herself according to the changeableness of humors that were working, so as her respects and freedoms, as scenes changed, had quite different appearances. So hard a matter it is how to behave, where worldly policy has infused jealousy. This caused one sister to slight the tender concern the other had for her in her troubles, being no wiser than to suspect she took a malicious pleasure in the tottering condition she was brought to in the world, which rancour of spirit did also infect the brother so far, that the humility and honour, wherewith she carried herself to him, past for little, because being, as he reckoned, a cunning woman, she foresaw her own need of his assistance in the affairs of law. It is extremely difficult for those whome God adorns with his favours, not to slip awry. This seems to have been a sore failing in that brother, who being a gentleman of great gravity, solidity and piety, affected to have all his relations possesst with the highest sense of his worth as well as the reputation he was grown to in his country, as if themselves had none. And it was from a pique he had taken against

* On a flag at the west end of Gateshead church:—

"The buriall place of George Airey, mercer, and Anna his wife and their children. George their eldest sonn departed this life the 1st day of June Anno Domini, 1693." Arms: A chevron, Impaling Per pale, a fess charged with three estoiles, for Barnes. Crest: Two arms embowed supporting a cinquefoil. An old bookplate of John Airey Esq. gives G. three cinquefoils of the same on a chevron A.: Crest, a cinquefoil G.

"Mr. Turner thinks he was a butler in the Liddell family." Sharp, MSS. When his son Thomas was apprenticed to George Liddle, hostman, in 1713, and his son, a younger George, was apprenticed in 1710 to Wm. Emerson, hostman, he the father is styled of Gateshead, gentleman.

† The sentence so stands in the MS.

all sorts of clergymen, that he fell into a contempt and dislike of his brother the minister, making the worst of everything where that brother discovered a superior esteem for his father, to whome he perhaps thought himself preferable by the advantages of his own education.

[These distempered passions were the loss of their family, a grief to the venerable father of it, weakened their common bond of interest, gratifyed their enemies, brought upon them severe chastisements, and when I remember what our Saviour sais of an house divided against itself, I fear these sinful disorders have been the cause why their Heavenly Father saw fit to cut them short in earthly prosperity and bring them every one to heaven by the shipwreck of it. Nor can any who making use of it for themselves when they observe the severity of God upon his own offending children, blame the writer for entring into these domestic privacies. Which he would not be guilty of, but to do the part of an impartial historian, that the posterity of this family, if any of them survive *, may not inherit these infirmities, and without dissembling the matter to show how roses grow amongst prickles, and how a treasure may lie concealed from the world in earthen vessels.

[God first began his controversy with her, who we have mentioned under the disadvantage of a hasty temper, and that in the death of her first born, the manner whereof was certainly very cutting, and is thus described by the good old grandfather in a letter to one of his sons then at a distance, June 28, 1693, in these words :—" I am glad you told your brother of the death of his son. The occasion of it was very surprizing, for he with the other two children †, and two maids to attend them, were sent

* One of the passages inducing the belief that the author was hardly a north-countryman. It is not, however, very intelligible. Thomas Barnes, the youngest son, as will be seen hereafter, gave legacies in 1731 to his nephew Joseph Airey and niece Ruth [formerly Hutchinson] his wife, his nephew George Airey, and his nephew Thomas Airey. His books and papers were left to Joseph Airey. The MS. is found in the possession of Thomas Airey's family.

† The monumental inscription to this son George is given above. The "other two children" were Joseph Airey, merchant, the husband of his cousin Ruth Hutchinson, and Thomas Airey hostman, fitter to Lord Ravensworth (Sharp) who, with his sons Thomas and Joseph ("banker in conjunction with Ralph Carr," Sharp), is mentioned by Thomas Barnes in 1731. Barnes also mentions his nephew George Airey, master and mariner, who was youngest son and took the place of poor George the eldest. Sir Cuthbert Sharp admits that "it has not been easy to trace the Aireys." Thomas Airey the fitter had several children besides Thomas and Joseph, three being sons, Henry, of Benwell and Newcastle, fitter, admitted free of the Hostmen's Company in 1765, who married in May 1771, at Penrith, a daughter of Mr. Cooper, Vicar of Penrith; Jonathan, admitted a Hostman, 1768, master of the Trinity House, Newcastle; and William, a mercer.

Henry had issue two sons, John and Henry, both admitted free of the Hostmen's

into the country. A woman of the house where they lodged, having newly taken the kettle off the fire, wherein an hamm of bacon had been boiled, and the boy playing where it stood, fell backward into it, whereby his back and loins were so miserably scalded, that in two or three dayes it brought convulsions upon him, and the fifth day he dyed. Your sister hath been greatly afflicted even to many swoundings, but is now in a better composure, though with the interruption of some bitter passions now and then." The sorrow of the poor mother bordering upon excess and impatience, a relation of hers writing upon her to her brother the minister, Jan. 26, 1694, did in the following tearms warn and admonish her: "I am sorry to hear Cousin A. is so weakly in body, the Lord strengthen her with strength in her soul. I wish she would read Mr. Flavel's Token for mourners, or that letter page 30. of Mr. Joh. Janeway's Life. I desire she may not provoke God to answer her by terrible things in righteousness, which if she do, whatever she thinks, she will find the loss of a child, though in such a way, but a trifle to it. I would gladly warn all my relations against the least degree of murmuring. I do think the least of it is exceding provoking to God, and do judge it was the great cause of my own horrible trouble. Did we but thoroughly consider our own wretchedness and demerits, the great mercy of God in giving us leave to come boldly to the

Company in 1802. John was appointed clerk of the Company in 1803, and was succeeded by Nathaniel Punshon in 1807.

The MS. is frequently quoted in Brand's Newcastle and in 1796 John Airey of Newcastle reminds him that about 12 or 14 years before, partly through Mr. Alderman Hornby, his father Mr. Henry Airey, formerly of Benwell, but, at the date of the letter, of Newcastle, had lent him the life of Barnes, mentioned in his preface. He states that the historian was in error in returning thanks for it to the writer's uncle Mr. Jonathan Airey, if the acknowledgments to that person referred to the MS., as Mr. Henry Airey bought it, along with the rest of his father's books, at his decease. Finally, he begs its return.

Brand answers that he had conceived the Life to have been lent by Mr. Jonathan Airey to the late Mr. Saint and by him communicated to himself for the purposes of his history: and that the acknowledgments in the preface arose from that idea. He says that the book was sent up to London in one of the boxes containing his books (not by his order, but as having been found among them) that came up by sea two or three years before, and had two very narrow escapes of having been taken by the French and lost in a storm on the coast of Holland whither the 'Two Dorothies' was driven. He will gladly return it with thanks, if Messrs. Henry and Jonathan Airey will jointly request him to do so in a letter by which the latter is to state that the supposition that he was the proprietor was a mistake. This correspondence was published by Mr. G. N. Clark in the publications of the Newcastle Typographical Society.

On the back of the MS. is the signature "Jno. Aircy," and under it "Willm. Turner, Hanover Square Chapel, Newcastle upon Tyne."

John Airey was, I presume, the Newcastle solicitor of that name, who was afterwards principal agent to Lord Carrington, and died in 1827.

Henry's father Thomas, as we have seen, was grandson to Ambrose Barnes. The pedigree of the book is satisfactory.

throne of grace by a Redeemer, we might always find cause to say he hath dealt bountifully with us, even when he deals bitterly with us. An hope of mercy or a possibility of obtaining it, is a favour that cannot be too highly prized. They who know what it is to be without hope, know a little what vallue it is of." Such lessons upon a mind prepared as this gentlewoman had, tended to arm her against far greater combats. With much feeling she exprest herself to a friend: "It is now about six weeks since I writ to you, and, least my letter have miscarryed, I now give you my hearty thanks for yours, which in all the parts of it is still useful to me.—The burden is insupportable to lie under, to think of sinning away my dear child who was in all respects so great a mercy, so great a pleasure to me! My sorrowful unruly mind has brought my poor body under such weakness as, I must with shame confess, unfits me for my duty either to God or man. The Lord fit me for himself. Somtimes I say, why do I contend with God, he is stronger than I, it is of his mercy I am not consumed; this I call to mind, therefore have I hope. Somtimes I think it were better for me to be removed hence, but again I say this is my infirmity, and procedes from impatience. O Lord, I am distrest, undertake for me. I can take comfort in nothing. God forgive my sin. O that I may come as gold out of this fire! Let this cup of gall and wormwood be the cup of my communion in the sufferings of Christ. Be so kind as to let me hear often from you, which I long for, being your sorrowful, &c., A. A."

[The bowells of her father earned to be sure towards her in her distress which was but the beginning of sorrows in comparison of what she lived to see, and had not strength to survive. For God drew not back his hand untill by the mortality that insued not many years after in her father's family, there was a melancholy alteration, those who were left spending their dayes in obscurity, and others who were once by far their inferiours rising up to the rank that they once were distinguisht by *.]

[Mrs. Airey, worn out with grief and sorrow under the worldly calamities which a faithless ill husband brought upon her and her children, found no relief but in death. In one of her last agonies and fainting-fits, thinking by what she felt, that her soul was departing, she stretcht herself out, saying, "Now, all my troubles are at an end;" and it was not long before they were [did *orig.*] so, as there is great reason to hope from the piety of her past life †.]

[What was commendable and what was discommendable in his

* From Book III.

† From another part of Book III.

youngest daughter SARAH, was so strangely jumbled by the confusion of her head, that it was an hard matter what to say of her, farther than that she made evident discoveries of the fear of God, which, in Chrysostom's opinion, makes a distracted person a sober person. She hated lying and abhorred the wayes of wicked men, read much, and was a strict observer of the Saboth. Her affections went altogether after her brother and his children *.]

[Either to anticipate new burdens and take them upon faster than God lays them, as if the evill of one day were not sufficient for that day; or to distrust Divine assistance, that with every temptation God will not make a way of escape, is to live below the faith of a Christian. I have from other hands received the following passage concerning this gentleman Mr. Barnes, that having whilst he was a shopkeeper, paid a bill of 187*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*, the mony being carryed out, he could not anywhere find the bill, to testify the payment. Whilst he was searching for it, his youngest girl comes into the shop, leaping with a paper pinned at her slieve, telling her father she had got a fine *valentine*. He looking at it, found it was the bill which he wanted, which, dropping down from the counter, a little shock-dog had carryed it to the market-cross † which stood over against the shop, where the child took it out of its mouth and pinned it at her slieve ‡.]

[This] third daughter, SARAH, was of no less sincerity in religion than her sisters, but most of her life being spent under the infirmity of a disordered head, which disturbed the seat of her imagination, she proved a rod to exercise her relations, rather than a staff to help them §. By continual reading of the Anotations and good books, she attained a knowledge in Scripture and the best things, more than is usual for persons in her condition, and was a very harmless woman in her behaviour. But her distracted manner of conversation rendred her contemptible among proud and scornful people. Yet when she came to die, she was in a composed and most solemn posture, apprehensive of her dissolution, and rational and christian in her deportment, and died well, [uttering these her last words :—"O pray for me, for now I cannot pray myself ‖."]

* From Book III.

† This I presume is the "faire crosse with columnes of stone hewn, covered with lead," which stood at the junction of Butcher Bank and the Side. It was called the Cale-Cross. Milk, egges, cheese and butter were sold there.

‡ From Book III.

§ Sharp very strangely alters the word *disordered* to *bad*, and all that he says of her is that she "was of no less sincerity in religion than either of her sisters, but most of her life being spent under the infirmity of a *bad head*, she proved a rod to exercise her relations."

Sara Barnes bur. 18 May 1720. (Sharp's MSS.)

‖ From Book III.

Her two elder sisters were all his children that marryed, except his eldest son JOSEPH, in writing of whome, we do but give the history of his father in miniature, whatever reputation this son grew to being owing wholly to his wise father.

His father's usual *memento* to him in his youth was, *Spartam quam nactus es, orna,* and he did so far answer his admonition, that he became of fame in his profession of the Law. The Lord Somers and he were noted for two of the hardest students, and two of the frugallest commoners in the Temple. There he was first called to be Utter Barrister and afterwards Reader. Sir Bartholomew Showers would speak of him as his master in his profession. The nobility and gentry of the north trusted him in matters of the highest importance relating to their estates. He did, with Sir Matthew Hale, keep the hours of the hall constantly in term-time, and never put himself out of commons in vacation-time, following his studies with unwearied diligence. Not satisfyed with the books upon cases, and statutes he had read, or taking things upon trust, he was very nice in seeking all records, and made collections out of them with other cases and statutes, then mixing them with his own observations, he did, with great industry and judiciousness, digest them into a common place-book. His parts were extraordinary, a strong memory, profound judgment, of a quick and lively apprehension and of a ready wit, his pleadings smooth and close to the point without noise or bawling, or artificial colourings of language. As his estate increast, he increast his alms to charity-schools and poor houskeepers, but his charity was secrecy. He got several books of practical religion printed and disperst for the use of families.

When a breach was made by King James upon the charters of corporations, he was, out of a respect to his father, chosen to be recorder *, and being, by his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, introduced into the king's presence, it cost him as much artifice to avoid a knighthood as it cost others to procure that title. He would never comply with the law so far as to be put into the commission of peace. He was afterwards made Recorder of Barwick †, but executed his office by a deputy. When Queen

* "Recorders of Newcastle.—Sir Robert Shafto, knight, occurs A.D. 1660, made serjeant at law in Easter-term, 1674. In the town's books, September 23d, 1685, he is called "late recorder," He died 1705, May 21st, Ætatis 72. Henry Lampton, Esq., occurs as deputy recorder ibid. September 23d, 1685. He came in upon the renewing of the charter [by Charles II.]. He occurs December 5th, 1687. Joseph Barnes, Esq., eldest son of Alderman Ambrose Barnes, was appointed by King James II's letter mandatory to be 'deputy recorder,' December 24th 1687, on the removal of Lampton. Sir Robert Shafto, knight, came in again at the Revolution." Brand, ii. 216.

† 28 April 1710. Sharp.

Ann made a new call of serjeants, none of his London acquaintance could prevail with him to share in that promotion, though the gentlemen of the long robe who knew his ability, and had an honourable esteem of his sincerity and modesty, were scarce willing to put on the coif without his company. But he thought his practice as a common lawyer more beneficial to him, and his father having formed his mind into a strict engagement in religion, he was not fond of titles, but, aware of the temptations which attend those who are desirous to rise, he kept his private station, and having many children, he provided well for them, and died in the fifty-third year of his age, much lamented *.

* He had resigned the recordership of Berwick, and his successor was appointed in Feb. 1711.

Will of Joseph Barnes of Newcastle upon Tine, barrister att law, dated 25 Aug. 1711, proved at Durham. My executrices may lay out about my funerall any summe not exceeding 50*l.* To my eldest son Joseph 200*l.* soe much of the said 200*l.* as shall be requisite to be laid out for or towards his educacion in some imployment or honest way of living. To each of my younger sons Thomas Richard and Jonathan 500*l.*, and to my daughters Eliz., Mary, Sarah and Ann 400*l.* each when 21 or married. To my three friends John Ord of NC., gent., Ralph Fetherston, gent., and Wm. Cotesworth, merchant, my lands and grounds in NC., my two farmeholds and all my messuages in Monkton and Over Heworth, holden by lease from the Dean and Chapter of Durham, on trust to renew the leases &c.; and to permitt my wife Sarah Barnes to receive the residue dureing her widdowhood for the provideing for my children; and then, after the determination of her widdowhood, or before with her concurreuce, to sell them and pay out of it to my son Joseph 300*l.* and to each of my daurs. 150*l.*, and the rest to my sons Thos., Richd., and Jonathan. To my wife the use of my plate, linnen, gold rings and household stuffe dureing her widdowhood and afterwards I give the same to my daughters. I appoint that my law books and history books shall not be sold, but a schedule to be made thereof, and they to be carefully preserved for such of my sons as shall have occasion for and will make use of the same, and, in the mean while, my friend Mr. Fetherston to have the use of any of my said books upon his request. To my sister Mrs Mary Hutchinson and to Mr. Alderman White, Mr. Aldn. Fenwick, the said Mr. Ord, Mr. Fetherston, Mr. Cotesworth, and to my bror. Thomas and sister Sarah Barnes respectively, one gold ring of the vallue of 20*s.* To my sister Mrs Mary Hutchinson the yearly rent charge of 24*l.* given me by my father's will subject to the same trust, and one full moiety of my groves and mines of lead oar in Aldston Moor which did belong to her late husband Jonathan Hutchinson Esq. deceased, and to me as executor of my father, and one 4th part of the Flake bridge grove in Teasdale Forrest co. Dm. The rest of my shares in the said lead mines to my children. Wife to be guardian of my children, desiring they may be carefully and diligently instructed in all the truths of the holy Christian religion and taught to live in the world usefully and with discretion, and expecting and waiting for the comeing of Christ who will sever the pretious from the vile, and justly reward all according to their works. My wife and sister Hutchinson joint executrices. Aldermen White and Fenwick, Mr. Ord, Mr. Fetherston, and Mr. Cotesworth supervisors.

Mr. Barnes was buried at St. Nicholas', NC., 21 Mar. 1711-12. His wife administered along with Joseph Airey, gent. 4 Feb. 1713. Mrs. Sarah Barnes, widow, was buried at St. Nicholas', 27 Jan. 1737.

From the text it would appear that Joseph Barnes was born in 1659. A Joseph Barnes, noted by Sharp as baptized at St. Nicholas' 2 April 1658 is elsewhere said by him by have been buried there on that same day. *Sed qu.* As the parents

[This elder son, Mr. Joseph Barnes, in company would sometimes be very pleasant. Once, in the country, where he kept

were married in 1655, there might well be some elder children besides Mary Barnes, afterwards Hutchinson, who died infants. But I am not sure that the text ought not to read "aged 53 years," seeing that Anne Barnes was born 26 Feb. 1659-60.

The following children of Joseph Barnes have occurred to me.

Ambrose Barnes is only known to me by a passage in the memoirs to the effect that Ambrose Barnes the subject of them was taken from the evil to come, "First, his grandson, who bore his name Ambrose, dyed in Holland; then his grandson William Hutchinson, then his son in law Jonathan Hutchinson, then his own eldest son Joseph, all in less than two years." Ambrose the elder died on 23 March, 1710, William Hutchinson on 20 Sep. 1710.

Joseph Barnes, d. inf., bur. 21 Mar. 1696 at St. Nicholas'.

Joseph Barnes, Esq., "my eldest son," 1711; bur. 8 Oct. 1718.

Richard, son of Joseph Barnes, Esq. was buried at St. Nicholas' 2 Aug. 1703. Qu. if the tombstone in the nave, marked with the arms of Barnes, and "I. B. Apr. 5, 1704" was not the covering of the family burial place of Joseph Barnes.

Thomas Barnes, named first among his "younger sons, Thomas, Richard, and Jonathan" by Joseph Barnes the elder. The following are Sharp's notes of the will of this Thomas Barnes, junior [his uncle the minister would be Thomas senior] of Newcastle, gent., made 5 Apr. 1723, proved 1724. Mother Sarah B. 100*l.* Sister Anne B. 100*l.* Sister Sarah 100*l.* To Rebecca Fletcher daughter of Joseph Fletcher of Sheffield, co. Yk., cutler, 500*l.* [400*l.* *Hunter*]. Dear friend Nat. Whitlock of Nottingham 5*l.* Friend Samuel Wroe, of Newcastle, gent. 5*l.* Elkana Fletcher's son, Tillotson's Sermons. Rev. Benjamin Bennet of NC. [*Hunter* omits the Rev. and calls him gent.] the said Sam. Wroe, and Joseph Fletcher, Stafford [the said Joseph Fletcher, *Hunter*] executors, to each 2*l.* What remains to be equally divided among my brothers and sisters, except Anne. (Sharp's MSS.) Rebecca Fletcher was to have married him. She married John Smith. Their daughter Elizabeth married John Girdler. Elizabeth Girdler their child married Michael Hunter and by him had issue an only child, Joseph Hunter, the famous historian of South Yorkshire. Mr. Hunter, in giving Sharp his descent states that after Thomas Barnes's death "distribution had not been made of the estate of Joseph Barnes, and there were also questions about his will remaining undetermined. Suits were pending, when Rebecca Fletcher agreed to accept of 200*l.* from the Executors of Joseph Barnes in full of her claim, and the Executors of the will of Thomas Barnes renounced their executorship. This arrangement was carried into effect by deeds dated 11 and 13 November, 1724, copies of which I have."

Richard Barnes, merchant adventurer and boothman, was admitted to the freedom of the town, 1734. Mr. Richard Barnes was bur. at St. Nicholas', 8 Nov. 1734. On his death a question arose as to his right to deal with Startforth. Sharp's MS. notes of the papers are these. "Ambrose Barnes, seized in fee of lands in Startforth, settled them on his eldest son Joseph Barnes, with Sarah Righe his intended wife: rem. heirs of Joseph &c.: rem. Ambrose in fee. Joseph died in the lifetime of Sarah, leaving Richard and *John* [lege Jonathan] and four or more daughters. Sarah the widow and Richard the eldest son by lease &c. 19 Dec. 1730 conveyed to two of his sisters Eliz. Barnes and Anne Bradford. He is dead without issue. Sarah is dead, and John [Jonathan] is the only surviving son of Joseph. Can the sisters make a good title without John [Jonathan] joining in a common recovery, which he is not willing to do? Counsel advises that it is not so clear a case as to enable him to advise a purchase without John [Jonathan] joining.—— 1 May 1735. Mr. Jonathan Barnes's settlement and recovery and his purchase deeds of his 4th part of Startforth lands from his sister Elizabeth.——28 Sep. 173.. Mrs. Barnes, Mrs. Bradford, and Jonathan Barnes, to Wm. Hutchinson, Esq."

Jonathan Barnes, last surviving son. "Mr. Jonathan Barnes" was bur. 2 May 1744, at St. Nicholas'. He would be named after Jonathan Hutchinson his aunt's husband.

Elizabeth Barnes, the first of the grantees of 1730, afterwards married Ralph

several courts, some gentlemen of Northumberland drinking where he was sitting, begun an health to the church, being very

Fell, who fought in the wars of Queen Anne. He was latterly in the customs of Newcastle. His only son Joseph Fell, in the customs, Newcastle, married Dorothy Blakiston of the Laygate, South Shields, and had issue:—William, d. unm.: Richard Fell, South Shields, married: Hannah, Anthor of a poem on the Times, wife of John James, s. p.: Elizabeth, wife of Purvis Sisson, s. p.: and Ralph, youngest, "now dead—two daughters living in London, Anthor of Life and Opinions of C. J. Fox, a Tour through the Batavian Republic &c." (Sharp's MSS.)

Anne Barnes, the other grantee, was married at St. Andrew's, 28 May, 1728, to William Bradford, who was inducted Vicar of Newcastle, 2 Aug. in the same year at the early age of 25. He was son of Samuel Bradford, Bishop of Carlisle, who presented him to the living. "He had a halt in walking, occassioned by a lameness in one of his legs. A little before his death, which was occasioned by a fever, and happened at Bromley in Kent, he was preferred to the Archdeacoury of Rochester. He died 15 July, 1728, in his 32nd year, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. (Brand.) There was no issue of the marriage and his widow retired to Islington. She intended to leave her property which was 1000*l.* in the funds and a house in Newcastle, joining the Custom House, to Col. Ridley, but he died first. So she left it to the children of her nephew Joseph Fell, with a life interest to Elizabeth Sisson her niece. She died in 1782 or 3. (Sharp's MSS.)

Mary Barnes occurs in Sharp's pedigree.

Sarah Barnes is mentioned in her uncle Thomas's will of 1730-1, by her maiden name. One of these probably married an Airey. The following statement depends on Sharp's MSS. "Mr. Airey married another daughter [of *Joseph* Barnes] by whom there was a numerous issue who married Mr. Henry of Howden Dock, Mr. Prince of London, Mr. Walton, Farnacres, and the two old Miss Aireys of Westgate Street, who died unmarried." On another page he states that Airey's name was Thomas: and, as to the married ladies, that Prince had "two or three daughters now living, one married, the two unmarried in opulent circumstances;" that "Ruth" Airey married Nicholas Walton son of Nicholas Walton of Farnacres in 1758; and that "Elizabeth" married Francis Henry of Yarmouth, afterwards of Howden Pans, by whom she had "Francis Harvey now living at Heworth" who had issue.——"Mrs. Walton, Westgate Street Hill, the widow of the last of the Waltons—now living—was an Airey, and married her own cousin, a well informed woman." Sharp remarks of the Aireys generally that "it has not been easy to trace" them, and that his "sketches are not to be relied on."

Hannah Barnes was buried 25 Aug. 1709. More interest attaches to her successor to the name.

Hannah Barnes, daughter of Joseph Barnes, was the first wife of Matthew Ridley, Esq. the "bright star of Heaton." Their marriage was not publickly acknowledged during her lifetime. She died in 1741, when one of her brothers, thinking that she had been harshly treated, and that the concealment of her marriage hastened her death, published an angry account of her sufferings. (Sharp's Tract.) There was a son from this match, Richard Ridley, a colonel in a foot regiment, born in the parish of St. George the Martyr, London, 5 July 1736. He died in Edinburgh, s. p. 1789, and was buried in St. Nicholas', NC., as was his mother. (Hodgon's Nd. ii. 326.) "He was between two and three [*read* five and six] years old when his mother died, whose marriage took place in London, which was kept secret, for what reason I never could learn. There were many anecdotes on the subject. When the beadle asked Mr. Ridley who he was to toll the bell for, his reply was 'Who but for Mrs. Ridley.'" (Sharp's MSS.)——"Yesterday morning, died Hannah, wife of Mat. Ridley, Esq., one of our worthy aldermen and Governor of the Merchants' Company. She was a lady of the strictest virtue and honour, and is greatly lamented by all who had the happiness of her acquaintance." (Newcastle Journal, 7 Nov. 1741.)——"When the boy grew up a little, he had a wooden sword which he flourished, and called to his father, 'Now let me see who dare call my mother a w——.' He went early into the army. When Mr. Ridley

merry to think how Mr. Barnes, who was a known dissenter, would bring himself off when it came to his turn to pledge it. But he, first taking notice of the ill manners of spoiling conversation by party-marks, takes the glass and sais, "Since it is not better. I'l try to make sense of your nonsense, and *here's a health to the church, for indeed the church wants nothing so much as health.*" He was greatly beloved by all sorts. In his life, God kept him from the temptations of his calling, and, in his death, he felt the comfort of it. Being sorely wearied with pain and weakness, amongst his last words, he said "he longed to be at home." His greatest blemish was his morose behavior towards his relations. But as we have not concealed the dark sides of bright examples, it were injustice to let them pass without adding, that the grace of God did at length overcome all infirmities. They lived and dyed in the love of God and sincere love to one another *.]

[His youngest son, who bore his grandfather's name THOMAS, was invited to exercise his ministry at Portsmouth or Colechester, [I know not which, *erased*], but I think he did not accept it, nor did I ever hear him much publickly taken notice of †.]

married his second wife, sole heiress of Sir M. White, with reversion of baronetcy to her eldest son [this is confused, the marriage was in 1742, the creation on May 8, 1756] the colonel gave up all right and title to the Heaton and other estates, most likely for an annuity. He died unmarried. He was greatly beloved by the late Sir M. W. Ridley who always called him brother. He was cut for the stone, which is preserved at Blagdon." (Sharp's MSS. probably from the inf. of Joseph Fell.) —— These statements about the cession of the Colonel's rights, an act likely enough in his days of confirmed bachelorship, are confused by making the great match with White an item of time rather than of influence. The colonel could not be more than between 6 and 7 years old at the second marriage which took place in November twelvemonth after Hannah Barnes's death, and between 19 and 20 when Matthew Ridley was created a Baronet in 1756, with remainder to his sister's heirs male, which took effect in 1763.

* From Book iii.

† Book iii. This youngest son of Alderman Barnes was living at the date of the memoirs. There is no specific mention of him in Book i. the notices there ending with Joseph. Incidental paragraphs occur about him as will be seen, and certain letters to him either through the originals or copies had fallen into the memorialist's hands. The portrait mentioned in his will may possibly have been that intended to be copied as a frontispiece to the memoirs.

1726-7. Feb. 7. Will of Robert Hutchinson of NCastle, sometimes of Hartlepool, gent., only son and heir of Mr. St. Hutchinson, confectioner. I give and bequeath to Thomas Barnes, second and only surviving son of Mr. Ambrose Barnes, late merchant of NC., all my lands at Willington consisting of three closes, two Chimny Mills adjoining the Castle Leases &c.

1728. Dec. 6. His widow gives an estate called East Newbiggin to said Thomas Barnes.

1730-1. Jan. 22. Will of Thomas Barnes, clerk, last surviving son of Ambrose Barnes, merchant, being advanced in years. To nephew Joseph Airey, and niece Ruth his wife, all lands tenements &c. being in a street called Sidgate and my two mills called Chimney Mills with the houses, fields &c., being in the Castle Leases

[* We have recovered a letter to his younger son, then in London, dated 20th May 1693 :—" Son, In order to perfect your education, it will do well you should continue longer in the city. Advise with Mr. Cole concerning your invitation to Colchester, but I would have you come down into the country to me, before you engage with any people. I hear from other hands, you have begun to preach, God give seed to the sower, and may his Urim and Thummim be ever with you. Remember Aaron's Rod was an almond-tree : the almond budds the first of any tree. 'Tis a blessed thing to see young ministers flourishing in grace. Isaiah, Jeremiah, Samuel, Timothy, John Baptist, Athanasius, were all early plants. The study of holy things are fittest for holy persons. Green heads and unsavoury hearts will make nothing out in the ministry. They may, and they do, make a trade of it, but that is worse than making nothing of it. You know the old complaint, *hodie Catechumenus cras Episcopus*. New preachers start up every day, but many run before they be sent, and 'tis no wonder to see them take by-wayes and run their own errands. They learn to make their court to the rich, they strive to get into all pulpits in order to procure themselves a name, they are forward to thrust themselves into everything that makes a noise, studying whatever may render them popular, and are in all points like the Agrippæ, who, as an ill presage of their future government, were born with their feet foremost. This self-confidence in things above them, is the indication of a novice, instead of φιλόλογοι, lovers of substantial learning, they are, as Pytha-

without the walls of Newcastle. To said Joseph and Ruth all personal as well as real estate. I give an annuity of 10*l.* to be paid to my niece Sarah Barnes, daughter of my late elder brother Joseph Barnes. If Joseph and Ruth die without issue, then my lands mills &c. to my nephew Thomas Airey, ostman, his heirs &c., paying the interest of 100*l.* to my nephew George Airey, master and mariner, so long as said George live. To Joseph Airey my books and papers "*desiring they may not be lent abroad.*" To George Airey my watch and case of large pistols. To Thomas Airey a silver pint tankard, and to each of his sons Thomas and Joseph a silver spoon. To Sarah Barnes a silver gilt cup, my Bible with silver clasps &c. To Ruth Airey *my father's picture* &c. To Joseph Airey my scrutore. To Thomas Airey my silver-headed cane. To Ruth, silver porringer. To George Airey all my better sort of apparel. To Sarah Barnes six pair finer sort of sheets, with a dozen finer sort of pillowbers. To Ruth Airey my coffee mill. Three silver cups to be sold and the money given to the poor. Mrs. Jane Gofton 10*l.* and all my household stuff. Joseph Airey and Ruth executors.

1730-1. March 4. Codicil. My estate at Willington is not devised. So I give it, commonly called the Thornes and that close called the Wardell in the same township, all which are in the occupation of George Robinson, taylor, to Joseph Airey his heirs and assigns for ever. (Sharp's MSS.)

Mr. Thomas Barnes, bur. 30 Apr. 1731 (Ibid.)

The House Carpenters' Books (Newcastle) in 1760 mention the "Mill House in the Leazes belonging to Mrs. Ruth Arey."

* From Book iii.

goras complained, λογόφιλοι, lovers of empty words, addicting themselves to compt phrases and a modish stile, rather than to a humble laborious search after truth. Be not over solicitous for elegance of words, when it would either hinder you from digesting your matter throughly, or occasion you to neglect what has weight in it. Words are but the cloathing of matter. Apt words and quaint periods are very good ornaments in stile, but they are trifles when the want of them shall silence a man of good sense and notions. Superficial persons of shallow comprehension, who are impatient of the fatigue of hard study, usually skim over their subject, that they may blow up the whipt cream of their own froathy eloquence. Schollars who take in what they get with more labour and pains, may pass for slow, yet, as is observed by the noble Picus of Mirandola, they retain it much more surely, and digest their notions more thoroughly. Deep and weighty things, though delivered in a rough unfashionable manner, will reach the reason and convince the understanding many degrees beyond light and superficial thoughts, though drest up in the best language. Sense is beyond words, as substance exceeds the shadow. Solicitude for words argues a penury of matter. Not that a man should be bald, careless or slovenly. He who intends a poem need not copy after our Chaucer. But, in speaking, you shall, by good sense, gain the approbation of persons of the best taste, which is more to be vallued, than by florid and fine sentences to gratify the fancy and tickle the ears of flashy insipid people. And this well becomes them who are called to speak in the assemblies of the saints in places where God's honour dwells. Though gravity passeth for dulness among our gay masters of the mode, a man who enters the sacred character of an ambassador of Christ, with that just sense he should have of the nature of the office, will take more care about dispatching his errand, than how to make his entry in fine equipage. Not but that good breeding and an affable deportment well becomes a clergyman, as I minded your brother when I entred him in the Temple of a passage of Serjeant F. who advised a relation of his, a bencher, not altogether to neglect a complaisant behaviour, 'for,' said he, 'there is such an one gets more by his cap than I can get by all my law.' And I have observed there is an air of brisk conversation, which the people of London look upon as a sign of good nature, by which a man is thought to be an obliging person, and is very winning amongst them. But that levity of discourse and behaviour which some young ministers allow themselves in, agrees better with the French clergy than with the natural plainness of our English, who expect more in an accomplished divine than airy flights,

spruisness of dress, and an agreableness to the ladies foible. Moreover, it is required in stewards that a man be found faithful. A man of abilities who sets himself to sale where he spies the most beneficial place, and prostitutes his gifts to the building of his house and the advancing of his own fortunes, must make the best of what he gets, for 'tis all the reward he shall receive from God. Such an one does not the part of the Bridegroom's friend, but instead of espousing souls to Christ, he stamps his own likeness upon them which it may be is not very beautiful, makes them his creatures, his babies, his disciples and admirers, but no christians. No matter how obscurely you and I pass through the world, if we may without mention of our own names, unheard, unknown, in the least measure, contribute to the advancement of the precious name of Christ, it is the outmost of my ambition for you. . . Now because I apprehend, not the English affairs in general onely, but the interest of religion amongst Dissenters in particular, taking a sore shrink by narrow views and self-seeking in all stations, you will not take it amiss to be cautioned against this incroaching evill. . . You would, I suppose, abhorr the thoughts of bowing to an altar or a piece of bread, nor would your mind lead you to those unwarrantable ceremonies that many are fond of under pretence of order, decency, and reverence; so to worship the sun, moon, and starrs, to plant groves as the heathen did, pretending to imitate Abraham who planted a grove, Gen. 21. 33, to sacrifice children as they did by a corrupt imitation of Abraham's offering his son, and Jeptha his daughter; to follow Jeroboam's idolatry, who excused it from Jacob's worshiping at Bethel, or to use superstitious music from an abuse of David's practice; much less would you adore dogs, cats, worms, flies or serpents, as the Egyptians did, such prostrations would now a dayes be counted gross absurdities, monstrous stupidities. Yet, how little is it considered that to worship self is worse than any of these. For, in the meanest creature, there is the goodness of being which it hath from God, but self is not from God, nor hath it any goodness at all. Worms and flies never wronged God, but self does so as often as it is suffered to prevail. When men worship creatures, the creatures receive it not, but self giveth and self taketh this worship. . . . My stay in the world cannot now be long, the time of my departure is at hand, and I bless God I am weary of these times wherein the love of many waxeth cold. . . . Be you careful for nothing, onely be willing to Christ's service, and leave him to open a door for you. I would have you spend this year and what longer time you please in London, nor do I grudge it though your being there lie me in as much charge as your brother JOSEPH did at the Inns of

Court. You are entering into the ministry at a time when I foresee dark clouds covering our heavens, and the nonconformist-interest is falling very low, but—*filiabitur nomen ejus*, Psal. 72. 17. Pray for your loving father, A. B."

He brought his children up in so prudent and religious a manner, that his daughters did exemplify their education, and his sons, without regard to worldly preferment, were imployed to serve the best interests of mankind, temporal and spiritual.]

[* As fathers, though never so grave and ancient, will delight themselves in their children, so would he with his younger son when he was a child, excusing himself with Agiselaus of Sparta, who, being surprized by his friend riding upon a stick with his little son, told him he must stay 'till himself was a father of children to be capable of these tendernesses and forgettings of himself. After the same manner would he divert himself and put his hand sometimes to the mean businesses of his house at home. And though his ardent desire to preserve union amongst his children had not generally that success that might have been wisht, yet his authority had an effect so far, that friendly offices were not omitted even among the coldest of them. I read somthing of it in what follows from one of his kinsmen to another, who had not for several years seen one another; dated 29 Sep. 1707: "I most heartily thank you for your unexpected, your kind and oblieging letter. 'Twas indeed surprizing to hear from you, but very reviving when one has but few relations. 'Tis comfortable to know they are alive, and that in this unnatural age they have some concern for one another. It grieved me often I never heard from you, and I take it kindly that amongst a thousand thoughts which men of your business and station necessarily have, you had any thoughts of me. God has given me a cup of salvation and hath remembred me in my low estate. There are so many beauties of a kind and seasonable providence in my case as are truly wonderful. I am oblieged to you for your prayers and desire their continuance. It would have been a great honour to me if I could now and then have had your company, for 'tis a credit to have the company and conversation of a sober Parliament-man. But I know very well your weighty affairs call you to greater company. We do most heartily pray for you gentlemen our senators, and excuse all things considering the weight that lies on your shoulders. You make our purses grone, and we make your heads ache. I'l take an oportunity to do myself the honour to wait upon you, and will send you word. I go to no taverns or coffee-houses, but if you'l at

* This also is from Book iii.

your leisure appoint a private house where we may dine, God willing I will meet you: but to say you will quit your public business for a day for my sake, is I humbly conceive a complement too complemental." Thus notwithstanding the briars and thorns wrapt about the grace of God as it was planted in these earthern vessels, there never was anything like jarrings or unseemly discords amongst them.]

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST TIME OF HIS MAGISTRACY.

[Being, whilst a young man, one of the Chamberlains of Newcastle, there came an alderman to get some gilders changed, but with such unreasonable advantage to himself, as would have been a prejudice to the Chamber. This base intention our Author not onely refused to gratify, but likewise added, "had he been his worship's equal, he would tell him to his face he was a very knave for offering such a thing." *]

He had not been long the governour of his own family, when the Town began to cast an eye upon him as fit for publick government. Newcastle upon Tyne is a town and county, consisting of many large spacious streets, and several commodious market-places. It is encompast with an old decayed wall, with towers at convenient distances, fortifyed heretofore with a castle built by Duke Robert †, of great trade for coles, and the *Emporium of the North* for merchandice of all sorts. The place is ancient, though there be hardly any marks of antiquity remain that are worth the observation of the curious ‡. The Church of St.

* From Book iii.

† Robert, son of William the Conqueror built a *municiuncula* here. Probably no remains of it exist. So much of the present keep as is ancient was the work of Henry II., between 1172 and 1177. See the whole history of the castle in Archæologia Æliana, 8vo. iv. 45.

‡ The countrified and rather bald mannerism of the Newcastle architecture which, judging from Saint Andrew's, prevailed from an early period, was not likely to interest the writer if he were a southern gentleman accustomed to richer remains of the past. 'Even in speaking of the famous lantern of St. Nicholas' he is unimpassioned. But to our own days Newcastle was full of remains of interest to Bernicians. With the exception of an occasional raid against superstitious images and legends, the very ornaments of churches did not suffer materially before the cruel spoliations of our own days. Cromwell did not destroy the tombs and chapels of our kings, and there was sufficient sentiment in Newcastle to procure respect for ancestral objects on which a Rhodes or a Thornton had gazed with satisfaction. There was also much christian feeling in the country, despite the bickerings about church government, ritualism, and unimportant doctrines. This would militate against the destruction of what was an object of interest to a friend or a neighbour.

Nicholas is adorned with an hansom square lanthorn of stone, resting upon four cross arches, whose bases lye in four towers, upon each corner of the steeple. The Masin-Dieu, by its name, seems to have been intended for some religious use*. The Penter-Heugh-Bridge is but a dirty high piece of arch-work over the common shoar which runns from the upper part of the town †. King John's House has nothing of it left, the ground where it stood being covered with new buildings ‡. Pandon-Gate is old to a proverb, receiving its name from the Roman Pantheon

Before the increase of smoke in the place, time's colouring would assist the quaint and irregular beauty of the legacies of our predecessors, and there is ample evidence in the literature of the 17th century to show that more than a Fuller or a Milton could appreciate them. William Gray was not a florid writer, but he could honestly admire the "head of majesty" of St. Nicholas' church, its "many sumptuous windows, that in the East surpassing all the rest in height, largeness, and beauty," the "stately tomb" of Roger Thornton in All Saints', and "the old building and fashion" of St. Andrew's church "the ancientest of all the four." And he could lament over "our churches and houses defaced, the ornaments of both plundered and carried away," after the storming of the town by the Scots.

* "Domus Dei." An excellent charity, founded by Roger de Thornton, one of the great benefactors of the town. After the dissolution, the Lumleys, descendants of the founder, obtained it, and, in 1624, conveyed it to the Corporation. "The merchants' court was built above the Maison-Dieu." The licence for its erection in 1403 mentions the provision there of meat and clothing for the poor. Before 1546 it was also understood to comprise the harbouring of the sick, and coals were given to the needy in addition to other hospitality for their relief. In 1456 the then Thornton granted to the burgesses the use of the hall and kitchen of the hospital "for a young couple, when they were married to make their wedding dinner in, and receive the offerings and gifts of their friends; for at that time houses were not large." (Milbank MS.)

† The Lorke Burn, which flows under the modern thoroughfares of Grey Street and Dean Street and so to the Tyne close to the Maison Dieu. The part between Dean Street and the river through the Side, and Sandhill, was arched over in 1696. The Painter-Heugh Bridge of the text seems to have been the Nether Dean Bridge which crossed the burn at the East end of St. Nicholas' church. The passage from Pilgrim Street lower down the burn is called Painter Heugh, and the name is ancient, as is that of Nether Dean Brig. It may, however, have been applied to the district generally. Painter is "a rope by which boats are moored, and heugh is a steep hill side. Mr. Wardle, architect, of this town, has told the writer, that in examining, some years ago, a cellar at the corner of Painter Heugh and Dean Street, he noticed what he took to be the remains of a quay. An iron ring was inserted in the masonry, and the masonry in the vicinity of the ring was marked as if by the action of boat hooks." So Dr. Bruce in his very useful hand book. Bourne speaks of the same appearances under the Nether Dean Bridge, "under which (he says) is now a warehouse of Mr. James Moncaster, merchant. Under this I am told the rings are still to be seen that the boats were fastened to, which brought up the merchant goods, when the merchants had their shops in the Fleshmarket."

‡ Supposed by Brand, with much probability, to be Pandon Hall, which, in the 17th century, was associated with the old kings of Northumberland. Bourne describes it as "now rebuilt in some measure" but retaining many ancient walls and parts of the ancient building. The "new buildings" are now called Red Row. They face Stockbridge, and were recently purchased by Mr. C. D. Garbutt, of Gateshead. The deeds run up to 5 Eliz. and yield a *sigillum secretum* of the town in addition to the seals published by Bourne. "King John's Palace" in Gateshead

that stood there *, in the room of which, and near to that spot, stands the church of All Saints. The river Tyne continues navigable for great ships up to the bridge, as far as the Exchange, which stands on the upper end of a neat, long, and very convenient Key †. It is an ancient corporation, governed by a Mayor, ten Aldermen, a Recorder, one Sherif, and a Common Council, having ample privilieges granted by royal charters. This renders it a place of consequence in all changes which happen in England.

[‡ We have here in the North the marks of a rampart of turfs which Adrian built cross the land between the two seas. But because this sod-wall was not strong enough to keep off the invasions of the Caledonii or Piets, Severus built a wall of stone with a tower at every mile's end, a pipe of mettal running in the wall between tower and tower, for the sentinels to speak through §: and Corbridge, Pruddo-Castle, Ponteland, Pandon, and Tinmouth, were Roman stations || about the wall, all which are decayed by time.

[Our Town of Newcastle is incompast with a wall upon which are many towers which bear the names of them who built them ¶. We have Gray Fryars Tower, White Fryars Tower, Black Fryars Tower, Austin Fryars Tower, Durham and Carlile Towers. And the upper part of the town was formerly called Monkchester,

presents no features of antiquity. It occurs as Palace Place at an early period, and may indicate the site of an old manor house of the Bishops, as it adjoined the episcopal demesnes.

* Pandon was anciently Pampdene. There was a place at Auckland similarly named.

† See Buck's view for the inconvenient town wall which ran along the convenient quay. It had openings at intervals for access from the houses on the Quayside to the Quay.

‡ These extracts in brackets are taken from Book iii. part 1, chap. 6, for the convenience of bringing before the reader in the same place some other statements of the MS. touching Newcastle. Such appear to have been taken from Barnes's own MSS. They occur among remarks on the house built by Wisdom, the heavenly city. The chapter begins with this sentence:—"Being drawn on by the excellency of the knowledge of Christ, we shall follow him [Barnes] in the improvements he made after the evangelical writer already named." And chapter 7 commences thus:—"By what goes before from our Author's extracts, we may descern by what religious principles he acted."

§ The followers of Stukeley, as is well known, deny these old references of the works of the Wall. Horsley maintained them. Hodgson and Bruce have laboured the question with great acumen in favour of Stukeley's idea. Maclachlan is not convinced. The subject is not without its difficulties in the absence of discoveries in situ of cotemporary written evidence.

|| Corbridge is a Roman station on the Iter I. Prudhoe, Ponteland, and Pandon may or may not have been Roman settlements. Tynemouth could hardly have been without one, and has yielded inscribed proof. All are "about" not "on" the wall, except Pandon.

¶ Quære. The history of the walls of Newcastle is unsuitable for a note here. Amply illustrated, it would form an instructive little volume.

Chester qu. Castrum, a place of strength for religious persons *. But time and age has brought them to decay. What is become of the Castles of Dunstinbrough, Bambrough, Alnwick, Morpeth and Tinmouth, all built by Kings of Northumberland ?† They would now be but ramparts of chaff against our modern engines of war.

[It is seldom a single man builds a whole town, but particular men build particular houses. In the Antiquities of Newcastle, there is mention of one Roger Thornton ‡ a great benefactor to the place. There was one Adam Athol § who died in 1387 of

* *Civitas Monachorum*, not *Castrum Monachorum*. Vide Archæologia Æliana, 8vo. iv. 60.

† A bold assertion. Bambrough, however, was really a royal residence.

‡ As to Roger Thornton, I have nothing to add to the accounts of him by Brand and Hodgson, save a reference to Stainsby's Observations. Arch. Æl. 4to. iii. 119. His fair and interesting tomb was demolished with the church of All Saints. The brass thereof remains in the vestry of the new fabric. For its preservation we are grateful, albeit its custodiers a few years ago, as I understand, refused rubbings thereof for fear of injury!

§ For Aymer de Athol see Hodgson and White. Stainsby in 1666 says that "he gave a piece of ground to the towne called the Towne Moore where the faire is now kept." His chapel so far has escaped destruction and forgery. This is decent. For, although the statement that he was the donor of the whole Town Moor is open to criticism, it cannot be doubted that the traditions about him had some foundation in a gift near his own lordship. It is remarkable that during his lifetime his chapel appears to have been provided by other hands than his own. Whether the leave granted in 1376 to the parishioners of St. Andrew's to build in their churchyard is connected with Trinity chapel or not, certain it is that in 1387, the year of his wife's death, indulgences were issued by the bishops of Durham and Whitherne in favour of the repairers or ornamenters of the church and the chapel of Holy Trinity on its north side, and the donors of lights and worshippers at the image thereof for the good estate of Sir Aymer de Athol and the soul of Dame Mary his spouse whose body was resting there. Her effigy had "nothing remaining but from the shoulders upwards" in Bourne's time. But *her* head and bonnet have long since been thought unworthy of the attention of the parish in which the Town Moor lies. *His* physiognomy and helmet shared the same fate. Torn away to his toes, the remainder of the story is best given in the words of a genial contributor to the local press:—"The monument endured to our own day; within living memory it was whole and unimpaired; but, slowly and gradually, it began piecemeal to disappear, and with equal steps, the privileges of the Freemen have crumbled away; as if there were some charm in the old 'brass,' by which the holders of the Moor were secured in their possessions so long as the record remained in the church. All that remained of the knight's effigies, up to last week, when petitions were presented to parliament affecting the title of the Freemen, was the lower portion, representing his feet resting on a spotted leopard. The churchwardens of St. Andrew's had suffered all the rest to disappear—no one knows whither—probably to the melting-pot or the 'collector.' It was but too probable that the last fragment would be destroyed, if some step were not taken for its preservation; it had been torn from its ancient site, to facilitate the enlargement of a pew, and tossed aside as rubbish; so, seizing hold of it, one of the churchwardens rushed off to a place of safety—met the Very Rev. Monsignore Eyre, a Catholic canon, in the street—placed it in his charge for the Society of Antiquaries—and it was duly delivered up to the Chairman (Mr. John Fenwick), in the presence of the Town Clerk (Mr. Clayton), the Junior Secretary (Rev. Dr. Bruce), the Rector of Gateshead Fell (Rev. William Atkinson), the historian of 'Otterburn' (Mr. Robert White), the historian of

Jesmond or *Jesu de mundo* *, who indowed the Burgesses with that large piece of ground called the Town Moor. The walls were built in king John's time by sundry persons. The chief church was built by Robert Rhodes Prior of Tinmouth † The

'Darlington' (Mr. Hylton Longstaffe), and other Protestant gentlemen, with many expressions of joy that a portion, at least, of the neglected and ill-used monument had escaped destruction. The news went abroad next day—and a cry of 'Spoliation' arose. The church of St. Andrew, in which the monument had been despoiled, was pronounced to be the proper place for what was left of it; and, with an appeal to the *odium theologicum*, the parishioners were called upon to rise in their might, &c., &c., &c., and restore the spotted pard to its original den. If so, we would have it inserted in one of the walls or pillars, with an inscription describing it as the remains of Sir Aymer's 'brass,' the guardians of the fabric having allowed all the rest to disappear!"

* *Jesmond* was anciently *Jesemuthe*, the name arising from the *Ews*-burn running by it into the Tyne. Mr. Hodgson pointed this out long ago, all in vain for many. Some amusing passages occurred when Jesmond church was erected, when the old error about Jesus' mount was resuscitated with much gravity.

† Robert Rodes, the great lawyer, is less known than Thornton and Athol, though the antiquaries of the north, from Bourne downwards, have agreed in considering that he, rather than his namesake of Tynemouth, was the originator of the steeple of St. Nicholas'.

John Rodes and Isabel his wife had two sons, Robert and John. Robert represented Newcastle in Parliament in 1427, 1428, 1432, 1434 and 1441. One of the Johns was mayor in 1428, 1429, 1430, and 1431, the last being the year in which the grand old merchant, Roger Thornton, died. Between 1436 and 1451 occurred the priorate of the other Robert de Rodes at Tynemouth, within the gate of which occurred, until 1705, the well known coat of *Three annulets, on a chief a greyhound*, which was worn by Robert the lawyer. Henceforth my notices relate to the latter only.

In 1437, when he conveyed a house in Gateshead to Wm. Abletson and Agnes his wife, he is styled as of Newcastle, where he continued partly to reside, in the parish of All Saints. Two years afterwards, in 1439 and 1440 he lent to the Prior and Convent of Durham two sums of 20*l.* each, and in 1444 that body issued their letters of fraternity to "Robert Rodes, esquire, and learned in the law." In 1441 he had become Henry VI's comptroller of customs at Newcastle.

Before 1 Sep. 14 Hen. 1435, he had married Joan, the daughter and heiress of Walter Hawyck and Lady of Little Eden. She was, perhaps, in some way a relation of William Hoton of Hardwick, par. Sedgefield, who after entailing his estates on some more immediate objects of his favour, calls into separate remainders, Roger Thornton, Esq., and Robert Rodes Esq. and Joan his wife. He seems to have extracted from them a bell for Sedgefield church, which still presents to us the arms of Rodes and Thornton, but the remote possibility of their succession never became a reality. The tower itself has a Newcastle look about it.

Rodes, however, profited by the death of Hoton in another way. The latter was steward of the convent. He died 16 Sep. 1445, and was commemorated by a brass at Sedgefield the *xlv* of which is erroneously printed *xiv* in our county histories. On 17 Sep. the prior of Durham informed Sir Thomas Nevil, the Bishop's nephew, of his death and of the necessity "of a learned man like as he was" for the office, and begged him to "charge Robert Rhodes, my Lord's servant and yours, and my trusty friend, to be our steward—for we had never more need." The post was accepted.

In 1446 it appears that Rodes was lessee of the manor of Wardley, near Jarrow, under the convent, for forty years (1446 being the 8th of that term), at a rental of 8*l.*; but the repairs were assessed at 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Wardley was formerly a demesne residence of the priors. He was still a creditor for 10*l.* 1447 saw "Robertus Rhodes de Novo Castro super Tynam juris regni Angliæ peritus et senes-

Town which did before belong to Northumberland, was by Henry III. made a Corporation. The most ancient part called

callus prioratus Dunelm," presenting to St. Cuthbert's shrine a handsome cross of gold, containing portions of the pillar to which Christ was bound, and of the rock in which his grave was hewn. There was a new parliament that year, but he was no longer a member for Newcastle. At Durham his residence was in the South Bailey, close to the Water Gate which, in 1449, he was allowed by Bishop Nevil to annex to his mansion and to open and shut at pleasure. The gate continued to be closed every night by the owner of the adjoining house and gardens, and was used as a bridle road and footpath only during the day, until Prebendary Henry Egerton purchased the property and promoted the building of the present arch leading to the Prebends' Bridge. In 1451 he was a trustee, in conjunction with Roger Thornton the younger and others, of the possessions of William Johnson's chantry in St. Nicholas.'

Prior Ebchester, when Rodes was at London in May 1456, ordered him to procure divers copes for him, to be used at Durham on St. Cuthbert's day in the next September. In June, the same prior, who, in the former letter, signs himself Rodes's "true brother and friend," instructs him to bring the writer two hogsheads of the best "Malvesye" that could be bought in London, to be bought and sent in Rodes's name to that gentleman's own house in Newcastle. The prior was on the eve of resignation of his office.

Rodes's first wife, Joan Hawyck, died childless, but he remained in possession of Little Eden under a settlement until his death. Some of the Hawycks held land also in Wheatley Hill, and probably the vill or grange of that place, then called Whetlawe, which was acquired by Rodes in fee under a charter of 1451, was so acquired in consequence of his marriage.

The Durham Book of Life contains the names of "Robertus Rodes, armiger: Johanna et Agnes, uxores ejusdem." The second wife was evidently a lady of some social position. The first mention of her name that I have seen is in the will (published by our Society) of Agnes, successively wife of John Strother, Richard Dalton (for whose obits among the Friars minor of Newcastle she provides) and John Bedford of Hull. This instrument, dated 14 Sep. 1459, contains the legacy "Agneti Rodes unam zonam viridem, argenteam et deauratam." The particular date of 1428, assigned by Dr. Ellison to the foundation or refoundation of a chantry of the two saints named John in St. Nicholas' church, must be erroneous. That chantry was, however, founded before 1461, "by one Robert *Roodes* and *Agnes his wife*" by licence of Henry VI. as appears by the survey of chantries in 1546.

The following passage though more than once printed, cannot, in the absence of Rodes's will, be omitted either as a specimen of his orthography and notions of grammar, or in elucidation of his position as to Northumberland and Durham:—"Be it to remembre that I Robert Rodes satt, at the Castell in the Newe Castell upon Tyne in the Counte of Northumberland by force of a wryte of diem clausit extremum after the deth of the Erlle of Warwyke, and thar toke an inquisicion of the Castell of Bernarde Castell in the Bysshopryke of Dureham, and informed tham, that ware sworne in the saide inquisicion, that the saide Castell of Bernarde Castell was in the Counte of Northumberland, qwarin I hurte the liberte and title of the Chirch of Seynt Cutbert of Dureham, qwylk me sore repentis. Qwarefore I beseke my Lorde of Dureham of his grace and absolucion at the reverence of Jhesu. Wretyn of myne awne hande at Dureham the xxix day of Aprill the yere of the reigne of Kyng Edwarde the iiijth the fyrste."

This year, 1461, also saw it certified that "Robert Rodes detains a missal of the value of 10 marks given by the Baron [of Hilton] deceased to the chapel [of Hilton] for ever."

In 1465, among the memoranda to be attended to by the convent's agent, proceeding to Rome, was an item "Pro Veronica pro *Domino* Roberto Rodes." In the same year Bishop Booth granted him licence for a chaplain to pray in a chantry in the chapel of St. John in Weardale dedicated to our Saviour and the Baptist,

Pandon adorned with cloysters and stately buildings, together with the great church of Austin Fryars, of all which time hath

for the happy estate of Edward IV., Archbishop George Nevil, Bishop Booth himself, the honourable lady Elizabeth Burcestre (?) the said Robert Rodes and Agnes his wife, and *for the souls of John and Isabel, his father and mother, and Henry Ravensworth*; with authority for the chaplains to receive 100*s.* yearly out of the manor of Whitley. Rodes had been an arbitrator touching the estates of the Bynchestres in 1445, but I fail to trace any relationship to them or to Henry Ravensworth. In a lead district, where Newcastle speculators were frequently interested, the evidence has not the importance as to origin which it would have had elsewhere.

Rodes died without issue, 20 April, 17 Booth, 1474. Little Eden then went to the Trollops under settlements, but, for Wheatley Hill, his niece Alice, daughter of his brother John (then dead, evidently) and wife of Richard Bainbrigge, jun., was heiress. She was then aged only 14, a circumstance to be considered with reference to the question which John Rodes was mayor in 1428. Her posterity long enjoyed the estate.

A grand brass with an imperfect legend "*hic tumulatus—dono dei datus mitis clero—promotor Ecclesiarum*" was in All Saints' Church, and supposed to be that of Robert Rodes. Bourne doubted the appropriation, as his chantry was in St. Nicholas's Church, but vainly pleaded for a grateful preservation of the ornament. The "effigies" resembled Roger Thornton's, but the gown was not so deep as his, it was "very tall, and surrounded with very curious pictures of the saints, and some other things." It must, in justice to the predecessors of Bourne, be stated that the Prior and Convent of Durham Cathedral, in 1530-4, kept up a "chantry of Robert and Agnes Rodes." The absence of a permanent one in All Saints' church is not conclusive.

While Rodes was steward at Durham, the stately central tower of the minster was erected, apparently after 1456. In 1474, the year of Rodes's death, the prior speaks of "the reedification of our steeple, begun, but not finished, in default of goods, as God knoweth." G. Gilbert Scott (he needeth not Mr. or Esq., or Rev. or Ven., or Sir, or Right Hon., or Lord,) considers that there are, or lately were, clear indications of the commencement of a crown or lantern such as that of St. Nicholas', Newcastle. Let it be remembered that the western towers had tall lead-covered spires to balance it.

Though this magnificent conception failed, the kindred though lesser one for Newcastle succeeded. A little worse for smoke and substitutions, there it stands, a joy, and, aloft in the groining of the cœval tower which supports it, we read Orate pro anima Roberti Rodes.

The same prayer occurs in the groining of St. John's, round Rodes's arms, and did occur in that of All Saints'. Moreover, these arms were borne by an angel at the eastern exterior of All Saints' Church, and occurred with the prayer on the south transept of St. John's in work resembling that which existed at St. Andrew's, the groining of the tower whereof hath long been in ruin. This work was very different from that at St. Nicholas', and the windows in it were not pointed, but under flattened arches. The arms of Rodes occur repeatedly on the roof of St. Nicholas'. That of All Saints' was much of a like fashion.

It does not at all follow that all the objects of Rodes's partial or exclusive care were finished during his lifetime, although perhaps there is not much or anything in the circumstance that the prayers are all *pro animâ* and not *pro bono statu*. The font of St. Nicholas', which bears his arms on all its sides except two towards the East, dates probably after his death. On the dexter side of the whole coat of Rodes, which occupies the centre position, is Rodes quartering *Within a bordure engrailed a chevron between three birds* rudely executed, certainly not martlets, and apparently *choughs*. On the sinister side is the last coat on a shield by itself. It seems likely that it was an early difference of the arms of Bainbridge. The husband of Rodes's niece and heiress is stated to have been "filius junior Baynbrigorum de Snotterton." The arms in 1575 of the Snotterton line were *A. between*

not left any remainders, was annext to the town by Edward I. The Bowling Green, called the Forth *, was the gift of Edward III. A mayor, with six aldermen, was appointed by Edward IV. to which Richard II. added the sword. Our town crept up by degrees. Now we have a mayor, a recorder, a sherif, ten aldermen, a town clark and clark of the town-chamber, a sword-bearer, a water-bailif, seven serjeants, and now the scarlet-gowns which the Scots lately took away, are restored to the magistrates †. Cities grow to eminency by improvements in trade, but he who built all things is God.

[You, the Brethren and sisters of this coloquy, you have put this task upon me, not to try my knowledge in the mystery of

three choughs, a chevron S. charged with three stag's heads caboshed A., and the same with an escallop are given at that date for the Wheatley Hill people. In their earlier days some more substantial variation would likely be adopted. Rodes appears in the second quarter in 1575, blazoned as *B. three annulets O.: on a chief A. a greyhound courant G. collared O.* The next likely attribution of the bird coat would be to a great family of Newcastle, called Hawkin, with whom some of the Rodeses might be connected. Hugh Hawkin in 1334 sealed with *a chevron between three hawks*, and a label for difference.

No will or testament has occurred for Rodes. The steeple of St. Nicholas', which contained certain bells used by the town at large, and the lantern thereof, in which divers pounds of "wax, wrought in candle," were used, have been kept in repair by the Corporation until this century. In 1594 their accountant was careful to state that the mending of the windows of the church was "so far as the steeple reacheth." During the removal of some of Rodes's work from St. John's, the time worn armorial stone in the transept was sent to the Castle, and a copy of it substituted. "But" (says the writer of a 'Leaf for the Local Historian') "not long had the new shield and inscription occupied the place of the old, ere an iconoclastic chisel was raised against the legend, and '*Orate pro anima*' fell before its edge—leaving the grammar of '*Roberti Rodes*' to shift for itself as it might. 'This was the most unkindest cut of all'—an indignity which might well have been spared to the escutcheon of Robert Rodes. However opposed the prayer may be to Protestant feeling—(although Bishop Heber's 'opinion was on the whole favourable to the practice' of prayers for the dead)—it was but historical in the restored relic of the past, and it might surely have been left in its integrity, among many other evidences in our churches that the Establishment does not date from the Reformation."

Rodes's second wife, Agnes, survived him, and in 1495 the grateful monks of Durham issued their letters of fraternity "to the honourable woman Agnes Rodys, once wife of Robert Rodys, for your well known deeds, your gifts also, and precious presents conferred upon us." She also was dead in 1509, when the corporation of Newcastle gave to the priest of the chantry of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist a house to live in, out of respect for the memory of Robert Rodes.

* The history of the *Forth*, now occupied by the Central Station, is elaborated by G. B. Richardson in his notes to Extracts from the Municipal Accounts of Newcastle upon Tyne.

† "In former times the aldermen of the town had the *scarlet gowns*, but the proud Scot got them by conquest, as they did other ornaments of the town, thinking no English in authority worthy to wear scarlet but themselves, and so they continued lording over us for two years, until they were hired out, as they were brought in, being a mercenary nation, for any nation for money." (Grey, 1649.) It is obvious that this part of the text must have been written by Barnes himself.

Christ, but that I might stir you up to a defence of the Gospel. It was formerly the policy of our kings to incourage the northern gentry to keep up a military genius and spirit amongst them in order to defend our borders. The Kings of Northumberland resided sometimes at Tinmouth, somtimes at Pandon. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland were the chief bulwarks of these parts. The former had his country-house at Alnwick and his town-house here at Newcastle in that street called the Close *. The latter had his country-seat at Raby-Castle, and his town-house in our street called Westgate †. They retained many clanns of the men of Tindal and Ridsdale, and are spoken of for feats of courage. Ye have heard of the battels of Floddon-field, and of Cheviot Chase. I need not enlarge upon the heraldry of our families of oldest standing, the Nevils, the Dacres, the Weldens, the Lumleys, the Selbies, the Delavals, the Muschampes, the Piercies, the Harbottles and others, who held of the king in knights service for his warrs against the Scots. Let the same zeal spurr us on to honourable atchievments for Christ.

[We have a story goes in this town of Newcastle said to be of great antiquity, concerning one of our Aldermen, whose ring dropt off his finger into the Tyne as he was looking over the Bridge. A maid bought a fish the day after, and opening the gutts of it, there found her master's ring which the fish had swallowed, and sundry families pretend to this day to show us this ring, out of an emulation of antiquity ‡. None will be able to produce the true ring which we lost in Adam and which Christ espouses us with, but they who bear the mark of the Trinity upon them in Election, Redemption, and Sanctification.

[I have once and again alluded to such few antiquities as this

* "The Earl's Inn." Vide Brand, i. 54.

† Where the Literary and Philosophical Society now hold the memoirs of Mr. Alderman Barnes. The site is fixed by the deeds of the adjoining property, vulgarly called Westmoreland Place, but which really belonged to Taylboys of Thornton Hall. Popular tradition seems to have been more correct in the time of Bourne, with whose history the error perhaps originated. See him, pp. 35, 36.

‡ See the representation in Brand, Misc. Antiq. no. 6, of a ring, in the possession of some Andersons, having an engraved gem and in the inside of it a salmon and F. A. in commemoration of the miracle. See also in the same place a collection of the evidences touching the subject. The story occurs in 1627 as "in our memorie," the event is stated elsewhere to have happened in 1559. An impression of the above gem occurs on a deed of the Anderson property before that time.

1666. "It is reported of one Andrewes (*lege* Anderson) a merchant in Newcastle that (he) lost a ring at the Bridge, and found it in a fish mouth at his table, and now gives *three rings* in their coate." (John Stainsby, Arch. Æl. 4to. iii. 120.)

See the Elizabethan Roll appended to Tonge's Visitation as to the *three annulets interlaced*.

country affords. How ruinous are the Abbeys of Glastonbury and Mailrose, what decayed things are the Priory of Tinmouth, Bede's church at Jarrow, Cuthbert's church in Holy Island: and the church at Hexham, that in the Saxon times was a Bishop's See, is now dwindled into the compass of a country parish church. There were formerly in our church of St. Nicholas, inscriptions to pray for the souls of such and such, the arms and titles of others, whose names and families are now worn out, not a word left of their worth or their good deeds.]

Salvian, I remember, describes Carthage as abounding in flagitious practices. Such a town had this been, after the confusions of the civil war, if new and reformed magistrates had not succeeded. Amongst these was Mr. Thomas Bonner *, who, as Pietro Pauolo of Venice was stiled, was the miracle of his age, every one striving to pay him respect. But these brave patriots wanted young Mr. Barnes to sit on the Bench with them. He had read Coke's Institutes, examined Lambert's Saxon Laws, lookt into Fortescue of the Laws of England, was no stranger to my Lord Bacon, and had so clear an understanding of the mysteries of law and divinity, that with ease he could treat of the niceties of both. To these he had added his own improvements by visiting foreign parts and took a mighty pleasure to hear of the world abroad. It was test enough of his high abilities that he was brought upon the stage, at a time when no novices, but men of weight and experience sat at the helm.

The whole Corporation lookt upon him as of such hopes, that though there was no objection against his person, yet slight objections were made against his being so young. His election was a surprise to him, being absolutely without his knowledge. The difficulty was a late act of Common Council against chusing any into the magistracy so young as he was. But our consul quickly eased them of their difficulties, for no sooner was the news of his election brought, but up he goes to the Spittle †, and, in an handsom speech modestly excusing himself, laid his new gown down again. But no apologies would be admitted, so that notwithstanding the late act, he was unanimously next morning chosen the second time. Nor could he abandon the post without preferring his own inclination before the choice God had made

* Mayor 1648, 1651, 1659. Barnes's name is not attached to the petition to parliament in 1648 of "the Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council, and the rest of the well-affected of the town of Newcastle," in which Bonner's signature comes next to that of the mayor, Thomas Ledger.

† The West-Hospital or Hospital of B. V. Mary in Westgate, where guilds of the burgesses were held at least as early as 1342. The manner of the elections in the church thereof is reviewed by G. B. Richardson in his Extracts from the Municipal Accounts.

for him. It was not a shade he was now confined to, he was henceforth always under constant observation *.

He had no antipathy to a monachical government nor was he concerned in the Solemn League and Covenant, though he approved it, and thought the substance of it was still binding. Nor was that *engagement* which I know not whether he took or not, in the nature of an oath, and which was exclusive of the monachical form, understood by him to bind to impossibilities. He saw no unlawfulness in the government that was then settled without a king. Nor did he see any unlawfulness in the restitution of the monarchy. He had not in the least contributed to the Revolution, he stood true to what he was first ingaged to, onely God, having altered the government, gave an absolution from former engagements. I find the following certificates under the hand of Sir Nicholas Cole, Bart., and another who was his successor † in the mayoralty just at the king's coming in. "These are to certify—that Ambrose Barnes Esq., one of the Aldermen of the town of Newcastle upon Tine, came this day before me, being appointed a commissioner for administring the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and did voluntarily tender himself to take the said oaths. But the commission being directed to two commissioners at least, for administring thereof, I was hereby uncapable singly to administer the same, all which, at the request of the said Ambrose Barnes, we have thought good to certify, and do in testimony thereof set my hand and seal this five and twentieth day of October—1660. Nicholas Cole."

This paper I find endorst with Mr. Barnes his own hand, referring to some writings about a difference the town had then depending at the Council Table. As soon as there was opportunity of getting two commissioners they joyned in giving further testimoniall that "Ambrose Barnes Esq., one of the aldermen," "did voluntarily and freely, upon the Holy Evangelists of God, take the several oaths of supremacy and allegiance," the 27th day of October 1660, [before] John Emmerson Esq. Mayor [and] Peter Sanderson Esq. Alderman of Newcastle.

He was not willing to go out of office as it gave him an opportunity of publick service, but he knew well enough what he had

* He was a member of the Common Council several years previous to his elevation. At Michaelmas 1657, he was still a Common Councilman; but on the 15th Jan. 1657-8, he was an Alderman, which office he resigned on the 7th Sept. 1659. *Sharp. Sed qu.* for the certificates in the text of Oct. 1660 call him Alderman. So also, Mr. Ambrose Barnes, alderman, occurs as a witness in the books of the Skinners and Glovers, Newcastle, 14 May, 1660. The circumstances of his resignation seem also to demand a later date for it.

† Cole had been mayor in 1640. Emmerson of 1660 was the successor meant, being elected in the autumn after the Restoration.

done would signify towards it. It is true this worthy man did think that the state of the nation before the restitution of Charles II. had been introduced by a vigorous attempt to rescue the laws from incroachments. But he apprehended no necessity for struggling to continue a form the people were not fit to receive, or why he might not use his oportunity to do all the good he could.

Hence, at his entrance into the magistracy, he considered nothing was more ignoble than to cast off all care of the public. He was a strenuous asserter of the laws, takeing care they were not sharpned against the good, while they grew blunt against the bad. He begun a reformation at the heads of the town, setting a good guard upon all balls, masquerades, shows and plays, doing whatever in him lay that officers should give a good example. He kept a strict eye upon inferior officers that they did not unmercifully squeze those who they had in their custody.

This gentleman was utterly against buying of places. He also strove to bannish drunkenness. He was a spie upon all base practices, as amongst attorneys, serjeants, notaries, tidewaiters, wardens, jailors, tollers, key-masters, chamberlains, and collectors.

He was a terror to those who corrupted the meanest office by robbery or avarice. We have a word, we call it *racking* a thing, he was against racking of men or racking of rents. To gentlemen of integrity he was a bold brisk leader. He carried a Court of *Equity* as well as *Chancery* in his breast. Few perhaps have so singular a dexterity as he in allaying quarrells. He did kindnesses for them who had been indeavouring to do him mischief. In case of duells, blows, and blood, he was most inexorable. In some cases of wrong, he thought restitution might pass for satisfaction. He put on bowells of mercy for those who were opprest. Nor was he less a guardian of the privileges granted by charter to the Mysteries and Incorporated Trading Societies. He knew them all.

Mr. Brown, Lord Mayor of London, who was born at Newcastle, called forestallers of corn, knaves in grain, and was one of the first merchants, who, in want of corn, showed the Londoners the way to the barn-door, opening a trade to Spruseland. This indefatigable magistrate took order about the size of bread, and deserved no less than Minutius, by preventing the frauds of forestallers and regrators. No fish or flesh was brought to the shambles, but what was wholesome. Provision was made for the poor, there was no inequality of rates, the parishes were eased of foreiners and vagrants, public buildings kept in good repair, cousenage banisht from the market, alehouses limited, hospitals put under the tuition of honest discreet overseers, publick

charities applyed to the uses they were intended for, and the cole-trade put into such a method with the keel-men and fitters, that the public has long after found the benefit of that regulation. In the time of his magistracy was the Exchange finisht *, which is an handsom neat structure, well contrived for the convenience of merchants and the court of justice, in memory whereof every alderman had his name cast in one of the chimes set up in the steeple of that edifice. That bell which had Alderman Barnes his name was afterwards removed, and put up in a New Chappell † erected without the Walls ‡.

He was extremely dissatisfied with some people's way of making affidavit, and the light customary manner of giving and taking oaths. He wisht for some course that no oath might be tendred to a man whose character gave not ground to hope he made conscience of keeping it. He was never sworn himself before he had perused a copy of the oath he was to take. I shall annex the Ostman's Oath §, which, many years after he

* It was built between 1655 and 1658 by Robert Trollop of York, mason, whose monument in Gateshead churchyard probably never exhibited the doggrel rhyme which tradition ascribes to it. The design of the latter seems to be borrowed from St.Nicholas' steeple, with a *very* considerable difference.

† "The Chapel of St. Ann, which is a chapel of ease to the church of All Hallows. When it was originally built I have met with nothing that gives any account. After the Reformation it was neglected and came into decay; but the town in the year 1682 repaired it, and settled a lecturer there.—At the opening of it, after it was repaired, the Rev. Mr. March, then vicar of the town, preached the first sermon in it, which was printed, and intitled 'Th' Encænia of St. Ann's Chapel in Sandgate.'" (Bourne.) Qu. if it existed in ancient times. The text speaks of it as a new erection. It does not occur in Grey's Chorographia, nor in the general survey of chantries, but "the chauntry of Sent Anne in Allhallows" does appear in the inventory of ornaments. That document contains no mention of any building for it. It may be observed that St. Ann's is in Byker, and that the grant, by Edward VI. in 1549, to the Burgesses, of the chapel of St. Laurence, within that lordship, comprised "little St. Ann's Close." All doubt as to the existence of the chapel itself is, I see, removed by the fact that in 1589 and 1597, the plague-stricken were maintained "at the chapell"—"St Ann's Chapell." Dr. Basire was informed, temp. Car. II., that "some of the inhabitants in Sandgate in the chappelry of All Saints do use obscurely to bury their dead in an ancient chappelyard (as they pretend) there. Persons excommunicate, as Christopher Milbourne, buried there."

‡ Its travels were not over.

"There is now at Mr. Hillcoats, ironmonger, the old bell belonging to St. Ann's Chapel in this town, with the following inscription:—Mr. Ambross Barns, Mr. George Thursby, Sheriffs, 1658.—Newcastle Journal, June 18, 1768." (Sharp's MSS.)

§ Hostmen are now better known by the name of Fitters. They are mediators between the host or 'oaste,' a name for the stranger arriving at the port of Tyne, and the seller. Thus in 10 Henry VIII., when the hostmen were a branch of the merchants-adventurers, they enacted "that no hosteman nor non other man being free of this fellowship shall buy [that is, I presume, on his own account] any goods of their hosts." In 1600, the fraternity ordered "that no free brother of this felloship of hostmen shall—speake with the owner &c. of any shipp &c. to learne whose oaste he is, thereby to procure him to be his oaste or to withdrawe him from his old oaste [man]." The word *fitt* occurs in 1600. "None shall 'fitt' any keel

took, when he was made free of that company, because it runs in the general tearms of all the other incorporated fraternities, excepting those which are peculiar to this.

"You shall well and truly observe and keep, all and singular good ordinances, rules, and decrees, made, and hereafter to be made, amongst, and by the fellowship of Ostmen or the most part of them, whereof the governour of the said fraternity and the stewarts be three, or the said governour and stewards be two, to the commodity of his majesty and profit not onely of the same fraternity but also of the Town-Chamber of Newcastle and the common weal of this realm; or else you shall undergo and pay all such fines and penalties as is or shall be set down by any act or acts made or to be made by the governour, steward, or most part of the fellowship the offence being duly proved: and the secrets and council of the same fellowship to keep close from all and singular persons, and no unfreeman's goods or coles and grindstones avow for yours; nor load colourably coles or grindstones for any unfreeman whatsoever. And you shall not know any man being a foreigner not free to load any alien or Englishman with coles or grindstones, but you shall present them. You shall also be obedient to the governour and stewards of the said fellowship and meet at all such assemblies whereunto you shall be summoned, without reasonable cause to the contrary: and also you shall know no default done by them that be free or unfree, but you shall present that to the stewards of the said fellowship of the Ostmen without any concealment. So help you God."

Such oaths, in the obligation of them, have an important influence upon the trade of the company which is very considerable, according to the proverb, which contains a little incivility in the comparison it makes, *a Scot, a Rat, and a Newcastle-Grindstone, go all the world over.*

This restless enemy of vice gave not over, untill he had not onely extinguisht gross immorallities, but brought on a reigning sobriety and sivility amongst all sorts. As he was one Lord's day sitting in his house, word was brought him that some gentlemen, having given their horses to their men to keep, were very merrily playing and frollicking in the fields. He immediately runs out, taking one of the serjeants at mace along with him. In his haste forgetting his hat, he was glad to borrow the serjeant's. But the gallants no sooner saw him coming with his

or keells of anie other brother without the consent of the owner thereof." In 1625 we have "to fitt and load coles abord of the keeles."

"The seale of the fraternity of the Ostmen" represents a stately personage in a robe lifting his hat to and shaking hands with a closely clothed mariner who approaches hat in hand. The former says "Welcome my oste."

officer waiting on him, than they mounted to horse and away as fast as heels could carry them. A great peer of England happened to be in that company, then unknown to him, and would many a day after pleasantly tell the good old alderman how he made him and his comrades scamper and trot off the field. But in things that concerned the glory of God, he had no respect of persons. And, though there were several persons of quality in the clan, he would smile and freely tell his lordship, had he catcht them, he would have set every man of them in the stocks, which his lordship would heartily laugh at, knowing well in the same case he would have done it to the greatest man in England. By the removal of the old national church form, the external habit of religion which the nation put on did greatly reform the moralls of the people. Though no meer form can make them christians, it will however make them better men.

It is the proper office of Christ's ambassadors to deliver *His* orders touching the people's obedience. He did not approve of their meddling further in state affairs, and could not help now and then to displease those of them who too much separated the interest of their tribe from that of the public. Thus, there was one sent from the *classis* of Northumberland, to obtain certain regulations which would have born hard upon neighbouring congregations that did not exactly square with this model. But he who was then the supreme magistrate of the nation gave Mr. B. and his friends private notice of it, with an assurance of protection, which they in the design took very ill. Our author was solicitous to avoid needless controversies, which make religion look little in the eyes of those who think little and meanly of it.

The town was designing him for the mayoralty. But Monk was now in motion, and clouds stood over our alderman's head, and his last work was to preserve his honour and conscience. On 30 Jan., 1659, the following letter, from Clements Inn, was writ to him by his kinsman, an honourable man of the law:—

"My good and dear friend; I informed you in my last how all were expecting what General Monk would do. His lady is come to town upon Saturday last, and is in lodgings in Whitehall formerly called the Prince's Lodgings. He lay on Saturday night at Saint Albans; but, though so near, he is not expected in town untill the latter end of this week, it may be about Wednesday. Whether by letter, or otherwise, I know not, but he desires the Parliament to draw out of the city the soldiers now here, so that his men may refresh themselves after their long march. I hear it was this day voted in the House, that all the soldiers in town, except two regiments, should be drawn out,

to take their quarters in the country. When I hear more I shall take the boldness to acquaint you with it, and now trouble you no further than to present to yourself and my good cousin your lady, my hearty service, craving leave to subscribe, as I really am, yours in what I can serve you." The next insuing year brought express intelligence to him from another hand, the 8th June 1661 :—"The Houses are upon the debate of the Bishops readmission to their former grandeur in the House of Lords and all other capacities, which is fully to be presumed. The fleet is in readiness waiting for a wind to bring home the Queen, and by the way call at Argiers and some barbarous towns to demand captives, and upon refusal to batter them to the ground. Discontents are great in the city. But it is the common expectation from the return of the ancient jurisdiction, *Many will bow the Brake.* The Lord preserve you and yours, and as you apprehend the danger, so have me in your best thoughts that we be not let into temptation. I can go no further than what you must allow me to say and be, Yours frequently and much obliged, NICHOLAS BATTERSBY."

But if Monk and his Bishops come in, Alderman Barnes must go out. Having been voted into place without his seeking it he was the more ready to surrender to a sett of men who were gaping for it. And that surrender he made, wishing Newcastle no more harm, than that it might never more stand in need of his service.

CHAPTER V.*

THE INTERRUPTION OF THE MONARCHY IN HIS TIME.

Because the Restoration dismounted our author and many such as he from their seats of justice, it may be expected we should notice the part he took in the times preceding that Restoration. As his station was no higher than has been said, his youth rendered him uncapable of further advances into the field of action. He indeed held intelligence with some who were at the head of affairs, and was privy to the first motions of public transactions, which may perhaps make some people willing to know what his opinion was concerning the civil war in his time.

Many have writ upon this subject, and as the judgment, interest, and affection, of the historian is, so have the troubles of those times been represented, and persons and things appear in quite different lights. He was far from imagining the world would agree with him, any more than he did with the generality of them, who have employed their penns upon this argument. But, because his unbiasst love to truth was highly valluable and well known to his friends, he would on sundry occasions gratify their requests in communicating his sentiments, which may here be annext to the swarms of history already abroad, there being nothing left unpublisht, touching this unnatural war, unless the gleanings of some private passages, which now and then are coming to light.

During the reign [of Charles I.] the best ecclesiastical preferments were conferred on them who were most forward to promote Dr. Laud's scheme, a kind of blancht popery, to make it more passable. To oppose this, was an inexpiable crime. One man had his scull broke, for showing his dislike of the Common Prayer, and others were, upon the like account, laid in irons and in dungeons. The King gratifyed the Church with a power to persecute, and the Church gratified the King with an unlimited prerogative.

* "The 5th chapter comes in as a parenthesis wherein our author expected few would agree with him."—*Preface.*

In the beginning of the quarrell between the parliament and him, a design was formed to bring up the English army from the North, in order to dissolve the parliament by force. The plunder of the city of London was to be their pay. The next step was to tempt the most active men of the country party with emoluments. This succeded as to Sir Thomas Wentworth who tryed to carry Mr. Pymm along with him. They two walking in Greenwich Park, Sir Thomas fell complaining of the fruitless task they had undertaken, in getting an heavy stone carried up the hill which was more probable to rowl down upon themselves, than do any hurt to the court. "Well, Sir Thomas, I see (said Mr. Pymm to him) whither you are going, and that your old friends shall not long have your company, but as kind as you and I have been, take this from me, if you leave us, I will not leave you, as long as your head stands upon your shoulders;" and he was exact to his word. But, being created Earl of Strafford, he proved the main engine for screwing up the prerogative. A plot was laid for his escape out of the Tower, Sir John Suckling bringing a number of men to seize it, and for this was Sir William Balfour displaced.

After variable success, the Parliament-army was new modeled, which the Cavaliers, in contempt, called the new nodling of it, but it so nodled the King as at length to be everywhere victorious. Many had their lives saved, by bullets hitting upon little pocket-bibles they carried about. The Cavaliers, who had but few bibles among them, laught at this, but serious Christians were affected with it. The Cavaliers would often swear If God would stand neuter, they neither valued or feared the Parliament.

The Parliament declares their forces are raised for the preservation of the King. This Sir Henry Vane got them to explain by adding, For the preservation of the King's person in the preservation of the laws. And that in the Solemn League and Covenant, exprest concerning Reformation, that they would proceed in their reformation, according to the pattern of the best reformed churches. This Mr. Nye got them to explain, by inserting this other clause, that they would proceed in Reformation, according to the pattern of the best reformed churches, *and the word of God.* And these explanations expedited the difficulties arising from the misconstructions, which some did, through mistake, put upon the meaning and obligation of that covenant, with reference to the King, as also with respect to the controversy, which now came on, touching church government, whether it was to be national or congregational.

Great numbers depended upon the King for preferment and subsistence. The people were overrun with a general pravity of

manners. The nobility, by the umbrage of the crown, domineered over all inferior orders in the nation. And in the Parliament's quarters, there grew strange divisions; many ambitiously by striving to inlarge their power, many urging the King's concessions as sufficient ground for a treaty, the peers had no further quarrell but what was occasioned by a faction about the King, that crost their private ends and disappointed their expected preferments. They were for redressing national grievances, and then to leave him in his royal authority. Some who were forward to ingage with the Parliament, finding themselves mistaken in profits and command they looked for, either secretly made their peace with the King, or hung upon the wheels. Such was Hollis, through a grudge at Ireton; and such was Sir Anthony Ashley Cowper, out of resentment at being denyed Cromwell's daughter. Many of the new elected members proved men of neutral temper. Others having acquired estates in the Parliament's service, took up their stand, and were for injoying their ease with what they had got.

If both King and Parliament were the blame of this unnatural war, the best had been, for both, by a treaty of peace, to become friends again. But the unhappy King was as unsuccessful in his treaties as he was in his arms. Even his trusty agent Barclay grew out of all patience with his master's obstinate temper, in not accepting tearms that were far lower than what he might have expected. He had secretly flattered Cromwell and Ireton with promises of advancing them to the peerage and making them knights of the garter. But, in a letter to his queen, he quiets her anger at it, by telling her that, when he had got his turn served upon these two traitors, he could quickly turn their garters into halters. These two gentlemen had indeed laboured what they could to keep a temper between him and the army. Cromwell and Ireton meet with fierce opposition in their indeavours to get the King's desires satisfyed, and were put to all their shifts to make their peace with the army, that was grown jealous of them. Cromwell had ventured so far to save the King, that, had not a new storm in the North thretned them, wherein the Parliament was sensible they should have further need of his service, he had certainly been impeacht of High Treason *. The army was immovable from the cause for which they first took the field. Neither Cromwell nor Ireton therefore durst be seen by the King's next messengers.

The day he dyed there was such a consternation among the common people throughout the nation, that one neighbour durst

* "His having that experience of his shuffling altered his good opinion of the King, and it lead him to concurr with others against him, to which he was no way inclined by any malicious disaffection."—*Original Note.*

scarce speak to another, when they met in the streets, not from any abhorrence at the action, but a surprize at the rarity and infrequency of it. But they who were acquainted with history, and knew by what steps the matter had been brought this length, were far from being shockt at it.

Thus dropt King Charles I., a prince of many good parts and no mean schollar. His father intending to make a bishop of him, had his elder brother lived, he was so trained up in the doctrin of the power of kings and the divine right of our English prelates that his zeal not brooking to be controlled by an age wherein these doctrines were clearly detected and going down, his high spirit pusht him upon the turn-pikes of ruin. What ever little Dr. Laud was, he was the same. His filling the church with the superstitions of Rome, and the pulpits with the Arminianism of the Jesuits, were plain indications what way he leaned. Had he not been a grievous oppressor of conscience, we had not been a New England springing out of Old England.

They who pretend to be for moderate counsils, whereby the quarrel might have been taken up, should consider what an army he had conjured up against himself, and his perfidious methods of treating with them. Not like other armies composed of mercenaries, of rude profligate manners, this army was brought together by a convulsion in the nation, sober, judicious, serious voluntiers, it being Cromwel's maxim to enlist none but such, many of them being gentlemen of good families and fortune, all of them of honest callings and trades, who, knowing the cause they espoused ventured their all for it, and were trained to the disciplin of religion as well as of weapons, both officers and soldiers making up so many pious Christians to be found on this side Heaven. There were some wild humorists amongst them, but the disgracing it for an army of capricious enthusiasts, for the sake of a few in it, is grossly unjust, and was the first inlet to the facinorous practice of blaspheming the glorious work of the Holy Ghost upon the souls of men which continues to this day. All other rational and unbiasst persons will allow this army to be *fulmina belli*, the Thundering Army, by the best judges thought to have been sufficient to march all the world over. There was nothing of singularity in the arraignment and execution of the King, but what arose from the singularity of this army *.

Whence we may gather, how little they are apprised of the state of those times, who make Cromwell the contriver of the King's triall and execution. And I do solemnly, from certain

* The act of attainder at the Restoration sums up the irregularity of the proceedings against the king. See Neale, iii. 553.

knowledge, affirm that Mr. Barnes was never in the least laid under any personal obligations to Cromwell, more than other men, who injoyed the common protection of his government. Indeed, when the Scots had surrendered the King upon articles, and Major General Skippon carried down the money in specie to the Scottish army, Mr. Barnes, being an apprentice, was ordered by his master * to be one of the *Tellers*, for which the Major General presented him with a pair of gloves, which was all, to a farthing, he ever got by the war.

They who cannot spare Cromwel a good word, will have it that he had long carryed on a design against the Parliament. Whereas, he refused to take his commission but under General Fairfax, and then with much backwardness took the chief command in the Northern Expedition. The army was above his hand, and not to be controuled in the change of government. Onely, whereas by derision, the Long Parliament which issued out that commission for the trial of the King, is called a Rump-Parliament, it is absurd to call it so. For it was not near so extenuated or worn to a Rump, as it was afterwards, when they took upon them to restore the King. This Parliament, notwithstanding the defection of particular persons, abiding in force, Cromwell obsequiously hastens into Scotland. The brave general, reduced to a necessity of engaging upon the outmost disadvantage at Dunbar, I have heard old Mr. Henry Hudson †, then upon the place, a servant to Paul

* Samuel Rawling.

† HENRY HUDSON, senior, of Newbiggen, gent. made his will 22 Nov. 1700, 12 Will. III., desiring to be buried beside his wife and daughter in Sidgate [Percy Street] without the walls of Newcastle. He had a colliery at Monkseaton, and saltpans and lead mines in Northumberland, Cumberland, and Durham, and one ninth of lead mines at Rookhope in Weardale. He left 10*l.* to the widows and children in Newbiggen.

He had issue two sons, Enoch Hudson and Henry Hudson. ENOCH HUDSON of Brunton, Nd., gent. made his will 27 June 1712, leaving, to his brother Henry, Scots House &c. held under the manor of Chester, co. pal.; to his wife a dwelling house in Brunton for the remainder of a lease he had from Sir Arthur Hazelrigge, bt.; to his brother Henry his iron chest, pistols, holsters, best saddle and silver-hilted sword. He desired to be buried in Percy Street, Newcastle, where he was commemorated by a table monument inscribed, "Enoch Hudson, de Brunton, generosus, obiit Sept. 12, 1715, Ætatis 56." His wife was Ruth *Hutchinson*.

He had issue four coheiresses, viz.

Ruth, portion 1000*l.*, wife of Reynold Hall of Newbiggen and Otterburn, had issue.

Sarah, portion 1500*l.*, mar. set. 12 Apr. 1728, wife of Wm. Hicks, merchant, Whitehaven, Sheriff of Cumberland, 1737, by whom she had issue. (See Burke's Commoners sub Skelton of Papcastle.)

Mary, portion 700*l.*, wife of 1. John Dove of Wapping, grocer, who settled lands at Cullercoats 13 Jan. 1710, on his marriage, by whom she had issue; and 2. the Rev. R. Gilpin.

Hannah, married 1726 to Mr. Robert Ellison of Otterburn, by whom she left issue. She died 5 June, 1772, aged 72 and was buried at St. Nicholas' Church, Newcastle.

Hobpson, (a mistake, it was Sir A. Haslerig, *in margine*) tell, how he [Cromwell] rid all the night before, through the several regiments by torch-light upon a little Scots nag, biting his lip till the blood had run down his chin, without his perceiving it, his thoughts being busily employed to be ready for the action now at hand. But the next day's work gives rise to a saying among the Scots not yet forgotten :—

> Early in a morning
> In an evil timing
> Went we from Dunbar.

Cromwell's solicitude, after seeking God, which was his constant practice before all battels, was soon over, beating the Scots, though their number exceded his above three to one; which made a preacher of that country say, the English general was worse than the Devil, for the scripture sais, Resist the Devil and he will flie from you, but resist Oliver, sais he, and he will flie in your face.

The general, coming home, finds the Parliament but *magni nominis umbra*. Their backwardness to reform the vile abuses in the practice of the law discovered what sway the lawyers had got amongst them. The lawyers glosst their needless forms of legal process with the popular name of standing up for the laws of England. The divines, who were eager for coercive power, were for having the national church changed into a Presbyterian form, and many called this the setting up Christ's kingdom and settling of church-government. A swarm of frantic opinionists, whose conceits would vanish in a night, gave these church-politicians a plausible pretext, to exclaim against liberty of conscience in select congregations. But, as John Goodwin said, if the State had not been wiser than their teachers, they had been weaker than their enemies. But this check upon the coercive power of the clergy, hurried them into a plot wherein Mr. Love *,

HENRY HUDSON, jun. of Newbiggen and afterwards of Whitley near Tynemouth, esq. died 17 June 1737, aged 74, and was buried at Tynemouth, M.I. He married Sarah Dove, and had issue

HENRY HUDSON, of Whitley, esq., *ultimus suorum*, married his cousin Elizabeth Ellison 22 Apr. 1776. By will made in Feb. before his marriage he left his estate to her as his much valued kinswoman Elizabeth Ellison, eldest sister of his friend and kinsman Henry Ellison, esq. of Otterburn, for life, rem. to the same Henry, who was son of Hannah the coheiress of his uncle Enoch. He died at Bath 15 May 1789, aged 69. M. I. at Tynemouth.

Some copies of the monumental inscriptions commemorating the dead are copied, and curious particulars of the "Quigs' Buring place near the Swirll in Sidgatt" (hodie the Percy Street Academy's playground) are given, by Brand, i. 423.

* CHRISTOPHER LOVE was a native of Cardiff, the "scoundrel holder-forth—the scum as well as son of the earth" of Butler. All agree as to his confidence of style. In 1644 he preached an offensive sermon during the negotiations of Uxbridge, telling the people that the King's Commissioners "came with hearts full of blood, and that there was as great distance between the treaty and peace as between

a bold, forward, though a good, man, was caught. So that the government, to put more awe upon the sawciness of that party, after many poor, creeping, and mean confessions he made of his rashness, sin, and folly, saw fit to make a public example of him, and he dyed, wisely and out of conscience, forbearing to justify the fact he dyed for. One side exclaimed against the capital punishment of the late King, as a breach of the covenant, which bound them to the preservation of his person. The other side affirmed the covenant bound them to take off the King, since they were not obliged by it, to preserve his person but in the preservation of the laws.

They who lived further off thought the dissolution or breaking up of this Long Parliament a strange thing, and were amazed, and lookt upon it as a very wrong step in Cromwel, because it took away the ground left them to stand upon in defending what was done against the King. But those who stood nearer hand were heartily satisfyed with this new turn, knowing they had got ease of what were weary of, and had a noble army left, to be the guardians of liberty. God created the old world by his word, and he created this new world by his sword. If the Long Parliament, by an act signed by the king, got ground to show mankind, what right an English Parliament had to raise an army, the army so raised had more right to take care of the liberties, which it had carved and cut out, for the English People.

—— arma tenenti
Omnia dat qui justa negat.

Religion had languisht into a cold philosophy. The Presbyter

heaven and hell." The commissioners complained to the Lords and Commons, who "though they could not with good conscience imprison Mr. Love, yet they did confine him; and where should it be, but to that very house where his mistress then lived, whom for two years going before, he had wooed with prayers, sermons, and ugly faces. (Wood.) He was among the presbyterian ministers of London who made a serious representation against the trial of Charles I. and was beheaded in 1651 for plotting with the Presbyterians to bring in Charles II. "When the members of the Rump Parliament had passed their votes for his death, there did happen one of the most terrible thunder claps that was ever heard. Also that day on which he suffered was seen a most clear sky; but soon after his death, which was about two of the clock in the afternoon, the sky began to thicken and at last was enveloped in a black and dismal cloud, and all that night and till the next morning, such thunder, lightning and tempest happened as if the machine of the world had been dissolving." The Presbyterians said that God was angry. The Independents that the execution of Love on Aug. 22 was a divine judgment for his instigating Charles II. to set up his standard at Worcester on Aug. 22, the same day that Charles I. erected his at Nottingham, which Mr. Love did well to cry down. Another incident was considered to be a providential vengeance on him. A letter of reprieve from Cromwell was taken from the northern postboy by some cavaliers on the road. In 1645 he had been appointed by parliament to preach at Newcastle.

went lame of a leg for want of power to compell. Of the Presbyterians, some turned Anabaptists, as Mr. Tombs. Some turned Arminians, as John Goodwin. The Anabaptists kept clamouring aloud, to have godly men put into places of authority, by which they always meant their own party. Of these, Sir Henry Vane became the leader, who (taking him down from his altitudes in speculative christianity, wherein, 'tis certain, *Vane* did not understand *Sir Henry* *) was as brave a patriot, as was in the three nations. Mr. Bowls the son of Oliver Bowls, a Presbyterian divine, one evening visiting Sir Henry Vane, at his taking leave, Sir Henry followed him with the candle in his hand, to the head of the stair-case. Mr. Bowls desired him not to give himself that trouble. "Nay," said Sir Henry, "I will see you down." "Indeed, Sir Henry," said Mr. Bowls, "I believe you would see us down," merrily intending that if Sir Henry Vane might hold the candle, all ordinances, orders, and forms of worship, should go down †.

The army in the name of the counsil of officers and their general, summon another convention of estates, made up of men of the best character for godliness that could be pickt out of the counties ‡. But their hearts were better than their heads. Bent upon making clean work with remaining corruptions they drove the chariot of the sun at a rate that thretned to set all on fire. The cavaliers laught, the lawyers were afraid, the universities thought their day was done, the clergy lookt to be disbanded. For the continuance of an order of men distinct from the laity, for preaching the Word of God, was carried onely by two voices. The lawyers and presbyterians were well scowred of their discontents, glad they had Cromwel to save somewhat that might serve them to keep shop with. Nature casts itself into what form the matter is most prepared for, and the nation was rowling itself out of a state of nature into the next form of government it could reach to.

Let the world rage on, this was a small resemblance of the resurrection at the last day, the work of God, who step by step brought things on beyond the forecast of mortal man, who can onely see effects in their next causes. I speak as unto wise men, Judge ye what I say. The Cavaliers lay undermost like a *terra damnata*, the old monarchy was buried; and should rudeness or

* This seems to have been considered a clever form of joke. "Lay John here, and Lilburn thereabout. For, if they both should meet, they would fall out."

† There was a sect named Vanists, after him, mentioned in Baxter's life, in folio, p. 74.

‡ The Barebones Parliament. Henry Dawson, Mayor of Newcastle, was M.P. for Durham county, and died in London during his offices. See Notes and Queries, 1866-7.

scorn prompt any to laugh at this argument I shall leave the apostle to bite them with "Thou fool, that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but God giveth it a body as it pleaseth him" (1 Cor. 15. 38). So behold we an ear of corn, sprung up from an empty cod or husk beneath. Let men trample the dead under the feet of proud contempt: but let them never think to blaspheme the God of Heaven unpunisht, for owning the work of his own hands. The wisdom of the world despiseth the wisdom of God. Nabal could see nothing in David but the tricks, holy frauds and crafty policies of an arch-rebel.

The incomparable old Lord Wharton could not, more than many others, bring himself to think well of a single person, but, admitting such a magistracy, he openly confest General Cromwell to be the fittest prince in the universe for that station. This Protector was the cape-stone, which joynted together that fabriek, which the civill war had reared up.

His reformation in his youth was very remarkable *, being by Mr. Whitaker's ministry converted from a roving, rambling, drinking course of life, to a striekt ingagement in religion, and a fervent affection to Christ and his despised people. His former temper of fighting and quarelling altered into sobriety and a grave deportment, henceforth he laid aside his gay attire wherein he used to swagger, and, long before the war broke out, frequented the Puritan meetings, where he was often seen with the brimms of his bevour worn greazy half through. A person of a vast inlarged capacity, naturally copious in speaking, attended with fluency and vigor. His presence was awfull and majestie, but his familiar converses easy and free. In counsil he is thought somtimes to have shot the bolts that were hammered in his son in law Ireton's forge, Ireton being a gentleman of a great reach and of a working brain. In the many battels he fought, victory constantly followed his colours, he never once was worsted, nor so much as wounded, though in the hottest part of the action. His reign was glorious, though envyed, scorned, and hated; the nation weltering in wealth, though neither he or his state-officers advaneed their private fortunes by their public places. After various designs against his life, worn out with age and hard labour, he dyed in honour in his bed, in full assurance of God's everlasting love, and had deservedly the funeral obsequies of one of the mightiest and greatest potentates that the world ever saw. But where his body was interred, was never known, but to two

* So is this admission, considering how modern authors have denied Heath's accounts of Oliver's early life.

or three, to whome that secret was committed *. *Wherever his body was inhumed it had a broad brass belt sodred about the waste, whereon was ingraven a brief description of the battles he fought* †.

* The words following in italics occur as a cotemporary note.

† "In a communication to the European Magazine, some fifty years ago, the writer states the contents of a paper he found in the drawer of a long deceased female relative. It is to the effect that this lady's great-grandmother once dined with Sir James Norfolk, who was appointed by parliament to see its orders, respecting Cromwell's remains, carried into execution; and Sir James stated at table, that he found Cromwell's body in the wall of Westminster Abbey. It was enclosed in six coffins of wood and lead so firmly cemented together, that they had to be broken open by pickaxes; and he knew the body to be Cromwell's, as it had a gorget of gold, with his name engraved upon it, placed upon the breast." "This story," says an able collector of the evidences on this historical mystery in Chambers's Journal of Feb. 23, 1856, "apart from its vague traditionary character, and the utter silence in any other quarter respecting the golden gorget, must be received with very great suspicion; for it appeared at a time when heads of Cromwell, the genuineness of which rested on its truth, were being exhibited as shows."

Doubtless the brass belt of Barnes, or rather of his memorialist and annotator, and the golden gorget arise from one idea.

I subjoin a close and abridged chronicon of the evidences adduced by the said collector, with here and there an additional circumstance.

1658. Sep. 3-13. Cromwell died between 3 and 4 p.m. Anniversary of his victories of Worcester and Dunbar.

Sep. 4. 14. By order in council, medical men were appointed to embalm the body. The intestines were taken out, and then the body, being filled with spices, was wrapped in a sixfold cerecloth, put into a leaden coffin, and then into a strong wooden one. The corruption burst through all. The foul smell pervading the whole house, the body was interred before the funeral.—*Dr. Bates, the Protector's physician.*

The body of the Protector passed through Cheshunt at night, on its way to a place of interment. A servant of Richard's, the new protector, then a lad, went on with the post horses that drew the hearse as far as Huntingdon, from whence he was sent back with the horses; but he believed the hearse was taken further on.—*Information of the servant given to the mother of Oliver Cromwell of Cheshunt, great-grandson of Henry, son of Protector Oliver.*

He was buried in a field on his paternal estate of Huntingdon.—*Tradition of his descendants.* The burial place of his widow is also unknown.

Barkstead the regicide asked him on his deathbed where he would wish to be buried. He replied: where he had obtained his greatest victory and glory, and as nigh the spot as could be guessed where the heat of the action was—viz. in the field of Naseby, in Northamptonshire. Soon after his death, the body, being placed in a leaden coffin, was removed from Whitehall, by midnight, and taken to the battle field of Naseby. Mr. Barkstead, son of the regicide, then 15, attended close to the hearse all the way. On the field they found a grave about 9 feet deep prepared. The surface sods were carefully laid on one side, the mould on the other. The coffin was lowered, the grave filled up, the sods laid flat over, with their grassy sides upwards, and the surplus mould carefully removed.—*Inf. Barkstead junior.*

The traditional grave of Cromwell, pointed out at Naseby, is not on any part of the site of the battle.

It was resolved to wrap the corpse in lead, to put it aboard a barge, and to sink it in the deepest part of the Thames. This was done on the night following, two of his nearest relations, with some trusty soldiers, undertaking to do it.—*Inf. given to Oldmixon the historian, by a gentleman who attended Cromwell in his last illness.*

Sep. 20. A wax figure of Cromwell, having been prepared in consequence of his

For as to that body that was dug up and dragged at the horses tail, it was none of his. That body was buried under the gallows, and so had the body of King Charles been served before, being secretly conveyed from Windsor Chappel, which prevented King Charles II. of removing it to Westminster Abbey, where he intended to have erected a magnificent shrine over it *.

premature interment, was carried by his servants from Whitehall to Somerset House.

Oct. 18. All preparations for Cromwell's commemoration completed. The apartments, where the wax figure lay in state, opened to the public. After lying for upwards of a month, the public funeral took place. The wax figure drawn in an open chariot, carried to the east end of Westminster Abbey, and there placed on a mausoleum placed for its erection.

1660. May 29. Charles II. became king *de facto*.

June. The wax figure was exposed out of the window of the Jewel Office in Whitehall, with a cord about the neck.—*Public Intelligence of June* 14.

Dec. 8. Resolution of parliament. The carcasses of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Pride, whether buried in Westminster Abbey or elsewhere, to be taken up and drawn on a hurdle to Tyburn, and there hanged up *in their coffins* for some time, and then buried under the gallows.

"Though most of our historians mention the hurricane at his death, yet few take notice of the storm in the northern counties that day the House of Peers ordered the digging up his carcase with other regicides. See Mercurius publicus, No. 51. p. 816."—*Grey*.

1661. Jan. 26. Saturday. The body of Ireton (who had a stately tomb in Henry VII.'s chapel) with that of Cromwell, taken up.—*Wood. See Norfolk's evidence second hand, supra.*

Jan. 28. Monday night. The two bodies of Cromwell and Ireton drawn in two carts from Westminster to the Red Lyon in Holbourn, where they continued that evening.—*Wood*. Red Lion Square was built in 1698.

Bradshaw disinterred the same day.

Jan. 29. The next morning the carcass of Bradshaw (which had been buried in S. Peter's church at Westminster 22 Nov. 1659) was carried in a cart to Holbourn also.—*Wood*.

Cromwell's "remains were privately interred in a small paddock near Holborn, in that very spot over which the obelisk is placed in Red Lion Square, Holborn.—The Secret."—*Prestwich's Respublica*, 1787.

Jan. 30. Anniversary of Charles I.'s execution. The three bodies carried to Tyburn on sledges. When there they were pulled *out of their coffins*, and hanged at the several angles of that triple tree, where they hung till the sun was set. After which they were taken down, their heads cut off and their trunks thrown into a deep hole under the gallows, "where they now remain."—*Wood, and cotemporary newspaper*.

The heads were placed upon poles, on the top of Westminster Hall, Bradshaw's in the middle over that part of the hall where he had sat as president at the king's trial, the others' at either side.—*Cotemp. newspaper*.

The theory attaching to Cromwell's heads shown during the American war, the French revolution, and the rise of phrenology, is that the respective heads were blown from Westminster Hall in James II.'s time. They were embalmed heads, with a spike in each. The spike and the embalming were puffed as unanswerable coincidences. Only heretics might suggest that embalmed heads could be procured and rusty spikes inserted therein.

* The famous lines by, or ascribed to, Byron will perpetuate the examination in 1813 by the Prince Regent and others of Charles I.'s remains in Henry VIII.'s vault at Windsor, where the royalist writers correctly stated that he had been interred.

The Venetians hung up his effigies in the Great Hall of their Stadt-House, among other illustrious heros. It was the Almighty who raised him up on high, the wonder, envy and reproach of an ungrateful posterity. *A man was famous according as he had lifted up axes upon the thick trees, but now they break down the carved work of those times with axes and hammers.* His son Richard for want of his father's piety, resolution, and constancy, tamely suffered himself to be unhorst by the Republicans, which gave occasion to that excellent divine, Mr. Stephen Charnock, to say *they dealt not well with the house of Jerubbaal* (Judg. 9. 16) and would express his persuasion that God would one day own the Cromwellian family.

Let the appeal lie from Cromwell's dayes to these. The Duke of Monmouth came in arms in vindication of the same cause for which the Prince of Orange, alarmed with the news of a Prince of Wales, who threatened to interpose between him and the crown, made a descent into England, to deliver up from popery and slavery. The prince succeded, the duke miscarried. No man should judge of these two men's pretences by the contrary events of them. Mr. Barnes agreed in opinion with the brave Earl of Warrington, who moved in the House of Peers for reversing Monmouth's attainder, because this disgrace upon his posterity may be a discouragement upon others to attempt the rescue of their country, when no regard is had to their family, unless they prove lucky. Cromwell is in his grave, but the infamy of those dor-flies shall be eternal, who delight to feed upon the carcases of their dead enemies, whose triumphs will increase more by being denyed than granted.

The Long Parliament is restored. Sir George Booth makes a bold attempt for the King. Monk, by seeming to be sanctimoniously affected, had wheedled himself into the good opinion of the Protector, which got him the chief command of the forces in Scotland. He cunningly excuses sending any forces against Booth, pretending he could not spare them by reason of the enemies strength in those parts. This awakened a jealousy of him, and he had been clapt up and secured, if he had not prevented it by intercepting a letter, which was secretly dispateht to that purpose. *Galba* got his name from burning a Spanish town with deals daubed with *Galbanum*, and there was somewhat ominous, some fatal fraud lay hid under the cowl of this *Monk*. He, understanding what way the game run, sides with the Parliament against the army *. The Committee of Safety is

* *Will.* On 29 Oct. 1659. Sam. Barker, one of the souldiers rydeing in the Rt. Hon. the Lord Generall Monck's owne troope of horse, being now commanded out, as the rest of the forces of Scotland are, to march into England by reason of some

overawed by the army, and Monk marcheth into England. Mr. Barnes was ordered, by the Common Council and Magistrates of Newcastle, to meet Major Dorny * at Chester in the Street, who, with a party of Colonel Zanchy's Regiment, was advancing to oppose him, to desire him to halt a little, least the country should be involved in blood. Another gentleman, whose father had been one of the Commissioners who sat in judgment upon the King, riding in company with Mr. Barnes, fell into a sore complaint, what a mist affairs were in, and what fears he had that the Good Old Cause was in danger. But good as it was, he was one of the first who turned his back upon it †. But they who remember

differences lately fallenn betwixt the Parliament and parte of Commonwealthes army which happily may occasion some engagements and bloodshed (which the Lord forbid), and for that every mans life is uncertaine much more a souldiour's, makes his will. His goods were at Berwicke upon Tweed or Barton nigh Tease in Yorkeshyr.—The will was proved 1661 at Durham. There was a Samuel Barker, Curate of All Saints', Newcastle, in 1617.

There is a very interesting account of the motions of Monk and Fairfax in the printed Fairfax Correspondence. The communication between the two was carried on by Byran Fairfax in the disguise of a country clown through Westmerland and Cumberland by "a dreadful way which nothing but post and stone made passable." One of his guides turned out to be a mosstropper and he had a struggle for his life. Monk assured him that "he would watch Lambert as a cat watches a mouse." Although the latter had forces at and near Newcastle, superior to those of Monk, he appears to have quitted the town about the same time (Jan. 1) that Monk left Coldstream. On Jan. 6 Monk entered it, receiving the same courtesies as had shortly before been paid to his rival.

* Major Dorny is again mentioned in Book iii. thus:—"Such was his [Barnes's] watchful behaviour, ever on the defensive, never on the offensive side, nor could he observe in the main, that ever he was a loser by self-deniall. As he was not prone to suspect any for enemies who were not so, he was sure not to make any so, if doing good offices for all, could prevent it. Thus far he was in the magistracy another Crassus, who, being fellow-consul with Pompey, and there being a misunderstanding between them, Crassus, though the elder man of the two, first moved for a reconciliation, showing more good nature than Pompey, who was more rancorous and implacable. But this holy person was of a spirit better than either of them, the same with that of his old friend Major Dorney, who from one cross prayed to be fitted for another. Our author thought a Christian in this sense should be an apathist, at least a quietist, maintaining an indifferency as to his treatment in this world, because it is a sorry religion that cannot make a life of God separate from creatures. Times of self-deniall were to him the most gainful times, his heart went after God, and he gave himself up to him in every petition, as God gave himself in every blessing."

† This faithless gentleman was evidently John Blakiston, clerk of the chamber, barrister at law, and agent to the Duke of Somerset, who gave him "a silver Monteith," which he gave to his grandchildren Nathaniel and Rachael Blakiston at 16 years of age. His father John Blakiston, was M.P. for Newcastle in the Long Parliament. He was elected in 1640. In 1645 the Mayor and Aldermen directed that the ordinance for disfranchising Sir John Marley &c. should be entered in the *black* book, and that the charges of the ordinance should be repaid to Mr. Blakiston, and in the same year they denounced Sir John Marley as a notorious and infamous delinquent. In 1646, Mr. Blakiston was informed that Gateshead wished to be a corporation, and the Mayor &c. send him 60*l.* to prevent it. His signature with his seal of arms is appended to the death-warrant of Charles I. Jan. 1648-9. On 16 April following the Corporation send a letter to the Speaker

Coot, Prin, Brown, with such as Ingolsby, Hutchinson, and Downing, will cry, Lord, what is man!

Monk restores the excluded members, keeping out of the house men of a different impression, and taking in these of his own stamp. And now, the Parliament, the dissolution whereof was so hainous a crime in Cromwell, shows itself in those colours, which many before would not believe. This Parliament durst not trust Cromwell the master, but they can readily trust Monk the man *.

Before this Parliament rises, Mr. Crew, the Bishop of Durham Dr. Nat. Crew's father (or his kinsman) [father *is correct*] one of the forwardest in appearing against the late King, makes a motion in the House, that before they broke up, they should give a public testimony against the horrid murther of that King, and for this piece of vallour he was made a Baron. There was not now left the fourth part of a quorum of lawfull members, when this Parliament, now in good earnest become a Rump-Parliament,

vindicating Mr. Blakiston from the unjust and false aspersions of George Lilburn. His will, dated 1 June afterwards, calls him of Newton, co. pal. gent., and he gave legacies to his brother George's six children because their father had suffered much with him in public concerns. He died shortly after, for on Aug. 24, the Corporation gave to his widow 200*l.*, in consideration of the faithfulness of her late husband to the Corporation and his good services to the town. On the restoration, her goods were seized by the Sheriff of Durham as being the widow of a regicide. In an account of the monuments in All Saints' Church about 1680, we have the passage, "Susannah, late wife of John Blaxton, *one of his late Majestie's judges*, was buried under this stone, it being her first husband's, Roger Chambers, merchant." Their son John died in 1701-2. His son Nathaniel was a Colonel in 1704, and if *his* son Nathaniel left descendants, they seem to be heirs male of the Blakistons of that ilk. Sharp says that "perhaps the representative of this branch is the Rev. G. F. Blakiston of Bellbroughton co. Worcester," 1828. The regicide's father was a Prebendary of Durham!

* All this seems to mean that the purges and dissolution of the Long Parliament alone preserved the nation from a restoration of legitimate monarchy at an earlier period. Indeed the MS. in passages I have reserved for this place, expressly says that the scheme of the members of the Long Parliament for perpetuating their own sittings was in order "when a convenient time offered, to make a profitable bargain for themselves with the late King's son, towards whome, the number of them who were inclining, continually increast." And again on the elevation of Cromwell, "the reformation of the lawyers, the impatience of the republicans, the discontents of ambitious spirits, the abolition of episcopacy, the rage and frettings of the cavaliers, the envy and scorn at Cromwell's exaltation, above all, the breaking the measures of the Presbyterians, and the unsatisfyedness of the Anabaptists, discovered a leaven spread all through the people, whose murmuring reached up to Heaven, and plainly showed their hearts were returning back into Egypt. The religion of the times was lookt upon as meer cant, gibberish, and hypocricy, by them, who understood nothing of religion beyond an outward form. All this, well enough understood by the new regent, armed him with courage. There was an army, it is true, to defend the freedom and righteousness of the civil government. There could not any reformation in the church be brought about, in Harry VIII., Edward VI., or Queen Elizabeth's time, without seditions to oppose it, and armies raised to quell those seditions."

took upon it to dissolve itself, contrary to the act passt in the beginning of the war; and a new Parliament, summoned by a Commonwealth writ, as themselves reckoned it, votes home King Charles II. *

And now Hell's broke loose. The people are sunk into dirt and filth, their natural element, where they had long desired to be. Drinking, cursing, swearing and damning are the most distinguishing wayes of expressing their loyalty. A young headstrong party in the House of Commons drove on furiously; the very men who had lately ingaged in the same cause, outdoing others in rage and violence. Many of the peers declared against calling those into question who were more immediately concerned in the King's death. Lord Fairfax ingennously confest that if any man was called to account about it, he deserved as much as any. Monk curst himself before, if ever he brought in the King; and now curst himself over again black to the bone, if any one of them suffered in the least hair of their heads it would make him the veriest rogue that ever was. And indeed, being in an high post that year [John xi. 51] he prophesied. Poor Lenthal, the old Speaker in the House of Commons who had courage to tell the late King to his face, that he had neither eyes to see, nor ears to hear, nor a tongue to speak, but what that House gave him, like a vile pusilanimous wretch, sneaks to the new King, sending over 3000*l.* of his own proper gift, to make his peace, and continue him in his place of Master of the Rolls. But he lost his honour, his money, and the place too.

The King, cross to his declaration, discovers a most implacable sanguinary temper, blowing up the Parliament to severities, while they who had conscientiously espoused the cause of their country lookt for death every moment. God would have this cause sealed with blood, and that the most precious blood that was ever shed in martyrdom. Dr. Dorislaus and John Lisle, Esq. had been inhumanely murdered by ruffians: and, as soon as juries could be got packt for the purpose, those who had been, as deeply as they, involved in the same guilt, sat to condemn their fellow-criminals, and the late King's Judges, men, who were but the Parliament's under-agents, finisht the testimony of God's witnesses, with an impregnable peace of conscience, their enemies proclaiming their cruelty in the barbarous manner of their execution. About this time, Mr. Barnes, being in Furnivall's Inn †, with another gentleman, a great Cavalier, they heard a noise in the streets,

* This complaint about an imperfect body (dissolved in law by the King's death) is amusing enough, considering what had taken place in the early stages of the great struggle, and how it first was rendered illegal.

† Probably when he went to see the King.

and word was brought how Col. Daniel Axtel * was going by to his execution. The gentleman had formerly had some quarrell with Axtel, and upon this news, sais, in a rapture of joy, "I'l go see that rogue hung," and forthwith went to Tyburn. The execution was soon over, and the man returns to the company at Furnivall's Inn, with his eyes melting in tears, his countenance ruffled, a strange disturbance in his face, and crys out, "What a man has the world lost! He made a prayer that caused my hair to stand an end! O what will become of me! The man is gone to Heaven! Axtel is certainly gone to Heaven †!"

It was not the barbarity of enemies, but sinfull animosities that brought this dreadful storm. At the beginning of these warrs, multitudes were converted to Christ. But there grew a war of notions and parties. The Presbyterians, whose latitude made them the most numerous division of the people, after that of the Church of England, grew out of patience for not having their ambition satisfyed, and King Charles became a more hopefull saint than that sinner and hypocrit Cromwell, whom they could never get to serve a turn upon. Who can conclude, without reflecting upon the vanity of humane affairs, that that army, which had conquered a potent prince, controuled parliaments when they staggered and grew unsteady, and had done wonders, now, changed and debaucht under a new general, should grow good for nothing, and be dismist with infamy.

* Lieutenant Colonel Axtell was one of the most violent leaders of the army. It was he who, after Pride's purge, presented the message from the army demanding the official exclusion of the arrested members of the Lower House. When, on the day of his condemnation, the King entered the Judgment-hall, and a violent cry of "Execution! Justice! Execution!" was raised, it was Axtell who animated these shouts of the soldiers, amid the silence of the general crowd. When, on the same day, Bradshaw stated that the charges against Charles were brought in the name of the people of England; and a woman's voice in the gallery cried "It's a lie! not one half of them: where are they or their consents? Oliver Cromwell is a traitor;" it was Axtell who cried "Down with the whore, shoot them!" The voice was Lady Fairfax's. When on that memorable day Charles demanded a conference with the Lords and Commons, and the soldiers murmured and abused and blew tobacco smoke towards the King, it was Axtell who laughed and joked aloud. When, on the King's departure from the hall, his sedan-bearers stood with their hats off, it was Axtell who struck them for their disobedience to his orders. He was present at the drawing up the last act of the tragedy, the order to the executioner, and jeered Col. Huncks on his refusal to write it. (Guizot.)

† It is stated by Bourne that in the spring of 1660 an unknown gentleman came to reside at Winlaton, co. Durham, living very privately, and daily more inquisitive after news, and every circumstance of the Restoration; who, upon understanding the passing of the Act of Indemnity, with the exception of the murderers of Charles I., went into an adjoining wood, and hanged himself.

CHAPTER VI.

HIS CHURCH COMMUNION.

Such we have seen him in the Capitol amongst senators. If from thence we follow him to the Temple we shall find him no less eminent among saints. Clement of Rome foretold there would be great contention about the name of Bishop. The original use and derivation of the word, according to Scaliger, is as much as an *epoptes* an *overseer*. Louis, bishop of Tholouse, calls it an office of care, rather than a title of dignity. The charge of a primitive bishop extended to no more people than could meet in one place, communicate at one table, and join together in the same acts of worship.

In Timothies office of an evangelist, there was somewhat prophetical and extraordinary, 1 Epist. i. 18. For, as to those passages of the author in Photius, and those in the counsil of Calcedon, it is but precariously affirmed, that, supposing it to be diocesan, which is another meer supposition, it was coextensive with the Proconsular or Lydian Asia. An obscure bishop, Leontius of Magnesia, a member of that counsil, mentions a succession of twenty seven bishops from Timothy; whome we had not known so much as by his name, but for this loose report of his, when at that time, almost four hundred years after Christ, counsils were corrupted with scandalous prelacy. The epistle of Ignatius, the more it is urged, the less service it does in this debate, and Irenæus, who, when a boy, heard Polycarp preach, no more proves him to have been diocesan bishop of Smyrna, than his calling him an apostolical presbyter proves it, bishop and presbyter denoting the same officer in the dialect of Scripture. So Cyprian calls his fellow-bishops com-presbyters; and the bishops and deacons, writing back again to him, call him their

brother Cyprian. Indeed, the title of clergy was given to the people, till pope Higynus appropriated it to the priests. So, when the apostle Paul left Titus in Crete to set in order things that were wanting, it ought in reason to be proved, that the elders, who were to be by him ordained, were to be diocesan bishops, or at least that they were to succede Titus in that peculiar office. Modern episcopacy is somtimes œcumenical, somtimes provincial, somtimes metropolitan; and to bishops of all ranks, the power of ordination is annext, exclusive of the presbyters. This makes the historian Socrates say, the bishops of Alexandria and Rome turned their bishopricks into dynasties or princedoms, which Eusebius confesses grew from the degeneracy of the Christian profession, when bishops shared the people and countrys among them, as if they had conquered them by the sword. The Culdees or Scots bishops inhabited the mountains, having no settled residence till the time of King Malcolm, which was in truth the state of bishops all the world over, untill the year 268. And, in that view wherein episcopacy appears at this day, it keeps a schism up between England and the French protestants, and between England and the Switzers, the Grizons, Geneva, and the Hollanders. But this inovation from the episcopacy of ancient times made holy Chrysostom grievously blame those, who strive to have their churches great and numerous, rather than good, and he breaks into a solemn asseveration that the very thoughts of it shak't his soul, and made him wonder that any minister was saved. Just like Nazianzen, after his return from banishment, bewailing the degeneracy of his ages, wishes there were no preeminences, prelations, nor precedencies, but what were due to mens personal merits.

But upon this modern office, which is plainly of a different species from what was truly primitive, there is grown a corrupt alteration in the order of divine worship. The original of Liturgies was from Numa Pompilius, and the English Liturgie is extracted out of the Mass-Book. The Pope is so little averse to it, that he offered to ratify it. To say nothing how inelegant it is, and absurd in many particulars, this might be one reason why King James I. called it an ill-said-mass in English, this Liturgie is a composition that gives the Apochryphal books preeminence above the Scriptures. Tertullian, who tells us the Christians of his dayes prayed from their heart, without any occasion for a promptuary, does evidently imply the disuse of such forms, and if any think the use of forms of prayer may be lawfull, yet the imposition of them must needs be sinfull. Whatever is pleaded against chrism, salt, oil, and spittle, may be equally pleaded against the cross in baptism. Oil was once of sacred use,

this never. It were as pertinent to scratch the forehead of the child with a thorn, as sign it with an aeriall cross in remembrance of Christ's crown of thorns. Again, the Lord's Supper is not a sacrifice, but a commemoration of a sacrifice, it requires a table-gesture, not a gesture of adoration, and 'tis vile hypocricy, by kneeling, to pretend to express more reverence and devotion at the ordinance, than the disciples did, when their Lord and Master was present amongst them. In King Edward VI. dayes kneeling was left indifferent. And good reason it should. It is the Lord's table, not the Lord's altar. Papists kneel to the corporal presence, but protestants kneel to they know not what. They who are fond of having this table to be an altar, should leave it like an altar, open on every side, and not place it like a dresser against a wall. Then for holy places and holy times, under the Old Testament, they typically pointed to Christ the most Holy, and Bishop Usher confesseth no divine worship avails to make one place holier than another.

Holy times are of heathen nativity. The Egyptians had their Isica, the Greeks their Eleusinia, the Chaldeans their Shishac, the Romans their Bona Dea, besides their Bacchanalia, and Saturnalia. No better is Christmass, for keeping which, King James I. upbraided Geneva and our Church of England. For these holidayes are not discretionary, like lecture-dayes, or fast dayes, but have such and such duties and offices affixt to them in the rubric. So, for organs; the Jews never used musick in their synagogues, where their worship was morall; but onely in their temple, where their worship was ceremonial. To conclude, what tollerable reason can be given for bowing at the name of Jesus, more than for bowing at the name of Christ or at the name of the Father, or at the name of the Holy Spirit? The preposition ἐν in Phil. ii. 10. points to the authority of Jesus, not the sound of the syllables. We do not believe at the name of Jesus, but in the name of Jesus; nor do we baptize at the name but in the name of Jesus. Such a regulation of worship interferes with the authority of Christ, the Churches onely lawgiver, and is a principle very acceptable to the papists, whose church claims the same authority, and which, once granted, gives the church a power to add ceremony to ceremonies, 'till we come to Rome, who is the sovereign mistress of this new coin. For the compositions of ceremonies want nothing to make them sacraments but a divine sanction, the want of which is supplyed by the rigor of a humane imposition; whereas nothing is lawful in the worship of God, but what he has commanded, nor are all things to be practised in worship, which he has not expressly forbidden. The Jewish ceremonies were buried in the grave of the Messiah, and the

inforcement of ceremonies is, as much as men can, to raise Moses from the dead, and to deny that the Messiah is come. Greater weight is laid upon ritualls than moralls. In words, they speciously pass under the name of things indifferent, but in fact they are more eagerly prest, than other things more necessary to make men good Christians. And, however such impositions usurp the sanction of laws, and the inforcement of them must be called prosecution, the laws themselves, being unjust and sinfull, lay no obligation upon conscience, and so the prosecution is downright persecution. These sufferers might say with Orentas Abbas, when he was blamed for going into the church with the wrong side of his gown out, You have turned all things in the church upside down by continuing these disorders in it, do you reform the church, and I shall soon reform my gown. Were it once clear beyond doubt, that these who dissent from the establisht worship were in the wrong, their error is certainly on the safer side, and charity would teach a milder method with them than to ruin them in the world. But the elder Jews used to say, In Ezra's time they had inspired prophets, afterwards wise men. So, after inspired apostles, we have got wise men, too wise to learn of God himself, who add to the yoke instead of abating any thing, untill by narrowing and straitning their foundation they brought their church down flat to the ground.

This fall, though brought about by ramm's horns or instruments despised and every where spoken against, made a compensation for the labours and sufferings of good people for many years before, who had groaned under the burthen of impositions, the consequences of which discomposed the nation, untill God made all things new. After the civil war had removed the rubbish, church-artificers fell to work, and the sects which were turbulent, whilst things were on the mending hand, were but the throes and pangs that went before the birth. No elementary mixt bodies can suffer a change of one quality into another, without a struggle from contrarieties. It should give less scandal, that some fond errors and fannattical conceits, in the violent joustle of truth and falsehood, were splintred off, for it was but the dust and wreck which may accompany the polishing of a well-carved statue. Amongst foreiners, Blondel, with others, interposed their amicable assistance. At home, the learned Selden, by his skill in the tongues and oriental antiquities, provokt the clergy to new researches. God crowned the work of that day, by giving in the pattern of his house in a clearer manner than heretofore, and there was seen the ark of his testimony.

Amongst these Puritans, did Mr. Barnes receive the first tinctures of religion. Some used those times as an harvest for

barren speculation and wanton notions. The posterity of others are, at this day, enemies to all that is good, living in the enjoyment of plentifull estates, and reckned to be of our eldest and best families, all raised from the vast trade, wherein those times flourisht. Between these was our Author carefull, that he might possess of the pearl of great price, that he might not be put off with any sort of those common gifts, that, like medals of small vallue, were scattered at this Coronation of our Saviour in these lands, now become his inheritance, in a particular manner.

And, whatever disputes and controversies there grew about church government, Newcastle was a quiet place, Presbyterians and Independents living in amity, cordially agreing together, and preaching in the same pulpits *.

From the beginning of the Reformation, severall bright (if such as are in the possession of truth without the wealth and dignities of the world may be called bright) stars had moved into the Northern Hemisphere.

Wiclif had been there † long since.

* Sydenham says the same thing in his "Greatness of the Mystery of Godliness," 1654.

† "There." In the next line "here" is employed. Possibly the memorialist does not mean that Wickliff was at Newcastle itself.

"I know not what authority the MS. life of Barnes has for saying, that Wickliff, the famous reformer, 'had been long since at Newcastle upon Tyne.' He was born about the beginning of the 14th century, at Wickliff, in Yorkshire, and died 31st December, 1384."—Brand.

"They say that John Wiclif, hæreticus, was borne at Spreswell [?] a poore village, a good myle from Richmond." (Leland.) "We can give no account of Wicliff's parentage, birth, place, or infancy, onely we find an ancient family of the Wicliffs in the Bishoprick of Durham, since by match united to the Brakenburies, persons of prime quality in those parts." (Fuller's Church History.) The Wycliffes lived at the village of their name on the *South* side of the Tees, and the word is there pronounced hard, Wȳcliffe. Whitaker thought that Hipswell near Richmond was Spreswell. Hipswell is a village *south* of Richmond. To the *west* of the town, however, there is a place without even "a poor village," Whitecliffe Farm. In Elizabeth's time Richmond School held classes at the end of *Whyte*cliffe pasture, and, in 1701, a close called *Whicklyffe* Intack.

Walsingham calls the reformer "Antichristi præambulus non nominandus, Iohannes *Wyck*lif, vel potius *Wicke*beleve, hæreticus," and again "Johannes Wicklif sive *Wikke*beleve."

In 1350, John de *Whyte*cliff (so called only in this instance) was made an accolite at the Friars Minors at York, and John de *Wy*cliffe an accolite at the Friars Preachers in the same city. In 1351, John, son of William de *Wyk*cliff, and John, son of Symon de *Wy*cliff, were ordained subdeacons at the Friars Preachers, deacons at St. Mary's Abbey, and priests at the Minster. *Both Johns had their title from Eggleston Abbey, within three miles from Wycliffe.*

Raine (Fasti Ebor. i. 462) concludes that these Johns are the prebendary of Chichester, and the reformer. The former was called John *Whyte*cliff in his will and before it. "Wyklif is much more akin in sound to Whytecliff than Wycliff. The presumption is that in John, son of Symon de Wycliff, we have the master of Balliol and the reformer. I do not, however, set much value upon this inference."

Between Whytecliffe and Whyteclieffe there seems as much difference in sound as

John Knox in his way to Scotland, staid here for some time.

Bishop Ridley the martyr*, sowed the seed of Truth amongst his friends and relations in Northumberland.

Mr. Udal†, an active Nonconformist, when in danger of his life, hid himself amongst good people in Newcastle. He was another Benaiah (2 Sam. 23. 20), a lively strong man.

In that town also, Dr. Jackson was vicar, whose learned works have perpetuated his memory.

between Wickliffe and Wycliffe. It does not follow that Wycliffe (the Wigeclif of Symeon) was pronounced in the same way by persons of different parts, or even by those of its immediate locality. We all know the variations in the pronunciations of such places as Tynemouth or Tinmouth, and Ovin-gham or Oving-ham, and how a Ryton in one part is a Ritton in another. As a matter of fact, Wycliffe in Harrison's description of Britain and the earlier maps is Wickliffe, a variation which is common in the spelling of the name of the lords of the place. (See many examples in Arch. Æliana, vi. 194.) The *t* does not serve us as a distinction, for Whytcliffe pasture is accompanied by Whicklyffe intake. Nor can the *h* be depended upon, for the Whytecliff of 1350 was obviously the Wykliff or Wycliff of 1351.

We cannot, perhaps, at present infer more than 1. That Walsingham's pun shows that the Reformer's name was more or less pronounced with the vowel short. 2. That, notwithstanding the present local nomenclature, and even the occurrence of such forms as Wykeclyffe (Test. Rich. 156), it does not follow that the Reformer did not proceed from the lords of Wycliffe. 3. That, as his father was named Wykliff or Wycliff, it may be that he personally was born neither at Wycliff nor Whitcliffe, and that a person named after Whitcliffe might settle near Wycliffe, or, as in later times, vice versâ. 4. That both Johns were apparently of Richmondshire extraction. 5. That in Leland's time it was understood that he was "de partibus borealibus" (Coll. ii. 379), and sprung in some way from Symeon's Wigeclif, the present Wycliffe, the first syllable of the Saxon name being considered as short. "Wigclif unde Wigclif hæreticus originem duxit" (Ib. i. 329). 6. That, at the same time, there was a tradition that he personally was born at some poor village, a good mile from Richmond.

There is an useful summary of the accusations against Wickliff in Fuller's Church History, sub an. 1371.

c. 1360. Dr. Nicholas Durham, the opponent of Wickliff, appears to have flourished in the convent of Carmelites (White Friars) in Newcastle. Brand, i. 62, quoting Steph. Addit. 2 vol. in Carm'.

* "It is said, in the life of Bishop Ridley, that that prelate received the first rudiments of literature at Newcastle school. Sed quære." (Brand, i. 85.) The Grammar School was anciently in St. Nicholas' churchyard, but in Elizabeth's time was removed to the newly granted Hospital of S. Mary in Westgate. Part of the old school, "having experienced the fate of Baal's temple of old, 'remaineth a draughthouse unto this day.'" (Ib. i. 88.)

In his memorable farewell letter to his friends before his martyrdom, the Bishop mentions "my dearly beloved brother John Ridley of the Waltoune, and you my gentle and loving sister Elizabeth" and "my well beloved and worshipful cousin Master Nicholas Ridley, of Willimoteswicke."

† John Udal, who perished in prison after his sentence to death, in 1590. The trial of Udal, says Hume, "seems singular, even in those arbitrary times."

Ephraim Udal was persecuted "by those very people for whom his father Ephraim [sic] Udal was condemned to be hanged in Queen Elizabeth's time." He had been in high esteem among the Puritans, but opposed the civil war, and spoke so plainly, that he was sequestered, and figures in White's Century of Scandalous and Malignant Clergy, and, with his aged wife, experienced great cruelties. He died in 1647. His church had to the last been more crowded than any other in London.

Vicar Alvey succeeded him there.

And after him succeeded Dr. Robert Jennison, who writ a book not unlearned, concerning the idolatry of the Israelites.

Of those called Puritans, there was Mr. Glover *, whome God made use of for the conversion of a noted scoffing persecutor.

Then Mr. Vivon †, of whome it is related, that in the year 1657, he was 110 years old, and had, within two years before, three young teeth; and though for forty years before, he had not been able to read the largest print without spectacles, yet now could, without their help, read the smallest character: new hair likewise grew upon his head, and, after he was four score years of age, had five children born to him.

Mr. Thomas Shepherd, before he went to New England, preacht at Heddon in the Wall; some who not long ago went to God, were there converted by his ministry.

Mr. Lapthorn was also a grave strict Puritan, and removed from the North to the South.

Before the breaking out of the civil wars, Mr. Love, who was beheaded, preacht occasionally in Newcastle. His text was in Isa. 42. *Ye have feared the sword, and the sword shall come upon you.* Sir John Marlow [Marley] then governour of the town, being informed of it, swore the text was worse than the sermon, and magnifyed the present security of the nation, but Mr. Love proved more of a prophet than he.

In the beginning of the war, Mr. Morton ‡ a very worthy

* Cornelius Glover, a dissenting minister at Heddon on the Wall, whose popularity brought him into the High Commission Court. See its Acts, published by the Surtees Society, pp. 8. 110, 111.

† Walker mentions Michael Vivan in the following terms:—"I know nothing of this gentleman, besides what Lloyd (Mem. p. 636) saith of him; which is, that he was a loyal, and therefore persecuted, minister in Northumberland. But whether that expression be sufficient grounds, on which to build the conjecture of his sequestration, I leave as a Quære. What Lloyd adds of his preaching somewhere in the year 1657, may be very consistent with his having been ejected. His hair came again, as white and flaxen as a child's, a new set of teeth; his eyesight and strength recovered beyond what it was at 50 years before, and he then read Divine-service without spectacles and preached without notes."

Lloyd's statement is this:—

"Mr. Michael Vivan, a loyal, and therefore persecuted minister in Northumberland, at the 110th year of his age, when much broken with changes and alterations, between those that would not leave their old *Mumpsimus*, and those that were for their new *Sumpsimus*, had of a sudden his hair come again as white and flaxen as a child's, a new set of teeth, his eye-sight and strength recovered, beyond what it was 50 years before, as an eye-witness hath attested Sep. 28, 1657, who saw him then read Divine Service without his spectacles, and heard him preach an excellent sermon without notes. And being asked by the said gentleman, how he preached so well with so few books as he had, and lived so cheerfully with so few acquaintance; answered, Of friends and books, good, and few are best."

‡ In 1643. See Neale, iii. 58. Mr. Morton of Newcastle was with Sir Arthur

man, left Newcastle, went into the Parliament's army, and was one of the divines in the assembly at Westminster.

When the wars were over, there came to Newcastle by Alderman Barnes his means, Mr. Cole *, a polite man and an eloquent preacher, who afterwards conformed: Mr. Henry Lever from Branspeth, whose predecessors, one of whome, in times of Popery, was a prebend of Durham, had purchast an handsome estate which descended to him †: Mr. Prideaux who was made vicar ‡: and Mr. Pleasance, who, dying lately §, bequeathed a

Hesilrig's troop in the army of the Earl of Essex which marched to Worcester in 1642.

* Mr. William Cole. He had a daughter Elizabeth buried 2 Aug. 1654, another, Grace, bap. 24 Jan. 1654-5, and a son John, born 25 July, bap. 14 Aug. 1656, and buried 3 Feb. 1656-7 at St. John's where their father officiated.

† Son of Sampson Lever of Aldernage and Scutes House, co. Dur., grandson of Thomas Lever, master of Sherburn House. The prebendary was Ralph Lever, the brother, and successor in the Hospital, of Thomas.

‡ Of all Saints. According to Brand he conformed, and in 1662 preached both forenoon and afternoon. He was of the persuasion called "The Congregational Judgment." It does not appear that he was ever vicar.

17 May 1661. Will of Rich. Prideaux of Newcastle. My eld. son Richard P. 100*l.* and all my estate in Devonshire. Mr. Emmanuel Phaire my bro. in law. Rebecca P. my eldest dau. 100*l.* Sarah my 2d dau. 100*l.* George P. my 2d son 50*l.* John my 3d son 50*l.* Hannah my 3d dau. 50*l.* Peter P. my 4th son 50*l.* Mary my 4th dau. 50*l.* Anne my 5th dau. 50*l.* My wife all my goods &c. i. e. my land at Norton in the Bprick, my houses in Pilgrim St., my tenement at Biker Shore in Northumberland, to pay the above legacies. Mr. Ralph Fell and Mr. Marton overseers. Mr. Knighbridge and my bro. Lang feoffees. Sir Wm. Morice and Sir Richd. Prideaux to decide disputes. Witness my hand—Richd. Prideaux minr. in Newcastle. Proved 1663.

27 Feb. 1677. Will of Richard Prideaux of NC. mercht.—bro. John P. vicar of Long Howton co. Nd. exor.—I give him my land in Devonshire—Wit. Rebecca Prideaux. Proved 1678.

§ Mr. Robert Pleasance was son of Robert Pleasance of the South Bailey, Durham, Esq. and was ejected from Boldon, where he married Jane Wilkinson, 4 Jan. 1655. Calamy says that after his ejectment he never would preach to more persons than the act against conventicles allowed: and that he had a pretty good estate and left some considerable legacies for the support of the Gospel. He died at Bishop Auckland 28 Apr. 1701, and was buried in the choir of St. Andrews' Auckland Church beside his wife. By his will dated a week before, 21 Apr. he disposed of all his collieries lands &c. (except a few legacies) to Ralph Gowland, solicitor, Durham, and, by *private directions* to his executor, he left to the Dissenting Congregations at Stockton, Durham, and Sunderland, one sixth part of Bitchburn Colliery, the interest arising from which was to be divided equally amongst their respective ministers; and by his will he left to their ministers Mr. Thompson, Mr. Blamires, and Mr. Wilson, such and so many of his books as his executor should think fit to distribute and give to them respectively. Mr. Thompson, of Stockton, has the following entry in his register:—

"Mr. Ralph Gowland, senior, died on March 29, 1728, being Friday. He was renowned for his fair practice as an attorney-at-law. He was ready to engage in y^e^ cause of y^e^ poor w^n^ opprest. He was a great friend to Dissenting Protestants, especially at Durham, y^e^ place of his abode. He was much confided in for his prudence and faithfulness: *ex gr.* by y^e^ late Reverend Mr. Pleasance, in his last will; and hath alwaies been thought to be true to y^t^ trust, by y^m^ y^t^ were concerned in it. The Lord grant y^t^ his success^r^ in y^t^ trust may follow his example

bountiful legacy to the dissenting meetings of Durham, Sundreland, and Stockton.

But he who in Newcastle, for several years, shined with the greatest luster, and whose ministry was, on all hands, owned to be most successful was Mr. Cuthbert Sydenham, of an ancient family in Cornwal, and born to a good estate *. He was of St. Alban's Hall in the university of Oxford, where he continued till that city was garrisoned for the King. Wood the Oxonian tells us he became Lecturer of St. Nicholas Church without any orders unless those of presbytry, where, by his confident and constant preaching, he obtained more respect from the brethren, than any grave and venerable minister, in that or another corporation, could do. *Ecce iterum Crispinus!* When any of our Puritans, ordained by Bishops, fall in with Presbyterians, this executioner brands them for apostacy; if they never had episcopal ordination, they are branded for intruders. He who desires to breathe infectious air may walk in this *Wood*, whose pen has left a more odious brand upon himself than ever it can do upon such honourable names as this before us. Mr. Sydenham was no commissioner, yet was very *inwardly* imployed in drawing up the papers, that past in the debates, between the five dissenting brethren, and the Synod at Westminster. A genteel comly personage. His aquiline nose minds me of the description given by scornfull Lucian of Paul, when he calls him that hawk-nosed Galilean, who mounted to the Third Heaven and there fetched those goodly notions which he preacht. Had Austin then lived, of his three wishes of seeing Rome in its Glory, Christ in the Flesh, and Paul in the Pulpit, he would have abated the last, and be content to see Sydenham

yrin. I am ye last of ye three minists who were yn living wn Mr. Pleazance died. The legacy was a very seasonable gift from God, and is alwaies to be remember'd with hearty gratitude, to ye glory of God, and to ye honr of ye donor. Theire encouragements in Durham, Stockton, and Sunderland were yn but smal, and were seemingly decreasing by ye death of many substantial encouragers. The other two ministrs were the Rev. Mr. Blamires at Durham, and Mr. Wilson at Sunderland. Lord, prepare me to follow. I was ye eldest, and yet they are gone before me, being sooner ready." The writer died 24 Mar. 1729, aged 68.

The share of the colliery was sold in 1759 by Ralph Gowland, the grandson of the executor, to Mr. Thomas Pearse for 1000*l.*, and the interest was paid by Mr. Gowland (though irregularly) until 1775, when the payment of it entirely ceased. This was probably owing to the insolvent state of his affairs. In 1761 he was engaged in two expensive contests for the representation of Durham in Parliament, and was M.P. for Cockermouth at the time of his death, about 1780. (Extract furnished by Mr. James Clephan, and Richmond's History of Nonconformity at Stockton.)

* Mr. Humphrey Sydenham, an ejected prebendary of Wells, a relation of Sir Philip Sydenham of Brympton, co. Somerset, bart. was so eloquent and fluent a preacher, that he was commonly called *Silver Tongue Sydenham* (Walker, and see Wood). The same epithet was applied to Mr. Henry Smith, of St. Clement's Danes, London, who died about 1600.

there. For in the high flights he took towards heaven, he was a very seraph [seraphim *altered*]. His pulpit transformed him out of himself above himself. There he behaved as one who saw and uttered things full of majesty, terror, and glory, as if he had been in the mount with God. His performances were accompanyed with a most awful seriousnes, without affectation or external show, working his affections up to such a noble strain, that they produced in his soul a most gracious, and in his body a most graceful deportment. It cannot be said he has left little in writing, though it was but little that he writ, for that small book he was prevailed on to publish, concerning the Mystery of Godliness, contains more lofty ideas of Christ than more bulky volumes, composed with greater art but savouring less of the gospel. In a posthumous discourse upon the Hypocricy of the Scribes and Pharisees which came out after his death, he has anatomized the deceitfull hearts of men. Though through want of the Author's hand to finish it for the press, there be some inaccuracies of expression, the treatise has been in great request. Between Mr. Bowls of York and him, there was an intimate friendship, and upon his death, he said there would not, for many ages, arise a prophet like this Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face, and his death was lamented by the best pens, as a token of dreadful judgments approaching.

The church whereof he was the angel, was one of the golden candlesticks wherein Christ walked. The state of religion in Newcastle, then in its zenith, has ever since been slowly going on in its declinator.

['Mr. Barnes' was wonderfully taken with a letter which came to some friends in England upon the admission of Mr. Sydenham's father-in-law Mr. Sidrach Sympson* into Mr. Bridge's church in Holland, in 1637:—"After our teacher and pastor had devoutly spent an holy sabaoth, towards the evening before the congregation was dismist, Mr. Sympson desired admission to our communion. His desire was propounded to the church, and two things were required of him, a profession of his faith, and a confession of his experience of the grace of God wrought in him. Both which he did so excellently perform, that the hearts of all there present were much affected, professing that this had been the fruit of prayers and tears, and many were upon the wing for heaven, saying, Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servants depart in peace, the glory of church-communion being so brightly discovered, and the state of gracious souls so sensibly anatomized. There might you

* One of the Assembly of Divines in 1643, formerly in exile. Wood's Ath. Oxon. ii. 504.

have heard him thus with flowing eyes speak to the people—
['For my part, though I have reason to lay my hand upon my mouth, and cry, I am unclean, I am unclean, and deserve to be weighed in the small ballance, and to look for such a faun, as men might slight me who have so much dross, yet I beseech you do the work of an ordinance upon me. Thus it is with me. I go to Christ by faith because he hath commanded me; I must have grace from him, I can carry none to him. I would that deadly corruption were let out, though with the loss of pleasure, profit, yea of life too. If I be vanquished, I dare not lay down my arms. I make resistance; but how, if I be down? I fight and cry, and cry and fight. If temptations come, I dare not answer them, for there is strength alone in Christ. If Satan challenge me, I rather hold the conclusion than the dispute: and in this, whether I do well or no, judge ye. I dare seldom make vows, the forfeiture is so great, yet if I do, Christ is my counterbond. The duties I do, I do so infirmly, I have much cause to be humbled for them as my sin. But I believe the day is coming, when sin shall not domineer, nor Satan overcome, nor deadly corruption prevail, and I shall be more than a conqueror. All that I do is with incredible weakness. I go, but I stagger; I walk, but I faint; I look up to him, but mine eyes fail; I am dead, but am come to you to quicken me; I am empty, but am come to you who are Christ's fulness to fill me.'] . . . This is but a touch, but for a whole hour he poured out his soul into our bosoms, and we as heartily embraced him in the bosom of the church. As for me I have enough. Never saw I more beauty in the sanctuary, never did I think to have beheld it, till I had come amongst the just souls made perfect. O hasten under this safe covert and retreat. I thank the Lord he hath fitted me for this place, and so long as Hebr. 13. 5, 6, do last, I shall never lack."

[He had a dear remembrance of the dayes he had spent under the ministry of Mr. Sydenham, and the word of God, which he heard in the spring of his age, left a warmth in his affections, and preserved a verdure in the autumn of nature. Mr. Sydenham's custom was not like theirs, who, when absent from their cures, take not themselves to be concerned about them; but if he was occasionally abroad, he was sure to send his fatherly councels and instructions to his congregation. And being once absent from them in his own country of Cornwal, he directed [a] letter to Mr. Barnes, to be by his hand communicated to the people. "I cannot but bid you rejoyce in the Lord, and refresh your hearts, for the day of your redemption draweth nigh. The heavens begin to be open, the drawnings of Christ's kingdom are upon the world, the signs and symptoms of the prophecies

concerning the latter dayes are appearing in our horizon. Truly, brethren, methinks the Lord Jesus is making very hasty and quick preparations to ascend his royal throne, and calls upon his saints to lift up their heads with triumph, to be full of his praises, and to raise their expectations of his appearance. Let not the sound of drumms and trumpets affright you, they are but the alarms of the latter dayes, and serve to warn you to make ready for the bridegroom's coming. Is it not matter of great joy to think you shall shortly see your Saviour? Rejoyce, and again I say, Rejoyce; for the Lord Jesus will fill his church, his house, with glory, he will beautify the meek with salvation. God is pouring out, as vialls of wrath upon his enemies, so treasures of glory upon the vessels of his love, and both shall be filled before he has done with them. The promises run over, the seals of truth begin to open, the brightness of holiness will at length break forth. But darkness must go before the light, an evening and a morning makes up this day. Men's scornful hatred of holiness shall be visited with vengeance, and that vengeance shall hasten on Christ's coming kingdom. There is as much of a believer's joy wrapt up in the prophecies as in the promises." . . . . "The times I confess give me a gloomy prospect when at present I think upon them and consider not what God in the end will bring out of them. Religion, as one said, is gone backward more than ten degrees from the consciences of men. We look not like them who must reign with Christ or bear up his glory. Christian professors look either too pale and earthy or too full and swollen." . . . "Our dear brother, and my fellow-travailer, salutes you all with much affection. We beg your praises for us, as your prayers that we may be returned with the blessing of the gospel and rich experiences of Jesus Christ. I intreat your excuse of these broken and distracted lines, which are writ in the midst of abundance of business. I am now hastening to you and by the will of God hope to see you shortly. Now the God of peace who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, strengthen you to every good word and work. Brethren, my heart salutes you all. I am the unworthiest of all saints. C. S."]

Mrs. Fenwick* was another Priscilla, the ornament of her sex.

Mrs. Dawson†, adorned, like the holy women of old, with knowledge, experience, and humility.

Mrs. Young was, like another Phœnix of her sex (Anna Maria a Schurmann), a very Magdalene for love to Christ.

* This, I presume, was the wife of John Fenwick, the author of Christ Ruling in the midst of his Enemies. The previous paragraph is from Book III.

† The name of Dawson is conspicuous in the history of the popular side at Newcastle at that period.

Mrs. Partridge, whose praise was in the gospel through all those churches.

These, and many more, shined in this galaxie, and are long since joyned to the assembly of the first born. Maid servants under the law of Moses, when dismist from their masters, had the dowry of virgins, and their children had liberty to go out with their mothers. These were all virgins who had washt their robes in the blood of the Lamb.

They of London, Bristol, Yarmouth, New-England and Dublin would send to Newcastle for advice in matters depending in their congregations.

Mr. Barnes was preparing to make his offering, being invited to joyn in this fellowship, to which he was the more inclined from the spiritual benefit he had received under the ministry of this church. Mr. Sydenham upon a week-day lecture upon John 5. 40, showing the folly of sinners in not believing in Christ, and how, after all the excuses they use, the case will to eternity issue between God and them, *they would not come* to him that they might have life, the stop was not from weakness but from malice in the will; the power of God did so accompany these words, that our author, all in tears, found his spirit in commotion, his heart saying, Lord, this is not my case, I would come to Christ for life, I desire to come, nay, Lord, I do come, I am come! But the best account of God's work upon his soul will be what he drew up and repeated before the church. Our alderman appeared amongst them as an humble candidate for communion and in the following words addrest that holy assembly:

"I am coming amongst you, my dear friends and fellow-Christians, like one born out of due time, having lost many oportunities of attaining the knowledge of God. This neglect has brought me into much darkness, and to me 'tis matter of wonder, that God's Spirit, who is so quick to finish his treaty with souls, should not, long before this, have quite left me. With Christ is plenteous redemption, treasures of longinimity and patience, whereof my self am an example, an instance of all longsuffering to others. Often has he in his word spoken to me, many agitations of mind have I had, from the discoveries of the glory and fulness that is in Christ. But still I stood as afar off. I could say little as to my interest in him. I found no change in my disposition, nothing of a conformity to the pattern of the gospel. And this, by my unacquaintance with the voice of God, not knowing what these excitements of spirit meant, being of a reserved retired temper, I cared not for entring into freedom with others, to be instructed by them. By this means have many of my budds been nipt and my blossoms dropt off, and greater

confusion hath followed upon it. The light that was in me was yet darkness. God came again to me in this bondage, and secretly put me upon an enquiry further after himself, but I groped for the wall as the blind, and was utterly at a loss, both as to the things of Christ, and the things of my own heart. The prospect I now had was amazing, sin raged, and, in every thought, interposed between me and Heaven. I durst not look my Saviour in the face, but dealt with him at a distance, reckoning it presumption, by reason of unworthiness, immediately to close with him. There was, under the law, a sacrifice which consisted of outward acts of worship, and another sacrifice, consisting of a purifyed heart and conscience, which rendered the other acceptable. I perceived my *Mincha*, my offering, was impure, finding within myself an ocean of defilement, an absolute contradiction between me and anything that was spiritual. I was hatefull to myself upon this accompt. I saw what length sin had got in me, I had given myself up to the fashion of this world, I found no means to withstand that law which brought me into captivity to the law of sin and death. Hitherto I was a poor piece of self, I minded my own interest, my own reasonings, my own quiet, my own safety, and my own satisfaction, more than the dictates of faith. All this entanglement, and more than can be exprest, was I in; I was not come to the blood of sprinkling to wash me, nor to the cross of Christ to ease my burden, nor the Spirit of Christ for liberty to fly for refuge to the hope set before me. I was detained in much perplexity, and my interior disturbances were rather greater, by hearing some Christians frequently speak of their experiences, whereby I understood still more the wofull wants of my own soul. *Abba* in the Hebrew signifies *a* father, but *Abba* in Greek signifies *my* father: I had not yet received the Spirit of adoption, whereby to call God my father. Servants cannot call their master *Abba* nor their mistress *Imma;* and thus far was I amongst the children of the bondwoman.

"My sorrows were turned within me, by this vision I had of my own misery. I was now convicted and sentenced as an utter stranger to the life, power and spirituality of the gospel, concluding myself at present quite undon. Then cryed I with the prophet, 'I am a man of unclean lips, for mine eyes hath seen the King the Lord of Hosts; how can the servant of this my lord talk with this my lord, for as for me there remains no strength in me.' Now, though I was not yet got clear off from self and the principles thereof, to close singly and alone with Christ, yet was I not plunged in the ditch of despair, and I have been apt to question the truth of my conversion, because it brought no more terror along with it. But my knowledge of the remedy I think kept

me from fainting under my sickness. And whilst I was lockt up to the faith that was afterwards to be revealed, I heard one in the pulpit upon those words to Thomas, 'thou hast seen and hast believed,' but 'blessed are they who have not seen and yet have believed,' observe that this blessedness is pronounced upon them, who, not having the sensible refreshing presence of Christ, do nevertheles adhere to him and follow on to know the Lord. This was the sweetest word that ever came to my heart, it filled me with life, spirit, and activity. Surely my soul now followed hard after God, surely the Lord said unto me 'I am my salvation, fear not, peace be unto thee, be strong, yea be strong, be strong.' And when he had spoken unto me, I was strengthned, and now I could say, 'Let my Lord speak, for thou hast strengthned me.' I have often, with pleasure, reflected upon, as I may call it, the art and contrivance of the Holy Spirit, in this turn within me, who, from the promise proposed upon believing, took advantage against my heart, which was full of unbelief, to win me to believe.

"I was, by this time, past the Red Sea, but I had not yet got over Jordan. Driness, deadness, hardness, crept upon me. The clog and heavy weight of corruptions hung upon me; they suckt out the sweetness of spiritual refreshments; the savor of them was imperceptably diminisht; I relisht not Christ's dainties as I had done, but grew to have sapless thoughts of his favours; I found not, neither yet is it my attainment, every thought captivated into obedience. Lying under this frame, which methought was not right, I began to look inward for the renovation of my former comfort. Somtimes I argued from the strength of inherent grace, in order to renew a sense of peace, and being unskilful in the knowledge of Christ, I would fain there have fixt my foot, to stand my ground, and get additionall power over what I was wrastling against. But unbelief did still stick close to me, and I, not perceiving it, lurkt secretly in my best indeavours, untill Mr. Sydenham, in a Friday-Lecture, preacht upon this very subject. There he shewed the comprehensiveness and vast extent of unbelief, how it would live by sense, build upon an outward profession, cleave to duties, and catch hold of any thing that would but keep the soul off from Christ. This hinted to me the state of my case, melted my affections, and put me again into motion. And then he adding, that unbelief would suffer and permit a brokeness of heart, and whisper it as it were in the ear, 'this is a good frame,' and so take comfort from it and not from Christ; this brought forth judgment unto victory, this was the very point with me at that instant of time; for the Life of that Light which broke immediately into my soul would not

let me any longer ease my faith by grafting my assurance upon sensible comfort, but detected the windings, turnings, evasions, and tergiversations of my unbelieving heart.

"But that which offered itself as an objection yet behind was, How did I after all close with Jesus Christ? or, what peculiar act of God was put forth upon me, that can be a sure evidence of my being begotten again, and that I have indeed received Christ Jesus the Lord? Here I confess I had been at a loss, had I not occasionally met with direction from an excellent person, whome you all know. His advice to those who were doubtfull of their sincerity and ready to question whether they were hypocrites or no, was this; not to dispute the premisses, but to hold the conclusion. Jesus Christ came to save the chief of sinners, is a saying worthy of all acceptation. I learnt, not to put on the Lord Jesus Christ as an habit or garment onely upon extraordinary occasions in time of need, but to consider myself as wrapt up in him, cloath'd with his righteousness, and by daily acts of faith look unto him, contemplating his fulness of truth, grace, peace, and strength, the storehouse of all my supplies, so, that 'I live, yet not I, but he liveth in me.' But to point out the time of espousel, to show you, as I may tearm it, the wedding-ring, or show the precise article of union, truly I am not able. But when fears and doubts do arise, the way I take is, to inquire what principles have been implanted in me, and what fruit and issue all these exercises have had? This I cannot answer by way of boasting. He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord. The Lord Jesus is precious to me, he is unspeakably precious, I am come out of the wilderness leaning upon my beloved. I find a greater withering of corruption, can walk longer with God than heretofore, and I am brought from a faith of adherence to a faith of recumbence and reliance. I am dead to the Law, that I might be marryed to Christ. This life of faith teacheth me to die daily to my own works, and so would I die to every thing but him who is my life. But this I confess, coms rather within my view than my attainment. Somtimes I am hard put to it, and cry, 'I believe, Lord, help my unbelief,' and feel myself like Gideon's army, 'faint yet pursuing.' Sometimes I am feasted with new tasts of the hidden manna, and my affections are more drawn out in holy duties. I am lost to myself, my chief aim and desire in my religion being to be found in him. I am Hell, as the martyr said, He is Heaven. But indeed, I bewail it, I have not so learnt Christ, as to see my compleatness in Him, and to live upon Him as my all, who know myself to be nothing. Yet I trust, it is my very earnest desire, which I pray you, brethren, to help me in, further to know him and the power of his resurrection, so as, if

it were possible, I might, with Paul, attain to the resurrection of the dead."

After so distinct a narrative, this blessed person, who had not been proselyted to one party of Christians, divided from another, but to Christ, in whome they all agree, was with open arms received into this church who gave him the right hand of fellowship. What he here reports of the method of grace quickning him into life eternal, looks, rather to be a representation of one grown up in spiritual things, than of one newly come to the faith.

The relation our Author had, out of judgment, contracted to this particular congregation, did not in the least contract his affections or narrow his spirit towards the mystical body of Christ. His love to Christ extended his concern for the catholic interest throughout the world. The desolations of Bohemia and in the valleys of Piedmont lay very near his heart. And his solicitude for the gospel in foreign countries, may be gathered from part of a letter written by a relation of his, who had left Europe upon the sole account of conscience, of whome he was desirous to be informed how things went. "Dear Sir, I salute your whole self in the Lord, and give you to know, that notwithstanding our company provoked God and one another to an high degree, and that God had sharply rebuked all, and removed some, he did graciously bring us to our desireable and desired land. Though I have met with some disappointment in men, yet none in God, none in his work, none in the country. It appears good, very good, so as to confute and silence the many objections which made against it. If the Lord please to go on with us, here seems to be some preparation for a great work. Here is need of more master-builders, men of abler heads and purses, and God will be seen and provide, and happy shall they be, who with a single eye mind the Lord on such an occasion as this."

There happened a case in the church of Newcastle, the consideration whereof proved afterwards of public consequence in the Caroline persecution, though the first beginning and stating of it was here. An Alderman of the town, a very religious member of this society, had discovered his opinion in favour of hearing the Episcopal clergy, and did occasionally when he was at London use his liberty that way. Some of his brethren said it was a scandalous latitudinarian practice. The debate grew warm and there was a party very eager for his excommunication. These disputes created much uneasiness to the worthy pastor. It was argued that to hear conformist preachers was to countenance those corruptious from which the nation had been reformed, and would break a gap open for great apostacy, whenever the teeth of

persecution grew again. But Mr. Barnes, when it was his turn to speak, declared his sentiments, with submission to the judgment of the church, he believed all godly men were united in that which made them godly. He conceived a great difference between hearing Episcopal ministers and communicating with them in the Lord's Supper. Scripture makes no difference but between the godly and the ungodly. The Episcopal, the Presbyterian, the Baptist, the Independent, he thought, might associate together, so far as to hear the word of God one with another. We must not do evill, that good may come of it, nor must we omitt good for the evill use others may make of it. If there be, in indifferent things, a mixture of evill, it makes them wholly evill, butt in things moral, as gold is gold, though mixt with baser mettal, so what is morally good, will remain so, though mixt with what is circumstantially evill. There can be no greater exceptions against hearing prelatical preachers than was against hearing the Scribes and Pharisees, yet Christ required his disciples to attend the truths delivered by them. Hearing such preachers did not contract a relation to their church, nor imply an approbation of their ordination or way of worship. He put them in mind of Hezekia's passover, which by the necessity of the times had some irregularity in it. They had lately heard from Dr. Goodwin, at Oxford, how, notwithstanding promiscuous communion, and the want of disciplin in many parish churches, they were true churches of Christ which should be by him acknowledged sister churches. We must not discover a stiffness against worldliness in communion, and pliableness in worldly conversation. This he added, not for his own sake, who neither desired nor needed such a liberty as he pleaded for on behalf of that honoured brother, [but] to give them time to reflect. This discourse was servisable to the pastor, wrought much upon the brotherhood, and Dr. Owen then there, as he was going commissioner in Scotland approved the temper wherein this matter was concluded, and did afterwards in a printed book express yet greater latitude of judgment, that the mistakes of Christians in joyning themselves (which is more than hearing the word) in such churches as have no warrantable institution, ought not to be any cause of diminishing our love towards them; for they may belong to the Church Catholic Mysticall.

In the substantialls of doctrine, no man was more resolute and constant. He watcht against the loss of that disciplin which Christ had appointed in his house and against all subverting the foundations of the gospel, under the abused notion of catholicism and moderation. But, in less material things, he was ready to

please all men, and not himself, for peace and edification. This made him be lookt upon as popish, protestant, and puritan, like them who, sailing in a boat, think the land moves, whereas he was still the same, without wavering, holding fast the form of sound words in doctrin and practice to the last. In many things, he was with Bishop Usher, inclined to vulgar Christians rather than the learned. Godly persons of what rank and denomination soever, had mighty power with him, with them he would be most familiar, and beg their prayers.

The Restoration caused a general rout amongst the parochial clergy. It was a comparison which some used, that the Independents were like a man who smells the smoaking snuff of a candle, as soon as he coms into the room, but the Presbyterians were like a man who cannot smell it, untill it be clapt close to his nose. He greatly blamed their discontent at Cromwell, yet rejoyced that Black Bartholomew day gave opportunity to so many of all denominations to manifest their constancy. I shall mention the ejected ministers to whome he was servisable.

Mr. Wells of Riton died soon after the change *.

Mr. Trurant was put out of Ovingham †.

Mr. Ward left Harnham ‡.

Mr. Bindlows § left Northumberland, and betook himself to the profession of the Law.

Both these gentlemen were Mr. Barnes his particular friends. To Mr. Ward he was helpfull in the matters of his private estate. He left an onely child, a daughter, who married the Reverend Dr. Colton of York.

By his interest with Mr. Bindlows, he procured a yearly allowance out of the legacy of Philip Lord Wharton, for Mr. Robert Blunt, who had been cast out at Pontelon || and lived to above

* Mr. John Weld of Ryton is said by Calamy to have been *son* to Mr. T. Wield of Gateshead, and to have afterwards conformed.

† He preached there after he was ejected; afterwards at Harrow on the Hill; and died 1676. *Sharp.*

‡ Mr. Ralph Ward M.A. was of Sydney Col. Camb.: left the University to settle at Bishop Wearmouth; was chaplain to Col. Fenwick's regiment, which after the fight at Dunbar, remained at Leith, where he preached; he was afterwards at Wolsingham. After the Restoration, he retired to Newcastle and kept school. He lived about 30 years at York 'in labours and sufferings,' and died there, March 13, 1691, aged 62. *Sharp.*

§ Of Mitforth, afterwards a Councelor at Law, and Justice of the Peace. *Calamy.*

|| As the ejected parliamentary minister of Ponteland is mentioned, the treatment of Dr. Thomas Grey the ejected royalist minister of the same place shall be given. In Dec. 1641, on a complaint exhibited against him, he was sent for as a delinquent by the Serjeant at Arms. (Walker i. 56.) He lost his place and he was 'plundered of all his moveables, money, linen, household furniture and corn; of which he had a vast stock, having farmed the whole corn-tithe of the parish; in

90 years of age. To him also did Mr. How of London bequeathe a small annuity.

Mr. Pell * had the rich benefice of Esington †. He married Mrs. Ellison ‡ a gentlewoman of a great and wealthy family. Being in most repute of any of the ministers for learning, he should have been the head of a college which was intended to be founded at Durham §, but was cast out with the rest ‖, and after many removes, died in Newcastle.

Mr. Richard Gilpin was educated in Scotland, and administered

all, to the value of 1500.' He had seven children at home. No beds were left him for their use. The charity of his kind neighbours supplied the loan of substitutes which, that they might not be taken away, were brought in every night, and carried out every morning. The soldiers first took away all the children's shirts which were not actually on their backs: but they came a second time, and stript them of those that were left. Of these last, however, a captain in pity for their nakedness, compelled the restoration. Grey himself was carried to Newcastle, where he met with very harsh usage; and during his constraint, was with difficulty allowed a visit from his wife. At last he was rescued by a Right Honourable person of his own name, who maintained him at one of his own seats till his death. (Walker ii. 253.)

* William Pell, A.B. Magd. Col. Camb., 1650: ordained by Bishop Brownrigg.

† Easington in Durham was filled in 1645 and 1658 by Philip Nesbett a Scotchman.

‡ Elizabeth the daughter of George Lilburn, Esq. of Sunderland. Her sister Isabel married Benj. Ellison, merchant, Newcastle.

§ I cannot find any mention of him in the documents relative to Oliver's college. See Hutch. Dm. i. 519.

‖ He had been presented by Charles II. to the rectory of Stainton in the Street, 20 July, 1660, according to Surtees. Hutchinson gives the date 1658 to his incumbency. Surtees states that James Hilliard was inducted in Oct. 1658. However this may be, Pell was ejected in 1662, and had afterwards a congregation at Boston, where he remained 7 years. He died in 1698 as an assistant to Gilpin, but it would appear from the following letter, which must be republished, that this "eminent oriental scholar" dared to pitch his tent at one time under the very shadow of the cathedral.

Durham, July 5th, 1674. ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE TO MR. SECRETARY COOKE. So many complaints are of late made to mee of severall persons dayly seduced away from the Church (which by reason I cannot helpe by the ordinary ecclesiasticall proceedings as Archdeacon, those of course being too long and slow for the short stay I am to make here) that I am necessitated to beg so much favour at your hands as to lett mee know whether I may not take, as Justice of the Peace, a more speedy and effectuall course by putting the late act against conventicles in execution. I finde in this country an (allmost) universall jealousie, as if his Majestie at this presentt would not have itt soe, and upon this suspition it is that some small and yet scandalous meetings both are neglected and sufferr'd to grow since one or twoe yeares space, which it were easy to suppresse, specially here in a citty where such disorders had never appeared. Here is one *Pell*, a preacher in the times of rebellion, whoe hath the confidence to sett up a congregation at our gates, and, though excommunicated, dares to christen children, and ventures on other sacred offices. These never soe despicable beginnings may with time improve to more growth, and, though they were not dangerous, they being unusuall in this place, are thereby extreamly scandalous. Therefore, Sir, I doe humbly request this charity, both for my selfe and other Justices of the Peace, in order to our duty, to have this doubt taken off, whether it agrees or agrees not with his Majestie's pleasure, if wee proceed against schismaticks according to the last Act of Parliament.

the Lord's supper to a small congregation in Durham, but not having his health there, he removed to Cumberland, and was made parson of Graystock a benefice of £300 a year. He married, to his second wife, one of the daughters of Mr. Brisco, a worthy gentleman, whose family was of good standing in that county. *He* was a lawyer, but his talent not lying in copiousness of eloquence, his business chiefly lay in chamber-practice.

Mr. Hammond * was a butcher's son, of York, but raised the meanness of his birth by the eminency of his qualifications, having lived long in the university of Cambridge. Afterwards he was colleague with Mr. Weld of Gateside adjoyning to Newcastle †. Being ejected, he preacht awhile at Hacney near London; and returning from Hamborough died in England leaving Mr. Barnes trustee in his last will. He married Mr. Justice Ogle's daughter of Eglingham, a person of pious memory.

Mr. Gilpin, living retired in the West, succeeded him at Newcastle, where, by the incouragement his ministry met with from the liberality of the people, and his emoluments by the practice of physick, he raised a considerable estate. He went to Holland, and took the degree of Dr. of Physic at Leyden. The purchace of the Lordship of Scaleby had put him into debt, but he now cleared it off, and Mr. Barnes went with him to Sir Richard Musgrave, and got the conveyances finisht ‡. When the Five Mile Act came out, Dr. Gilpin lodged at Mr. Barnes his house for more security. When his goods were distrained upon, Mr. Barnes, to prevent their being squandred away, replevyed them. These good offices contracted a friendship between them. They placed out their eldest sons at the inns of court together. And when there was a design to bannish the Doctor from Newcastle, Mr. Barnes, by persuading the magistrates of his great usefulness in the town, by his skill in physick, procured him quietness to the end of King Charles his reign. He claimed to be of Bernard Gilpin's line, and had his 'scutcheon pinned at his coffin. Mr. Jeremy Sawry, a very deformed crooked man, had been refused by many women, but Dr. Gilpin accepted his offer, and got his daughter Ann, by that

* Samuel Hammond. He went with Sir Arthur Haslerigge as chaplain to the North, and was first of Bishopwearmouth. *Sharp.*

† He was appointed Lecturer of St. Nicholas', Newcastle, 1652.

‡ Sandford's MS., Nicholson and Burn's Westmoreland and Cumberland, ii. 459, has this passage touching Scaleby:—"It was some time the estate of Sir Edward Musgrave, of Hayton, bart., but now sold to Mr. Gilpin, a quondam preacher of the fanatical parliament, and his wife, Mr. Brisco's daughter, of Crofton, brethren of confusion in their brains, knew what they would not have, but knew not what they would have, if they might chuse."

means, settled in that family, which was always well spoken of for their humility, piety and sobriety *.

* Leaving Mr. Gilpin to his place in the Appendix, I subjoin such notices as I have of his family. The name sometimes occurs in the Newcastle registers. Isaac, s. Allen Gilpin, merchant, bur. at All Saints', 31 Aug. 1655. Edward, s. Mr. Allan Gilpin, merchant, bap. there 21 July, 1656, bur. 27 Mar. 1657. Mary, d. Mr. Richard Gilpin, bur. at St. John's, 26 Jan. 1678-9. Mr. Richard Gilpin bur. at St. John's, 15 Mar. 1678-9. Elizabeth w. Mr. Isaac Gilpin, merchant, bur. 7 Nov. 1694, at All Saints.

Isaac Gilpin of Gilthroton, co. Westmd., [qu. the Isaac Gilpin who was clerk to the Standing Committee of co. Durham in 1645] married Anne, daughter of Ralph Tunstall of Coatham Mundeville, co. pal. She was living in 1664. They had issue

1. *Richard Gilpin*, of whom presently.
2. Alan.

Dorothy, wife of John Martin, of Durham, gent.

Catherine, wife of Cuthbert Hawdon of Durham.

Margaret, wife of Nathaniel Barnard.

Richard Gilpin, of Scaleby Castle and Newcastle, physician of souls and bodies, M.D. of Leyden, was twice married. His second wife was a daughter of Mr. Brisco of Crofton. He died 13 February 1699-1700, and was buried on the 16th at All Saints', NCastle. He had issue

1. *William Gilpin*, of whom presently.
2. John Gilpin, merchant, Whitehaven, an old friend and schoolfellow of Thomas Storey the Quaker, who stayed with him in March, 1715. "After we had paid a visit to his brother, a counsellor and justice of the peace (under whom I made my first beginnings of the study of the law) where I was very respectfully received, we went home to his house; and his wife being a discreet and religious person in that way (being presbyterians of the most moderate sort) I was easy and free. They were sons of Dr. Richard Gilpin, of Scaleby Castle, in Cumberland, a famous and learned physician, and also a superintendent among that people in Oliver's days." Next day John Gilpin and his wife attended the Westside meeting of the Quakers, about 3 miles off, with Justice Gilpin's eldest son, their presbyterian minister (Thomas Dixon), and "several others of that sort and also of the Church of England." "Things opened pretty clear, and I was intelligible to them." But next day "the above priest wrote me a letter, which, some days after I departed thence, was delivered me by my friend John Gilpin, of [at ?] Broughton-Tower, in Lancashire." A long controversy with Dixon followed. In 1717, Storey could not stay at John Gilpin's in Whitehaven, because of the measles in "his family."

Ann, wife of Jeremy Sawrey of Broughton-Tower, Esq. son of Roger Sawrey, Col. in the parliamentary service, who purchased Broughton. On March 6, 1715, Storey writes:—"That night late, arrived at Broughton-Tower, at the widow Anne Sawrey's, sister to John Gilpin, and an old acquaintance; but, being long absent [in America] and not thought of, she did not know me for some time, but was courteous, and, when known, very respectful. There I staid two nights, and had some discourse with the family on several points, as Baptism, the Supper, Inspiration, the maintenance of ministers &c. She was an ingenious and wise woman, and her two sons, young men, very sober and hopeful, and her daughter also." She attended the Hawkside meeting on the 10th and "seemed well satisfied." In May, Storey enclosed a reply for Dixon to his "dear friend, John Gilpin." "I would now also embrace the whole family, of which thou art a member, whom I now love as well as ever.—I am debtor to my friend at Broughton Tower, and would salute her in a few lines, with my acknowledgments, but know not how to direct." Her son Richard Gilpin Sawrey, of Broughton Tower

Of the nonconformist clergy in the town was Richard [John* *in manu posteriore*] March, B. D., born of Anabaptist parents,

and Horton in Yorkshire, Esq. married Faith, daughter of Robert Stansfield of Bradford (she died in 1769), but died s. p. 15 Jan. 1755. He left Broughton to John Gilpin the great grandson of his uncle Justice Gilpin. Horton went to Hannah, daughter of Wm. Gilpin the grandson of the same. So that the marriage with the very deformed crooked Jeremy, so often refused, turned out very well for the Gilpins.

William Gilpin, Esq. of Scaleby Castle and Whitehaven, said by Dr. Todd to have been "a learned counsellor at law, Recorder of the city of Carlisle, and a lover of antiquities, in which he was well skilled:" "from whose manuscript Milbourne's copy of Mr. Denton's history was taken." Storey was "courteously and freely entertained" at his house at Whitehaven in 1717, and then mentions "the Justice's wife, eldest son, and another, and two daughters." In 1723 "Counsellor Gilpin" received him "at his castle at Scaleby" "in great friendship, and, dining there, we had conversation to mutual satisfaction, and to edification in some points, especially about war and temporal government; and the difference between Christ's kingdom and the kingdoms of men." Justice Gilpin had issue

1. *Richard Gilpin*, of whom presently.
2. . . . . Gilpin, merchant, Whitehaven, who had issue
   1. Mr. Robert Gilpin, merchant, Whitehaven, who married Mrs. Ruth Hall, daughter of . . . Hall of Newcastle, at St. John's, 25 Nov. 1735, and by her had, with other issue, a son:—John Gilpin Sawrey of Broughton, Esq. who married Esther, daughter and heiress of John Cookson of the Poultry, and by her had issue:—John Cookson Gilpin Sawrey of Broughton Tower, Esq. æt. 29, 1788.
   2. William Gilpin, merchant, Whitehaven, who married Mary, d. and h. of Thomas Dickenson of Carlisle, and by her had, with two sons, bachelors in 1788, a daughter Hannah, the wife of Charles Swaine Booth Sharp of Horton, Esq., who d. s. p.

   Barbara, wife of William Braithwayte of Stock Park, Esq.

   A daughter married to Isaac Cookson of Newcastle, silversmith, brother to John Cookson the father of Mrs. Esther Gilpin Sawrey mentioned above. They had a daughter called Esther Cookson Hannah, wife of . . . . Tate of Carlisle.

A daughter, besides Susanna Maria.

Susanna Maria, wife of Joseph Appleby, Esq., of Kirklinton, co. Cumb. Storey mentions them on 6 Sep. 1717. "Calling to see Justice Appleby and his wife, the daughter of Counsellor Gilpin, they both went to meeting, he running the hazard of the act of parliament then in force against it. We had a good meeting, and things opened well; and, they pressing me earnestly, I went with them to dinner after meeting, and the Justice went with me after dinner to Scaleby Castle to see

Richard Gilpin, the counsellor's eldest son, "a sober good-natured young man." Storey, in 1715, had called him "a very discreet youth." This sober and discreet gentleman, called Captain Gilpin of Carlisle in my pedigree of 1788, was good-natured enough to marry when very young, at the age of 18. This would be after Storey's visits, at least William his son was born about 1724. This Richard lived to a great age, and had 16 or 17 children. He was Recorder of Carlisle in 1749, and sold Scaleby to Edward Stephenson Esq. commonly called Governor Stephenson, who died 1768. Of his numerous progeny two sons attained celebrity, viz.:

1. *William Gilpin*, of whom presently.
2. Sawrey Gilpin, of Knightsbridge, a famous horse painter, who married and had issue.

The Rev. William Gilpin, the biographer of Bernard Gilpin, and other

* Right.

who died whilst he was young, and left Mr. Barnes some way in trust for him. He was an excellent practical preacher, sundry of his sermons were publisht by Dr. Scot. But being sent to the university after the Dissenters were crusht, he had imbibed High-Church principles, and blemisht himself with a virulent animosity against nonconformists, yet always had a great honor for Mr. Barnes. Alderman Nicholas Ridley married his sister. Several smart letters past between him and Dr. Welwood, about the time of King William's Revolution.

In Gateside, was Mr. Tullie *, an eloquent man, but of a proud spirit. He printed a book concerning 'the Government of the Tongue.'

At St. John's Church was Mr. Shaw, who printed a Discourse against any Abatements of Conformity, a weak performance, in a flouting stile.

At Allhallows was Mr. Knaggs, who, quarrelling with Dr. Atherton, a strong passive-obedience man, got himself so potent enemies, it was a seasonable removal to him, when he got the rectory of St. Giles, London.

Mr. Andrew Bates, a gentleman born, came to St. John's. He had in writing a scuffle with Dr. Gilpin touching conformity, wherein the Doctor was said to treat him with worse manners than were due to his birth, which was far superior to his own. But the Doctor had the better of him, the gentleman's zeal much exceeding his abilities.

What had greatly raised Dr. Gilpin's fame, was his Treatise of 'Satan's Temptations,' which, in imitation of a book of King James I. he intitled 'Dæmonologia Sacra;' the largest and compleatest of any extant upon that subject. Being out of print, both it and an account of its author and others of his

reformers, and author of many delightful works on picturesque beauty, as well as of commentaries on the Scriptures and the Church Catechism, was born in the Castle of Scaleby, and was possessor of the original portrait of Dr. Gilpin, published in Palmer's Calamy, 1775. He was of Vicars Hall in Boldre in the New Forest, being vicar there, and prebendary of Salisbury. He died in 1804, aged 80, having had issue by his first cousin,

1. . . . . Gilpin, of Philadelphia, in America.
2. Bernard Gilpin, schoolmaster, Cheam, 1788.

The portrait of Dr. Gilpin presents a sharp but not unpleasant expression, reminding one of some lawyer who can unbend to a good story. The eyes are full, the mouth very near the nose which is strait but acute and short. He wears a simple jacket with the shirt collar turned down. The hair, as usual, is long. Storey did not get on so well with him as with his descendants.

* George Tullie, Rector of Gateshead, died in 1695. He was of a Middleton-in-Teesdale family, and nearly allied was a Mary Tullie, widow, Newcastle, who died in 1675 and seems to have been of a very different stamp. By her will, dated 2 Feb. 1674-5, she calls in Mr. John Rogers, Ambrose Barnes, Dr. William Durant and Dr. John Pringle.

writings, may be given the world when his posterity think it convenient.

Besides him, there were of Dissenting Ministers in Newcastle,

Mr. Durant *, brother to John Durant of Canterbury; he married the sister of Sir James Clavering, Bart.

Then Dr. Pringle, another physitian and pastor for somtime of a congregation there; who married a choice good woman, with whome he got a very great fortune.

Mr. Thompson † was cast out of the parsonage of Bottle, and preacht to a plain country people, untill he came into Newcastle. He married a great fortune, and kept his coach. And having but one daughter, she was married to the eldest son of Mr. Barnes's old friend Mr. John Ogle of Kircloe, who was bred a merchant.

Mr. Owens.

Mr. Wilson ‡.

Mr. Lomax §.

Then at more distance, was

Mr. Nicholson, of Huddleskeugh.

Mr. Larkham, a grave able preacher at Cockermouth.

Mr. Luke Ogle, of Barwick, never came to Newcastle, but was sure to lodge at the house of Mr. Barnes. His eldest son was bred a lawyer, and, by marriages, acquired a great estate.

* William Durant. I have not seen the title of Dr. applied to him by anybody besides Mrs. Tullie. Dr. John Durant and Ambrose Barnes were supervisors of the will of Thomas Ledgard in 1672-3. John was the son of William.

** Charles I. having reproached the Commons with commending lecturers of neither learning, conscience nor orders, they answered that they were careful in their requirements of character, and had shown their resentments against the preaching of laymen, for when they were informed that Mr. Robinson, Spencer, Banks, *Durant*, and Green, being mere laymen, had presumed to preach publicly, they sent for them (June 7, 1642) and reprimanded them by their speaker in these words; "The House has a great distaste of your proceedings; and if you offend at any time in the like kind again, this House will take care you shall be severely punished." Neale ii. 494.

† Walker includes Henry Johnson, rector of Bothal and Shipwash, among the 6000 (I take the smallest number) parochial clergy who were driven from their benefices during the civil troubles. John Thompson was evidently among the 2000 (I take the largest number) who were driven from their occupancies after them. Here certainty ends. Calamy says that Thompson's sufferings were very great, that he was taken in the Bishopric of Durham and imprisoned in the common gaol, that this brought him into a dropsy, whereof he died, and that he was a man of learning, and an excellent preacher, of a very peaceable temper, and a moderate congregationalist. Cf. the text. His successor, Edward Prowse, was one of the "plundered, imprisoned, and in exile." See Hodgson's Nd. ii. 148.

‡ Mr. Wilson was probably Mr. Thomas Wilson, who was ejected from Lamesley. After King Charles's indulgence in 1672, he and Mr. Robert Leaver (formerly of Bolam in Northumberland), for two years carried on a meeting for worship in his house, and preached by turns to all that came. In the latter part of his life he was utterly disabled for service by some distemper of the bladder, and was an object of great pity. Calamy.

§ See Calamy, p. 273.

But Dr. Gilpin, having outlived all the ministers of his own age and time, many his superiors and most of them his equalls, became the leading man of these Northern parts, and was by some stiled the Worst of the Best, and the Best of the Worst sort of ministers.

He honoured the ministers of the Gospel highly, and distinguisht his respect to them, according to the degrees of their merit nor was he easily imposed upon by personal respect, shows of reason, or the bugbears of vulgar opinion. They were true lines in a Pindaric, which one made of him:

> For if he was but there,
> The preacher needed not a crowd *,
> His judgment was beyond compare,
> Plato alone excelled a multitude.

He expresst a zealous concern for maintaining the doctrin of the Gospel, he and Mr. Sanderson, of Hedlihope, of all men, least valluing the new methods of divinity, which some under pretext of moderating in the controversies of the divines, and greater accuracy of distinctions, grew fond of. A close adherence to Scripture-revelation made him disrellish those wanton and curious speculations, which bold witts he saw venturing on more and more. He detested to see ministers prostitute their office to little and low designs for themselves. It hugely pleased him when a preacher was feelingly affected with what he delivered. Unless hindred by extraordinary occasions he ommitted not meetings on the week dayes as well as Lord's dayes, turning to the Scriptures as the preacher quoted them. More reverence in hearing the Word was never seen, having a profound sense of the Divine Majesty, many inward sighs accompanying in the duty of prayer, diligence in attention, suffering none who were near him to nod or sleep, so that gravity and sweetness appeared to that degree in his behaviour in public assemblies, it commanded veneration from them who were adoring the same throne.

* Needed not a crowd! Christ came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance. If the sermon were simply to satisfy Mr. Barnes's judgment, it needed not to have been preached.

CHAPTER VII.

HIS CONVERSATION AMONGST MEN.

Oportunities of improving his fortunes were designedly neglected. His private interest was never brought in competition with the common good. A steady contemplation of things eternal kept him above this lower region. It was to most a wonder, where he lived, that under trialls, counted by men hardest to be born, he was still serene and calm. He was remarkable for sympathy. He who is not weak with the weak, can never make the weak strong. Had Christ been free of our infirmities, he had had nothing common with mankind, and if he had not taken our infirmities and gone through a course of human nature, his assumption of that nature had been to no purpose. He took our weakness that he might give us his strength; he came to seek the things of man and show the things of God, to take shame and give honour, to bear sickness and give us soundness. This copy resembled that original.

His noted condescention to weak Christians was somtimes abused. A fellow must needs be forced into company where our Author was, under the character of an honest man, of great soundness in the faith. Whatever he wanted in solidity was made up in loquacity, and such an incurable conceit of himself and his orthodoxy that he defyed the devil to tax him with an error. The company soon grew weary of the ignorance of this insipid creature, and they who obtruded him were put to the blush, for having been so taken with a giddy shatterbrains. Another time, he was importuned to visit a woman much spoken of for an exercised Christian. Mr. Barnes saw cause to caution her against pride, especially that spiritual pride he doubted did abound in her; and, by what he observed, thought fit to caution her to be upon her guard, for Satan had his firy darts. 'O, yes!' cryes she, 'I have found them so firy, I was forced to run and get

a mouthfull of snow to quench them.' Whether he was more grieved for yielding to come see this raving enthusiast or the persons ashamed who had put him to the trouble is hard to say.

Parties disgraced faith, by party-zeal. Amongst those called Independents, there came forth an account of a gentleman's daughter, whose title was 'The Virgin Saint.' In which, besides sundry trivial privacies, not fit for public view, and some doggrel verses, prefixt as attestations, there is, amongst other letters, one taken out of Mr. Rutherford, and subscribed as his own, by a man who did fouly blemish his religious profession by base actions. From an expectation of the calling of the Jews there is scarce an irreligious imposture set on foot but a pretended Jew must be the Jack-Pudding of the play. In some late theological contests, a Presbyterian minister took the unadvised method of appearing against Mr. Baxter's doctrinal singularities, by publishing the conversion of Shalom ben Shalomoh, a pretended Jew, where the said Shalom is introduced speaking against the Baxterian Doctrine, as what had driven him back, and was an obstacle to his receiving Christ. But the whole interlude is grimace, and Shalom proved a shamm. So, when the party that goes under the denomination of the Church of England in the late times was sunk low in its interest, Dr. Gunning, Dr. Warmestry, and others, contrived another farce to buoy up their languishing cause, by printing the conversion of a Jew under the assumed name of Signior Rigep Dandulo, said to be of a great family in Venice. They larded it with Hebrew and furbiloed it with marginal quotations. But when the Doctors expected the fruits of their fine composition, they were vilely bespattered by the breaking in pieces of their own stink-pot. Such another ridiculous folly were the Anabaptists of Northumberland guilty of. Their pastor Mr. Tilham and his friends, at Hexham, were not a little flusht with the accession of a Jew supposed to be converted to their Society, whose fictitious name was Joseph ben Israel. They wanted not caveats against too much forwardness and credulity in entertaining strangers. But they would have their own way, and with much ceremony baptized their new comer, imagining it would raise the reputation of their persuasion. But the printing the story brought a shame and contempt upon their party not to this day worn off, by discovery of the fallacy of this new proselyte, who proved to be a knavish Scottsman whose true name was Wilson *. Our Author lookt upon these pranks as so many robberies committed upon the holy name of God.

* See the Appendix.

This gentleman kept himself out of the lists of these combatants and understood how to mannage his converse among all denominations without being a member of their militant churches. There was a strict tie of friendship between him and Mr. P. *, a merchant of Newcastle, a zealous conformist. That gentleman, a long time, without Mr. Barnes his knowing of it, paid twelve pence a week for him, being the penalty then required by law for every Sunday that a man came not to his parish church. The good man knew his friend's nonconformity proceded from no sectarian sowrness, but an invincible dissatisfaction of conscience with the tearms of communion required in the Church of England. His judgment was sollid, and his charity was generous. There was an indearedness of intimacy between him and Col. Axtel †, who was of the Antipædobaptist persuasion. The Colonel going once to the chappel which stands at the Bridge-end, meeting with him, who was going to Alhallows Church ‡, said smilingly to him, 'My friend and I go now different wayes, but we shall shortly go to one and the same heaven.' The learned Dr. Cave, whilst parson of Riton §, was designedly, as a stranger, brought into our Author's company, and lookt upon as one, who, by his reading in church history, might cope with any antagonist, in defence of prelacy. They had much discourse touching the sanhedrims and synagogues of the Jews, the Doctor indeavouring to prove that the apostles did regulate their societies according to the pattern of these Jewish consistories. But, besides that in these things, the apostles acted by immediate inspiration, our Anthor made it appear the Christian congregations differed widely from the Jewish synagogues, not onely concerning the Messiah, but likewise in order and church-government. He said, the Doctor had been a diligent reader in church history, but was so prepossesst in favour of diocesan episcopacy, his prejudices would not let him see the evident difference between what he alledged, and even that antiquity which contemporized with the four first generall

* Peareth? † Vide p. 121.

‡ The anecdote shows: 1. that Barnes was a parishioner of All Saints, and therefore resided at the east side of the great thoroughfare past Cale-Cross: 2. that during the Protectorate the ministers who occupied the Vicarage and the Hospital of St. Margaret Magdalene allowed to the Baptists the use of the chapel of St. Thomas on the Bridge.

§ William Cave, S. T. P. was Rector of Ryton from 1676 to 1679, when he resigned the cure. The local historians do not append any note to his name, but the Barnes MS. seems to identify him with the celebrated author of the Lives of the Apostles and Martyrs (dedicated to Bishop Crew), who was vicar of Islington after the Restoration, and was made canon of Windsor in 1684. His father John Cave was absolutely worn out with repeated sufferings during the civil confusions, and died in 1657. See his severe trials in Walker, ii. 221.

counsills. At Rabie Castle he fell in company with that noted quaker William Penn the Lord Proprietor of Pensylvania, with whome he had some debate touching the universality and sufficiency of the Light Within, urging for proof, those words from Heaven to Paul, "It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks." Mr. Barnes replyed, those words could not be meant of any universal or traditional light that was in all men by nature, but were a proverbial form of speech [used by Terence before Paul's time, *in manu posteriori*], meant of any thing that was difficult or impossible to be effected, and so pointed to the harm and mischief Paul would procure to himself by impugning the light of the Gospel, as a man by kicking against thorns does but prick his own leggs. But Penn growing weary ended the dispute at once, by replying, "Thou knowest, Ambrose, now that Paul is dead, he can neither tell thee nor me what his meaning was *."

He was furnisht for all manner of conversation in history. He entertained men to admiration by reciting the times, places, occasions and precise actions, as if he had seen them.

I have seen a paper, printed in 1673, wherein he is mentioned with great veneration for wisdom and judgment, with the character of one every way great and good. Contrivers of ill design and retailers of bad reports he could find out, by catching them in their own springs and telling them as a great secret, which was truly but a trifle and of no moment, like Vincent Pinelli, who, as if it had been important, whispered Gabriel Salvagus in the ear, onely to tell him that such an one was coming to Rome to set up a public house.

He was in high esteem with the family of the Ashursts, greatly honoured by Sir Thomas Lane and his lady, and his presence much coveted by many other friends in the city of London. One night, at old Alderman Ashurst's, he met with the Reverend Mr. Simeon Ash, and his wife, together with the famous Mr. Richard Baxter and his wife; the alderman and his partner Mr. Gregson being Alderman Barnes his constant correspondents and most loyall friends. At supper, good old father Ash began to express what hopes he had from the King's being nearly come in, when Mr. Baxter took occasion to reflect upon Cromwell, and what giddy fannattical times the times of the late Commonwealth were. He instanced in two men, whome he one day saw come into a church-porch, where finding the minister in divine service, as the Common Prayer is called, fell to grumble, "Porridge yet! what the devil Porridge

* The text is not clear, but does not justify the omission by Sharp of Barnes's "reply." His treatment of the MS. leads to the inference that Barnes, and not Penn, relied on the text.

yet!" This poor story Mr. Baxter could not be hindred from printing afterwards over and over. Mr. Barnes beginning to say something in reply, was prevented by the two gentlewomen, who bitterly inveighed against the old man's pievishness and partiality. Mrs. Ash said it was unreasonable and unjust, to take the measures of a nation from the indiscretions of particular persons, and basely ungratefull to reflect on the noble instruments of those revolutions, for the sake of one or two sorry fellows. "I tell ye," sais Mr. Baxter, with his usuall acrimony, "I never liked the spirit of those times!" "And I tell ye," sais his wife, Mrs. Baxter, "I as little like your spirit, who I know speak out of resentment, which hardens you to disparage that, which I am persuaded, whatever frail and perfidious men might be guilty of in the part they acted in it, was the work of God." The dialogue had gone on to a quarrell, had not the two aldermen interposed and diverted the discourse.

He who speaks ill of another behind his back, does it either because he has no good will to the person, or because he supposeth that he to whome he speaks has not; therefore neither the backbiter nor his errand should be welcome. None are so good as not to be evilspoken of, and none so bad as to want all commendation. This grave father did not willingly disoblige any. No man is so contemptible but he hath it in his power to be our best friend or our worst enemy.

All sorts came within the circuit of his society, and I have known him entertain accidentally two Jesuits and a Capuchin at his table at once. Their conference ran chiefly on the Turks, how they answer the prediction concerning their patriarch Ishmael in their warrs with Christendom, their hand being against every man, and every man's hand against them. Onely, I think he took occasion to tax the order of the Jesuits with disingenuity in dealing with their penitents, and the absurdity of transubstantiation. Father L. smiled, and alledged the rhime of Thomas Aquinas, not willing to enter farther into argument about it.

> Quod non capis, quod non vides,
> Animosa firmat fides,
> Præter rerum ordinem.

Our author laught at the Jesuit's *animosa fides*. What he said in relation to the penitentiaries referred to what had past, some time before, between him and a peer of England touching the pope's power of deposing princes, which Mr. Barnes had affirmed to be a principle of the Church of Rome, but was denyed by that lord, assuring him his own confessor told him that deposing of kings was none of their doctrine, "and if I thought it was," said his lord-

ship, "I would not continue a day longer in the Romish communion." The priests of Rome, it seems, can dissemble, when truth would hazard the loss of a member from their communion.

A stranger, observing a mold near his nose on the right side of his face, would lay him a wager, he had another mold that answered it in such a part of his body, which upon searching he found true. But this could not prevail with him, to let the man erect the scheem of his nativity, having but a mean opinion of the astrological science. Men under the same configurations are found born to different fortunes. Celestial luminaries may have influences on sublunary bodies, and in the like positions may have similar operations, yet this extends no further than to a natural inclination, alterable by custom, education, and external impediments, especially where we act out of choice and go counter to astral impressions.

One night when the great commet began to appear in 1680, Mrs. Mary Fenwick, sister to Sir John Fenwick, Bart., who was beheaded on Tower Hill, a great confident of Mr. Barnes, sent for him to have his opinion of it. He told her, he was not philosopher enough to say whether commets were stars that had no regular course, or whether they were fiery meteors, ingendred of celestial matter and grosser terrestrial exhalations. But that which then appeared had, he thought, the longest tail of that sort of commets. And because he confest himself not so expert an astronomer, as to tell, whether Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars, were in conjunction, he owned himself to be so little of a prophet, as not to be able to explain what this phenomenon portended. It was probably a sign of changes to follow, yet he supposed it would be presumption to apply the indication of it to private persons, and it was unsafe to look into the fates of princes.

There was a long intimacy between him and that pious learned physition Dr. Tonstal *, a gentleman of an ancient house, and of great strictness in religion, if his scruples, by a tincture of melancholy, had not in some humours carried him into excess. From a rooted opinion, how next to impossible it is, for a rich

* Town's physician at Newcastle. See Dep. York Castle, Sur. Soc. p. 173. "2 Mar. 1665-6. To Dr. Tunstall pro consilio impendendo, 15s.—A drink prescribed by Dr. Geo. Tunstall for scurvey and dropsie, 9 May, 1671. Take sage, four handfulls; wormwood, scurvigrass and watercresses each one handfull; rootes horseradish, elecampane, each one ounce; dane wort or dawrf-elder three ounces. Slice thin the rootes, shred and beate altogether, make a pye of rie meale, put these in it and cover it close, bake it in an oven. When 'tis cold, bruise all in a morter, and put it in a bag, let it hang in six gallons of new small ale, drink thereof constantly and no other, except a glass of sack, and the essence of steele." Tim. Whittingham's Journal.

man to be saved, he omitted some very warrantable advantages, to the prejudice of his family. To him was Dr. Gilpin greatly beholden for his improvement in physic, after his coming to Newcastle.

Mr. John Clavering of Chopwel, father-in-law to the Lord Chancelour Couper, had told Mr. Barnes how, being in a tavern with other gentlemen at London, there comes in a stranger, who, wanting company, desired, if they were not ingaged in private business, he might club with them. They very civilly welcomed him, and the shot coming to be paid, the gentleman steps to the window, picks off some pieces of lead about the stanchel, melts them in the fire-shovel, and laying a quantity of yellow ponder, as much as would lie upon a sixpence, upon the melted lead, pours it upon the hearth. As soon as it was cool he bids the drawer carry it to a goldsmith, who having tryed it, offered 40*s.* for it. The gentleman bids go try another goldsmith, who gave 4*l.* for it. "Now gentlemen," sais the stranger, "I have requited your sivility in admitting me into your company, with a curiosity, which perhaps you never saw before, and now you see I have got mony enough, you shall pardon me, that no body here pays a penny of the reckoning but myself." Mr. Barnes telling such another adventure as this to Dr. Tonstal, he would by no means allow this to be an aurific powder, because it was yellow and not red; for, said he, the mortifyed bodies of the baser metals, according to alchimy, must be impregnated with the spirit of the earth. Mr. Barnes told him he did not understand his fine tearms, nor how, to express it after his own fashion, the humor of gold could be made entrant. The Doctor had, with great pains and expence, laboured in the fire and study of the hermetic secret, and a comical thing it was, to hear him harangue upon his own experiments, showing how there must be a likeness of nature and colour, as well as a sympathie and unity of body as a common band for the seed of gold, which is deep red. But Mr. Barnes let the honest Doctor abound in his own sense, having sufficiently diverted himself by putting him to the pains of so much jargon about a thing which himself made little account of.

Dr. Tonstal had composed a treatise concerning Scarboro-Spaw, desiring our author to peruse it, before it went to the press, excusing the flatness of the stile. Mr. Barnes told him the subject needed not the trifling embellishments of words and language, for *Æger non quærit medicum eloquentem sed sanantem.* Nothing would serve the Doctor, but he must know from what book Mr. Barnes had that sentence, that he might place it for a motto in the titlepage of his manuscript. Mr. Barnes would have put him off, saying it was too trite to stand in front of a learned

work. But the Doctor protested if his friend did not tell him, he would quote that sentence and set down *Ambrose* for the author of it: so he told him Seneca was the author of it.

I will add what he has told of Mr. Henry Lever, who passing through the Castle-Yard meets a man full of becks and bows, asking him if he knew him, for, if he remembered it, he was the person who married him. "It may be so," sais Mr. Lever, "but verily friend I have forgot you." "Ay, Sir," sais the man, "but can you unmarry me again?" "No, truly," sais Mr. Lever, "that I cannot do." "Ah, God forgive you," sais the man, "it was the worst deed you ever did in your life, for she is such a shrew I have never had a quiet day, and the worst is, she is contriving to get me presst away for a soldier!" "Why," sais Mr. Lever, "that is the way to get rid of her, and methinks 'tis better to take up quarters amongst soldiers than live with a woman, with whome, thou sayest, thou canst have no quarter." "Ay, but I like not a soldier's life, for it will take me from my trade, just when I am fal'n into a way to live, therefore, Sir," sais the man, "I entreat your help to get me off." The commission-officer who was raising recruits, was an Italian by birth, and Mr. Lever, by the merry conceit of an Oltromontain proverb, prevailed for the poor fellow's discharge, that a man whose house lets in rain, whose chimney carries not out the smoke, and whose wife is never quiet, should be exempt from going to the warrs, as having warr enough at home.

Such amusing passages he would somtimes relate, without those airy flights which inconsiderate people call witticisms. Such idle repartees as somtimes pass for witty jests, he contemned and despised. His vein was rather cheerful than merry. Your customary jesters, who live upon froth and whipt cream, themselves become a jest. There lived in the town another physition, Dr. Cleter, a weak windy man, full of talk. This Doctor raffling on, after his wonted manner, sais at table in the mayor's house one day at dinner, "I wonder how it comes, that the hair upon my head should be brown, whilst the hair of my beard is grey." "Why, Doctor," sais a gentleman, "the reason is obvious. You make more use of your chafts than of your brains." The handsome jocular reply set them all a laughing, and for that time freed them of the dinn of clattering Dr. Cleter. Jeering and mocking is by the Greeks called γιγγλισμὸς, from whence probably comes our English word *giggling* or laughing others to scorn. This reverend person was an enemy to such rudeness.

He passed rather for a prudent than a cunning man. Let thy speech be yea and nay is an Arabic proverb given us by Erpenius. His steadiness and probity was highly magnified by them who

took exception at his way of religion, as differing from their own. Old Sir Francis Ratclif, before he was Earl of Derwentwater, would, in his absence, call him his "Honest Whig," and gave a signal proof of his opinion of his honesty, when, fearing to be called in question about the Popish Plot, he settled upon him his whole estate in trust *.

* This transaction only appears in the MS. memoir of Barnes, and was perhaps wholly suppressed in dealing with the title to the estates afterwards. It was not to be expected that a member of the family of Radclyffe, so notorious for tenacious attachment to the medieval faith, should escape the effects of the deep excitement caused by the disputed "Popish Plot." Sir Francis was denounced in no measured terms; for it was stated that upon the successful issue of the conspiracy, he was to hold no less important an office than that of Major-General of the Forces of the realm, and that he held a commission to that effect by transmission from Rome. In 1679, he was in custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms attending Parliament, for this supposed treason, but on June 4, he was discharged on giving 5000*l.* security for good behaviour and close residence at Dilston. Daniel Collingwood, Esq. who resided in Middlesex, and David Nairne, M.D. of Newcastle, were the sureties. Besides these means of contact with the Baronet, Mr. Barnes had another relation to him, as one of the lessees of his lead mines at Aldstone Moor.

On 24th June 1689, the Earl of Derwentwater leased to John Errington of Beaufront, Esq., John Rumney of Newcastle, Esq., and Ambrose Barnes of the same place, merchant, all his lead mines and other mines (coal mines only excepted) att Read Groves in Nentheads within Aldston Moore (not being within the compase of any former lease, except to Michael Blackett, Ambrose Barnes, John Rumney, Richard Mowbray, Thomas Dawson and John Hornseby by lease of 1 May 1677) lately discovered and wrought by Errington, Rumney and Barnes, as the veins of the lead mines shall lineally extend themselves, so as the bounds of the mine contain not above three score yards in breadth with convenient room on either side of the veins. The rent to be one fifth of the produce, and the term twenty-one years.

The following letters are among the Radclyffe papers.

"Newcastle, the 16th March, 1686-7.—Right Honourable,—Because the newes of the last post hath some particulars relatinge to your honor's famely, I thought it my deuty to acquaint yow with it. It hath pleased his Majestie to create Mr. Fitz-James, Duke of Barwick, Earle of Tinmouth, and Barron of Bosworth; he goes this campaigne for the Morea. That Sir Francis Radcliff's eldest son is to marry Madam Mary Tudor, daughter to his late Majestie, and is to be created Earle. That Sir Edward Hughes, Sir Thomas Gage, and Mr. Carryll are to be made Barrons. That the Grand Jury of St. Albons, at the Lent Assizees have presented all sorts of Dissenters and it is said some of the Judges did give the panall statutes in charge against them all. My Lord Arrundell, of Wardor, is made Lord Privie Seale; My Lord Powis is to be made Marques Powis. Teckley is yet alive, and in great favor with the Turks, and hath promised the Grand Senier, that if he will furnish him with an army [he] will doe great things in Hungary. Vice Admirall Harbert is displaced from all his officees and trust. I had a letter last post from Mr. Errington, but I have not a word of what relates to your honer makes me doubt the truth of it. Dr. Barnet hath lately writt a booke wherewith his Majestie is much displeased, and hath sent to the Prince of Oringe to discharge [him] from thence. The most of the particulars above are in a letter of newes to our Maior. I am, Honored Sir, your most affectionate humble servant, AMB. BARNES."

"August the 3rd, 1688.—Sir,—There are some reasons that make me soe much your welwisher, that I cannot forbear sending you some advise, and some information. I am assured, and by such as are noe strangers in the North, that you have done yourself a very great injury with my Lord Darinwater, by staying soe long from home. Have a care you lose not a substance by following a shadow. There are but two waies of getting anything at Court, money or a zealous powerfull

* [In feastings and entertainments, he loved the old medium between plenty and frugality. This gentleman's sparingness this way was so well known, that the old Earl of Derwentwater, treating him once with very rich wine, sais to him, "That I may have your company the longer, I will leave you to your own glass; for I love to drink with my friend *ad hilaritatem*, to cheerfulness, but *ad ebrietatem*, to drunkenness, I hate it." Our Author greatly recommended the old way of housekeeping when plenty supported hospitality, where their greatest excesses came short of the debaucheries that are become customary in these last declining ages of the world.]

The old Earl of Devonshire † treated him as his intimate and equal.

The old Duke of Newcastle ‡ considered him as capable of higher matters than ever he aspired to.

The Lord William Paulet, brother to the Duke of Bolton,

friend. The first I hear you doe not use, and as to the second, what can you expect from people that have neither the relation nor obligation to your family? They may peradventure give you a good character; but after that, can you beleive they are not very indifferent what becomes of you. *The* —— [*King*] *himself, notwithstandinge his soe much applauded justice was never yet known to doe anything for a silent merit, he must be teized and importuned;* and who, in this age, will for pure love and friendship take soe much pains? There is not one of the favourites but have round summes proffered them for every good thing that falls, and when they have such clyents, you that pay nothing but respect and visits, are sure to be postponed. Overabove these difficulties, I have heard from very good hands, that the——— [King] has a prejudice to you for the delays that were made in your brother's match, for you are suspected to be underhand the contriver of them. In fyne, sir, your best and safest game is most undoubtedly at home; stick close to your duty there, and nature will never faile to provide well for you, and it will be time enough and much easier to push your fortune a dozen years hence, when age will have made you fitter for such imployments as I know you aime at, and when perhaps you will be master of what will best make you friends. For my part, besides the prudence of your retiring, if I were in your place, I could not submit to stay where you make but the figure of a hang-on; for it is evident, your brother and sister desire not your company, otherwise they might surely have found you a little chamber in their house . . . . . and lastly, more than all this, by staying, you expose yourselfe to be blamed for all the miscarrie[ages in] your brother's family, without being able to prevent them. I know you will not wonder to fynd at [the foot] of this letter no other subscription then Your humble servant,—A. B. There is one thing more that I must not omit. They say you are accused at home of being married, or at least of designing to marry very foolishly, and, this woman being now in towne, it is concluded that your love for her is that which chiefly keeps you here. It is very dangerous to give my Lord your father any cause to beleive this.—*In dorso.*—For Mr. Ratclif, att the Black Posts, in Greate Russell Street, nere Southampton House, Bloomsberrye."

This last letter was to Francis Radclyffe, the old Earl's younger son. He did not marry at all. See further as to the Radclyffes and their connexion with politics in Arch. Æliana, 8vo. i. 95 et seq.

* Book III.

† William Cavendish, d. 1707.

‡ William of the younger line of Cavendish, formerly only Marquis of Newcastle upon Tyne, and famous in the civil wars. He died 1676.

upon a special occasion, paid him honour, as if he had been his father.

Whilst he was concerned in the Eastland trade, his name was not unknown to some forein princes. Injustice having been done to his factor in Poland, this letter will show, what regard the Duke of Courland exprest that reparation might be made: "Vindow, 15 July, 1662. Honoured Sir, For twenty ends of cloth there is but small profit, yet a man is forced to let the Duke have it so, or else swear to take no more than 20 per cent. profit of what it cost at first hand. I answered, though it were to my great loss, I would take as I gave them on, before I would let any man know what my goods cost. The knave the Strandvoocht, the Duke's officer, would take no more than one wraph, and that the very best. Afterwards he told me the Duke would agree with me by the ell, when I had by his advice cut them into half pieces. But the Duke's grace, who presents you his devoir and wishes to himself the happiness of your company at Mittaw, hath writ two letters to the governour, that I should be paid with the first either in money or in corn, that I should have no reason to complain of him. And as to the Strandvoocht and his deceitful dealing with me, at the coming of the Duke, I intend to get him requited with the loss of his place or worse; for I have several clauses against him, which I know will not be pleasing to his grace, who did perceive at Mittaw that I had no mind to trust. So that he writ to the Strandvoocht if I would not deliver it him upon his order, I being a stranger, he could not force me, but that he should observe when any Lubeckers came and furnish himself from them. But this same Strandvoocht comes and tells me the Duke had sent 400 rixdollars for the forty half-pieces of cloth, which I should deliver him and go to his house and receive the mony, which when I did, he told me the Duke had sent none. So that I believe he repents his knavish dealing an hundred times. He fancied at first he had done the Duke good service, but now he bethinks himself, and is sensible he hath done him an hundred fold more disgrace in denying what the Duke writ. I have addrest his grace for a positive answer, whether he would keep all the grindstones or no, but have had no answer as yet. Sir, your faithfull obedient servant to the outmost of my power, Rapha Fell."

So was he very oblieging to foreigners, who now and then made application to him, which, amongst an heap of others, appears in the following request of some Dutch merchants:—"Amsterdam, 24 July 1674, S.N. Monsigneur Barnes. Whereas we never had before the honour to write to you, we do send these presents under the covert of Mr. J. L. who did assure us it would not displease

you. We make bold to trouble you about this our business, and beseech you to give us advice if the ship called Vreelandt in her voyage from Embden to the East Sea seized upon by a French man of war about Jutland be laid up at Newcastle, or whether it went from thence, being surprized we have heard nothing from Mr. Blacket concerning it. If the said vessel be unsold we intreat your help, sire, to buy it for us with its apparell and appurtenances for three or four hundred pound sterlin according to the rate of what damages she has sustained. You may please to draw the mony upon us at sight payable at London. We are onely sorry we had not the honour and happiness of your correspondence sooner. Whereupon, kissing your hand, we salute your worthy family, and take leave to subscribe, your most humble friends and servants, Isaac Van Burren, Popejus Dijmiens, Jan Agger."

He walkt the parade with people of all casts and humours of conversation, with a carriage extremely oblieging and very polite, rarely mentioned without some distinction, a valluable man, a sure friend, a gentleman of openess, frankness and generosity of mind. The better sort of the reverend dissenting clergy had him in singular esteem and honour, such as

* Mr. Stephen Marshall [who was sent with the commissioners to the King at the Isle of Wight.]
Mr. Joseph Caryll [ejected from St Magnus, London];
Mr. Dr. Cheynil [Francis Cheynell, D.D. Petworth];
Mr. Philip Nye † [Bartholomew exchange, M.A.];
Mr. Edmund Calamie [Aldermanbury, B.D.];
Dr. John Owen [Dean of Christ Church, Oxford];
Mr. John Row, of Westminster;
Dr. Lazarus Seaman [Allhallows, Bread Street];
Old Simeon Ash [St. Austin's, London];
Mr. [William] Jenkins [M.A. Christ Church, London];
Mr. [John] Collins, the Darling of London;

* The additions in brackets to the fifteen names which follow are not in the MS., but are more convenient in the text than as notes.

† In Hudibras we have "towers, and curls, and perriwigs, with greater art and cunning rear'd than Philip Nye's thanksgiving beard," and see a ludicrous description of it in Butler's Remains. "He was put into Dr. Featly's living at Acton, and rode thither every Lord's day in triumph, in a coach drawn with four horses, to exercise there. (See Levite's Scourge, 1644, p. 61.) At the Restoration it was debated several hours together, whether Philip Nye and John Goodwin should not be excepted for life, because they had acted so highly, (none more so, except Hugh Peters) against the King; and it came at last to this result, That if, after the 1st of September, the same year, they should accept any preferment, they should in law stand as if they had been excepted totally for life. (Wood. Grey.) Major General Skippon, the Governor of Newcastle in 1646, was said to have "gotten a vast estate, and to have been of all parties, first a Presbyterian, till Philip Nye opened his eyes, and showed him the way to worldly greatness." (Mystery of the Good Old Cause.)

Mr. [Henry] Newcomb [M.A.] of Manchester;
Dr. [John] Collins of Norwich;
Mr. [Stephen] Charnock;
Mr. [William] Alsop;
with several others.

Dr. Moor also, prebendary of Drogheda, in Ireland, was laid under particular obligations to acknowledge the favours received from him.

In his own country his name will never be forgotten, unless by such as forget themselves.

Mrs. Babington, the governess of Barwick's lady;
Colonel Babington;
Mrs. Mary Fenwick;
And she who is admired as the jewell of her sex, the Lady Liddle *;

* Sir Thomas Liddell, the gallant defender of Newcastle, who was fined 4000*l.* and pardoned in 1646, died in 1652, and succeeded by his grandson Sir Thomas, who, as we shall see, was a Presbyterian. He married Anne, the sister of Sir Harry Vane the younger, who died in 1686-7. He survived until 1697, when his son Sir Henry Liddell succeeded. He married Catherine daughter and heir of Sir John Bright of Badsworth, who died in 1703-4. He survived until 1723. His son Thomas, who was deaf and dumb, and known as "the dumb squire," had died before the baronet. His wife was connected with Mrs. Barnes, being Jane, daughter of Sir James Clavering. Their son Henry was created Baron of Ravensworth in 1747. That title was extinguished on his death in 1784, without male issue, and it was not renewed until 1821.

Thus, notwithstanding the "is" of the memoir, no one except a second wife of the old Presbyterian could be Lady Liddell in 1713: and I am inclined to think that Sir Harry Vane's sister, who had died in 1687, was the jewel. We know from other sources that the cavalier's son had, immediately after and indeed apparently before his father's death, been under no compunctions in fraternizing with the opponents of the Episcopalians. We find Mr. Tillam, the Baptist minister at Hexham, accused in 1654 of complaining of brother Major Hobson's conduct to *Mr.* Liddell of Ravensworth. Again, among the early Baptists of Hexham was one Elizabeth Heslop, unmarried, and apparently employed in servitude. On Sept. 11, 1654, the church of Tillam gave her a letter of recommendation to any Baptist church she might visit, while in pursuit of her employment. She appears to have become the subject of deep affliction shortly after she had left the neighbourhood of Hexham, and in the same month the church addressed Sir Thomas Liddell, grateful for "the many and sweet experiences which their poor despised church had had of his and his precious lady's favours." . . . "It hath been many times as marrow and fatness to our spirits, when we have heard of your love which you bear to the meanest that bear any thing of the image of the Lord Jesus. But, oh! what consolation was it to us when we heard of your bowels, and tender affection towards our dearly beloved, but now (alas) sadly afflicted sister, Elizabeth Heslopp, in this day of her deep distress. In our greatest sadness for our sister [it] was even as life from the dead, to hear of those yearnings of bowels which your ever to be honored lady had concerning her, her many thoughts of heart for her—her sympathizing with her—her care and endeavour how to bring her back—and your receiving into your house and respects, a poor afflicted member of Jesus Christ—this is such an eminent act of your goodness, that it hath even overcome our hearts, and all our thanks are below it." (Douglas's Baptist Churches, 64.) On 7 Oct. 1662, there was a royal pass for Henry and Thomas, sons of Sir Thomas

The Lady Swinburn *;
with sundry other confidents, to whome he was of their privy counsil in their domestic affairs.
Alderman Ledger †;
Alderman Peter Sanderson ‡;
Sir Francis Anderson §;
Sir Nicholas Cole ||;

Liddell, Bart. of Chelsea, and Nath. Sterie, their governor, to go beyond seas for three years. On 3 May, 1663, a royal warrant issued to permit Sir Thomas Liddell, his wife, and daughter to embark at any port, and remain beyond sea for six months. On 3 Aug. a pass for the same purpose and time issued, and on 25 Feb. 1663-4, there was a licence for them to remain beyond sea for twelve months. One of their descendants is the subject of a pleasing tradition among the Baptists. He had a gardener named Michael Wharton, who used to leave his work at an unusually early hour on a Saturday afternoon. His master called Michael before him to give an account. Michael frankly acknowledged that what was stated was correct, but he assured his master that the amount of time apparently abstracted was rigidly and amply repaid by hours added in the course of the week. His master inquired how he employed himself on the Saturdays. Michael modestly replied that there were some plain people, dissenters, living at a considerable distance, and who at present having no minister of their own had solicited his poor services for some time, till they could get better. He accordingly went and instructed them in the best way he could. His master was pleased with this artless apology, and desired him to continue his custom as long as he remained in his employment. Douglas, perhaps owing to recent associations of the estate with the peerage, calls the master Lord Ravensworth, and interlards the anecdote with "His Lordship;" but Michael died in 1746, and Sir Henry Liddell (baronet from his grandfather's death in 1723) was not created Baron until 1747. Michael had a call in 1710 to preach at Bitchburn to the church which he had previously joined, and he died minister of Rowley and Hamsterley. The dates would therefore lead one to place the action to the credit of Anne Vane's son, the Baronet of 1697—1723.

* "I remember the LADY SWINBURN, a papist, speaking of him, and not on the suddain able to hit on his name, said, 'I think I may call him the gentleman that cannot be angry.'" Book III.

She was sole daughter and heiress of Henry Lawson of Brough Hall, by the coheiress of Fenwick of Meldon. See Hodgson's Nd. i. 233 for the mysterious disappearance of her husband, when an infant, from Northumberland, and his recovery of the Capheaton estates by remembering the marks on a cat and a punch-bowl.

† Thomas Ledgard, draper, Mayor in 1647. By his will 1672-3, he constituted his good friends Mr. Peter Sanderson, Mr. George Thoresby, Mr. Ambrose Barnes, and Dr. John Durant, supervisors.

‡ Son of Samuel Sanderson, keeper of Brancepeth Castle for King James: was apprentice to Alderman John Blakiston, the regicide, of the Mercers' Company: sheriff 1651: buried 7 Jan. 1682 at St. Nicholas'.

§ A noted royalist: mayor 1662, 1672, and M.P. for Newcastle after the Restoration.

|| One of the gallant defenders of Newcastle; great grandson of James Cole, of Gateshead, *smith:* sheriff 1633: mayor 1640—created a baronet 4 Mar. 1640; disfranchised, but restored in 1660: died 1668, leaving a successor, Sir Ralph of Brancepeth Castle, who was taught to paint by Vandyke and injured his fortune by his love of the fine arts. Sir Mark the last Baronet died pennyless and childless in 1720, and was buried in Crossgate, Durham, 25 Mar. 1720, at the expense of his cousin, Sir Ralph Milbanke. I have a very pretty iron hinge out of one of the Cole houses in Gateshead, a picturesque post-and-pan burgage in High Street which fronted the Half Moon Lane. It always reminds me of old James Cole.

Captain White;
Captain Dean;
Alderman Nicholas Fenwick *;
Alderman Timothy Davison †;
Alderman Nicholas Ridly ‡;
Sir Robert Shafto §;
Sir Ralf Carr ‖;
Sir Nathaniel Johnson ¶;
Sir. Ralph Jennison **;
Sir Nicholas Tempest ††;

* Mayor 1682, 1697: buried att All Saints, 1707.

† Of Beamish, co. Pal. son of Alderman Thomas Davison of Newcastle; was governor of the Merchants' Company: Mayor 1673: died 1696, aged 55. "In the office of N. Clayton, Esq. which formerly was the dwelling-house of Tho. Davison, on the Sandhill, the pannelling is still decorated with various carvings, amongst which are his arms, with those of his wife Anne, who was one of the rich daughters and coheiresses of Alderman Ralph Cock, and familiarly called one of Cock's *canny hinnies*."—Sharp, 1828.

‡ Mayor 1706.

§ Knighted 26 June 1670; serjeant at law; recorder of Newcastle; descended from a younger branch of the family of Bavington, and direct ancestor of the Shaftos of Whitworth.

‖ "I remember old Sir R[alph] C[arr] was once very busy to secure his own election to be parliament man for Newcastle. 'Methinks,' sais Mr. Barnes to him, 'considering your age, Sir R[alph], it were more fit to get your son chosen?' 'Ay, Mr. B.' replies the other, 'so I intend afterwards, but its fit I be served first.' Mr. Barnes pitying the vanity of an old gentleman fond of honour so near the grave, and pleasantly exposing his selvishness in designing to get his son preferred after him to a post they were both of them meanly furnisht for." Book III. The son, Ralph, predeceased his father in 1706.

Sir Ralph Carr was M.P. for the parliaments held 1679, and 1680. In James II.'s parliament of 1685, Johnson and Sir Wm. Blackett knt. represented Newcastle. In the Convention parliament of 1688, Sir Ralph Carr accompanied Sir Wm. Blackett. In the parliament of 1689, Sir Ralph and William Carr (his nephew? see p. 56) were returned. In 1695 Sir Ralph disappears, and William occurs in all the parliaments till that of 1710, when he was beaten by another Sir Wm. Blackett and William Wrightson, Esq. by a large majority.

He was knighted 1676; was Mayor of Newcastle 1676, 1693, 1705; purchased Cocken of another line of Carr, 1665; and died 5 Mar. 1709, aged 76.

¶ Knighted 1680; mayor 1680; one of the contractors of the hearth money; M.P. for Newcastle in several parliaments; sometime governor of the Leeward islands, South Carolina, for the proprietors, Lord Craven and others.

** Of Elswick and Newcastle; knighted 1667; married for his second wife the widow of Samuel Rawling, Ambrose Barnes's master; purchased High Walworth from an elder branch of Jennison; died 1701, aged 88, buried in St. Nicholas' church, Newcastle, "under an antient monument belonging to the Carrs, much defaced by the Scots," (*Le Neve MS. Br. Mus.*) His great grandson by his first wife, Ralph Jennison, Esq. M.P. for Northumberland, and Master of the Buck Hounds to George II. died childless. The elder line of Jennison was represented by a gallant soldier, who having dissipated the remainder of the family estate, retired to the Continent, where his military bravery earned the highest honours of the profession, and in 1791 he was created a Count of the Holy Roman Empire. His descendants have continued to style themselves Count Jennison de Walworth.

†† Of Stanley, co. Pal. Bart.

Sir Thomas Liddle *;
The Honourable Mr. Mountague †;

* Sir Thomas Liddell, Bart., 1652—1697, has already been particularly noticed in relation to the Baptists. He was, say Randal and Collins, "very aged," and his views in 1696, as described by Story the Quaker, will have their interest.

"Sir Thomas Liddel of Ravensworth Castle, Baronet, having taken notice of me, on some account, at his house, before I frequented the meetings of friends, and hearing of my present profession, and being a person of great civility and candour, he had desired John Fayrer, a Friend of Newcastle, to invite me to Ravensworth to dine with him, when at any time I might happen to come that way; which the Friend informing me of, I went accordingly, accompanied by him and another, [Tuesday, Oct. 15, 1696]. And we were kindly and respectfully received and entertained by Sir Thomas, and his son, with whom we had much conversation, in a very friendly manner, till near night: and among other things he told us 'he had a great respect for us as a people, and liked our way, being sensible of that principle of divine light and truth we professed; but he commonly went to the Presbyterian meeting.' And then he asked me 'whether a man might not serve and worship God in his might, among any sort of people, though he might differ from them in his sentiments in some points, and, in his secret judgment, like the way of some other people better?'" Story, from whose Journal, p. 98, the above is taken, "perceiving he was convinced of the way of truth in his understanding, and that he stumbled at the Cross, and the meanness of the appearance of Friends," quoted Mat. x. 33, Luke xii. 9, Rom. x. 10, Rev. xviii. 4, and Rev. xvi. 17., applying the pouring out of the vial by the Seventh Angel to the beginning of the Reformation, since when the city Babylon, the supposed Christian world, was divided into Popery, Prelacy, and Presbytery, all differing but all persecuting and unchristian, adding that now, when the voice of the Angel of the Right Hand was uttered, and the elect heard it, they might not stay longer in the false church divided against itself." He proceeds:—"They heard me with patience; but what I said gave no countenance to the way in which this great and rich man had chosen to conceal himself and his real sentiments from the world. But I found it to be my place and duty to be plain with him, according to all that was presented to my mind on that occasion, that I might keep my own peace which remained in me. He told me he had read some of William Penn's works, and would willingly ride a hundred miles to see him: and had likewise read some of George Keith's books; and said the former wrote in a free, open, natural, and flowing style, and gave him great satisfaction; but the books of the latter were more laboured and artificial, and never afforded him any relish of sweetness, though the matter was, in itself, true, and his reasoning often strong: but as he was fallen away from his priciples, he was not to be regarded; though the truths he had writ would remain in their own weight, whatever became of the author. And, in the evening, when we inclind to return to Newcastle, he took his horse, and accompanied us till we came near the town, and we parted in free and open friendship." (Story's Journal, 98.)

A trace of the "lingering looks behind" of the Liddells exists in the list of subscribers to Fourteen Sermons on Various Subjects: By the late Rev. Robert Hood, D.D., Minister of the Chapel in Hanover Square [1781-1782], Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Newcastle, 1782. There we meet with "Right Honorable Lord Ravensworth, 6 copies. Right Honorable Lady Ravensworth, 6 copies." This Lord Ravensworth, the Henry whose title died with him in 1784, son of Jane Clavering, had been M.P. for Morpeth, and one of the committee elected by ballot to enquire into the conduct of Robert, Earl of Orford, for ten years past. His lady was Anne, dau. of Sir Peter Delme, kt. Lord Mayor of London. Her portion was 67,000*l*. Their only child, Anne, as I need hardly remind the readers of old magazines and newspapers, did not walk in the footsteps of her fore-elders.

† Fifth son of the gallant Edward, first Earl of Sandwich, nephew to Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham. He married a daughter of John Rogers, Esq. of Newcastle.

The Honourable Colonel Thomas Ratcliff*;

And he who was known to be a person of great parts, great breeding, and of a magnificent soul, John Errington, Esq., commonly called the *Chief of Beaufront.*

[All these] kept up an inviolable confederacy with him, in the greatest risques of fortune. None of these, how little soever they might respect one another, and how much soever they differed, as some were Papists, some Protestants, or lastly, whatever lessening his being a Dissenter might give him in their private thoughts, none of them, but when merit is carryed out of those lines whereby men are judged of by party, but would speak of his personal indowments, and most of them counted him a credit to his country; and those few, whether conformists, or nonconformists, who loved him not, yet envied and feared him. And though he kept company with those, who upon worldly accounts, were rather above than below him, he was far remote from ambition. He coveted privacy, and loved retirement.

He excelled in compromising differences by umpirage, which somtimes were referred to him by rule of court, somtimes by the voluntary choice of those who entered into bond to decide the matter by arbitration, wherein he found that saying of Bias had truth in it, that it is better to decide differences amongst enemies than amongst friends, for one of the enemies will become a friend, when one of the friends is thereby in danger of becoming an enemy. Moreover, he had the uneasiness to be concerned in the law, but not from any litigious temper. But his multiplicity of business, with the cases of many, who lay under trouble upon the account of religion, wherein he was assisting to them, did compell him to make the best advantage of what the law allowed. An intricate case of his is said to have imployed the best heads in Westminster Hall, being printed under his name in Sir Orlando Bridgman's Reports of the Common Pleas. Many consulted him about making their wills and settling their estates. Whilst our Author could not avoid the burthen many laid upon him, in leaving their families and children to his care, with the common epithets of their honoured and worthy friend Mr. Ambrose Barnes, he was somtimes unhandsomely dealt with, though he was sure to consult the best he could for them.

He did not look with a careless eye upon the affairs of the world. For some time, whilst under persecution he was confined to obscurity, he received the weekly newspapers by post, and

* A younger son of the first, and uncle to the last unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater. He was colonel in the British service.

understood the most important affairs, and spoke of them as a man of prospect and compass of thought, both as lying under the direction of Providence, and as relating to the interest of religion. His discourses centred in religion. Several young gentlemen who grew to be of distinguisht merit were beholden to him for the rudiments of their education. He would labour to make them sensible how much religion was their interest. There be those who will not easily forget the beneficial improvements they made by his documents *.

He used to repeat a saying of old Mr. Hambden's, concerning a brutish fellow who was grown rich, he never saw his wit but he admired his wealth, and he never saw his wealth but he admired his wit; meaning it of the little proportion there was between the one and the other; for great estates do not become men of base and sordid minds, being like such an one, whome he would name, who was by some called a man of great parts, but his parts lay in parts of ships, and parts of collieries.

It was irksome to him to be commended, nothing putting him into greater confusion, than to be accosted in any other stile than what belonged to any ordinary common person. To mechanicks and the meaner sort who feared God, he would demean himself with strange homeliness and familiarity. It is not unknown what freedom he treated a great lord with, who had sullyed his honour with base actions. He would have paid more respect to the poorest beggar who was of honest principles than to such an one. His reproofs were weighty, soft, and candid.

* We are so accustomed to use this word to denote writings, that the older sense does not at first sight present itself.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TESTIMONY GIVEN HIM BY SOME GENTLEMEN HIS FRIENDS.

Before we go further, let us take along with us, what the South is ready to attest in confirmation of what the North does here report, that so our narrative may not altogether go upon single testimony.

Sir, You never lay a greater obligation upon your friends in these parts, than by perpetuating the honoured memory of that great man, who is the subject of your Memoirs. Your work is above the censure of sordid critticks, and your design may expect approbation from all, unless our furious bigotts and impious and ill men.

He was *homo perpaucorum hominum*, a man of men. His zeal was of a raised heroical pitch, and he was one of those rare examples, which God giveth the world now and then, and therefore his actions are not to be measured by an ordinary standard. The grace of God had enriched him with whatever has made men great in former times. His jewell was beset with diamonds. In our dreggs of an age; wherein many glorying in their shame, stick not to avow those villanies, which have heretofore stunk in the nostrills of nature, as if they intended, with Nero, to survive to posterity, though it were in infamy; his religion trained him to be servisable to the world, to God's honour, and his own too. His mind was inlaid with those virtuous indowments, whereof heathen morality has but the shadow and the shell. The most part of men are intent upon this temporal life, but the Christian institution giveth a superior advantage, by a prospect far beyond it. Whence, all maxims for the conduct of life which may safely be depended upon, ought to be taken from it. None of the social virtues, upon which the Gentile part of mankind have made so great a noise, but the children of grace have outdone them all. Ceres and Bacchus must not dispute the knowledge of agriculture and husbandry with Noah or the sons of Jacob; and for conduct in war Joshua stands an original in the military academy of

Bellona. So much the more unaccountable is it, that whilst the counterfeit is every where magnifyed, religion itself is almost universally despised. Religion perfects and crowns whatever can deliver a man's name honourably down to after-times. This clears the understanding, brightens the fancy, strengthens the memory, purifyes the parts, forming inspiriting and confirming the whole mind in good principles. And this was the summ of Mr. Barnes. A fruitfull field for you to reap in *.

There was seen in him, even whilst a young man, som thing that was not vulgar. He promised so much whilst in the bud, that of him it might be prognosticated what Sir Walter Mildmay said when he had founded Emanuel College in Oxford, he had set an accorn which would in time become an oke. He was so much a Christian, that it made him a better man, and he had so much of a man, that he was not a worse Christian for it. In his youth he delighted in his book, when elder he applyed himself to business, and in his old age fixt on divinity.

It was a pleasure to him to part with som thing to his neighbor, out of that abundance God had bestowed upon him. A gentleman once sent him a present of Champaign as a gratuity for the trouble he had given him in an affair of his. He accepted of the acknowledgment and returned him thanks, but withall told him, he should have served him as readily without it, expecting no such sivilities for any service.

† [When he had turned almost all he had into ventures in lead mines, few of which proved worth any thing, even then when his estate and worldly supplies were most precarious, and his years made him incapable of falling into any other business, no man could be an example of living without thoughtfulness for to-morrow more than he.

[Our author would laugh at the tradition which men who work in lead mines have amongst them, that wherever the oar lies, before they come at it, they hear the *Knocker*, that is, they hear or fancy they hear somwhat that exactly resembles the knocks of a miner who is working in the vein. The poor grovers, desirous their bargains might prove rich, would be pleasing themselves with conceits about this knocker. But Mr. Barnes who was wont to hearten them when discouraged by the disappointments which

* Up to this point, at least, the chapter, as indicated in its title and opening, purports to be by other hands.

† This is introduced from Book III., as it connects itself with the matter which follows, and keeps the subject of Barnes's lead mines together. It was introduced to us at p. 156. He was a small copyholder in Weardale. On 28 Oct. 31 Car. II. Thomas Powall, gent., surrendered to John Blakiston Esq. and Ambrose Barnes, merchant, a messuage abutting on Sheele Ash, alias Sheelefield, on the East and West, extending towards Byllyopp.

often befell them, would very pleasantly put them upon making further trialls, and cheerfully venturing upon Providence, repeating the miners' old saying, in answer to their fond tradition about the knocker, that there is lead-oar in the earth for all *ages*, though not for all *men*. He ventured not however, his own peace upon the cast of the die, but was perfectly resigned to the determination of the Almighty, nor did he much practise or approve what is become so very customary, I mean laying wagers upon the events of any affairs that were in hand.]

[In the working of his own lead-mines he was as carefull for his partners as for himself, that the workmen might get their pay when it became due. The grovers would pray heartily for his long life, for he chose them their way and was as a king in their army. The direction and mannagement of all was, by consent, left to him; but these works upon his death went to decay, whereby numbers of poor families, whereof many lived comfortably, and some got small estates, found his death an unspeakable loss to them.]

What happened in one or two cases are sufficient evidences what sort of horned cattle he lived amongst.

Two women had a lead mine whose leese was almost out before the mine was won. They desire Mr. Barnes to be partner with them and renew the leese in his own name and theirs together. He is willing provided they are bound to bear their proportion of the charge in working and winning the mine. But this they will not consent to. They would be inserted in the lese without being bound to be at any charge, so, if the mine proved good, they must come in for their share of the profit; if bad, Mr. Barnes must bear the loss by himself. Whereupon he leaving them out of the new leese, they exclaimed against him for wronging them and getting riches to himself, whereas the mine never turned to any account. Sir Tho. Eggerton Lord Keeper used to say 'Frost and Fraud ends in Foul,' and so it often did to the shame of those who reproached this worthy person. As it did upon his calling in 100*l* out of a merchant's hand, whose circumstances were not, at that time, in the least scrupled. But the man having taken up that summ of another person, and contrary to all people's opinion, happening to break soon after it, a clamour was raised against Mr. Barnes, as if he had known of the weakness of the man's credit, and had drawn out his own money to throw the loss upon another.

And what my Lord Montague used to say, this gentleman found true, 'Do the common people nineteen curtesies, yet you may lose their love if you go but over the stile before them.'

He lookt upon all purloining, cheating, and over-reaching not

onely as a crime against the true possessor, but against God as the universal proprietor, having a right to conferr his own goods upon whom he pleaseth, as well as a lawgiver. This he found reason to intimate to a great pretender to religion, who, whilst Mr. Barnes was concerned in the corn-trade, had bargained with him for some lasts of rye. In his absence, the man brings a bushell of his own, which had not the town-stamp, whereby he got near a quarter part more than his due. The conscience of this blessed person was void of all just offence. For though some of his actions were above the common size, not always rightly understood, but somtimes misinterpreted, yet was he innocent and upright in them all. But according to the Lincolnshire proverb, "It is height makes Grantham Steeple stand awry."

Some who are no friends to Mr. Stephen Marshal, represent him of so souple a soul, that he strained not a joynt, nor sprained a sinew, in all the alteration of times, and that his friends put all on the account, not of his inconstaney but prudence, and who in his own practice reconciled the various lections of that precept. Rom. 12. 11, 'Serving the Lord and the times;' where, by the confession of his enemies, they must be good times, and it must be a good cause, that was in season and out of season so unweariedly served by so honest and able a man as Mr. Marshal. But when Mr. Barnes could not serve the times, he could indure the contradiction of the times.

When he was old and his body infirm, his soul was strong: when he carried the cup a little unevenly to his head at the Lord's Table, and he was often seen returning from the Eucharist, like a giant refresht with wine, when the faintness of his spirits made it diffieult for him to go to the public assembly. Being once justifyed by faith, the blood of Christ eleansed him from all sin, and he needed no second justification, but kept all his dayes washing in that fountain set open for sin and for uncleanness, as our Saviour sais, "he that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet."

When the Earl of Leicester offered the provostship of Eaton College to Mr. Thomas Cartwright, to induce him to take it, he told him the profits of it were an hundred a year more than enough; but Mr. Cartwright replyed, what this gentleman has done in cases not unlike it, that the hundred pounds more than enough was enough for him. In this there was a near resemblance between Alderman Ignatius Jurdan of Exeter, and Alderman Ambrose Barnes. The former coming into another Alderman's shop of that town, a man of great trade and estate, he wondred how it was possible in such an hurry of business, to mind the affairs of heaven. "I will tell you in plain tearms,"

sais Mr. Jurdan, "I would take all these goods and throw them into the street, rather than they should be a means to ruin my soul." He used to wonder what such men meant, that they gave so little to the poor, and raked so much together for their children. "Do you not see," sais he, "what comes of it?" and would reckon up diverse examples of such, as heapt up much for their children, and they in a short time had scattered and consumed all. On the other side, he often spoke of such as had small beginnings and became rich or of competent estate. "I came but," sais he, "with a groat or sixpence in my pocket to this town. If I had had a shilling in my purse, I had never been Mayor of Exeter."

In the cause of God and religion, Mr. Barnes was also with Mr. Jurdan. The coward can never be an honest man was Sir Nathaniel Brent's opinion, meaning that a timorous man, upon the least appearance of danger, will soon warp aside. Mr. Jurdan used to cry fie upon discretion, when men, out of fear of their private interests, decline their present duty.

One, who, by worldly success, was grown to an enormous estate, having agreed with Mr. Barnes for some lead oar, would needs stretch to his own design beyond what was articled and agreed for. Finding his intention frustrated by the honesty of the stewart, he writes a letter to Mr. Barnes in a stile suitable to his own vile birth and extraction. But Mr. Barnes very calmly, yet resolutely defending what his stewart had done, shook this viper into the fire, and felt no hurt, and the man upon cooling a little, was willing to be friends with him.

The city of Exeter has this mark of honour, that the sword, which is carried before the mayor, was taken from the king's own side, in memory of Perkin Warbec, and it is observed Mr. Jurdan, in the year of his mayoralty, gloryed more in the sword of justice than in having that other sword carried before him. Mr. Barnes was afraid of nothing so much as the not doing of justice. His fortitude equalled that of the bold Mr. Rothwell, commonly called *the Apostle of the North*. The Lady Bows being apprehensive of danger to him, from so surly fierce a people*

* This "fierce" people were the inhabitants of "the last place that God made." Rothwell, the gallant dissenter militant, had left it before his death in 1627, the year of Barnes's birth at Startforth, the Fieldings whereof had been "true Israelites" to Rothwell. When he sent for Bishop Neile's pursuivants who were to apprehend him, and received them with his supersedeas in his hand, a sword, "God struck them amort." "He bade them go to their Lord, and tell him, if he had anything to say to him he would meet him on Bernard's Castle bridge (which parteth the shires) and if he could pull him over to him let him take him." *In articulo mortis* he cried out "Happy is he who hath not bowed a knee to Baal!" The reader will not be disappointed if he refers for further particulars to Rothwell's quaint biographer, Clarke.

as he was going to preach amongst: Mr. Rothwell, very unconcernedly sais to her, "If I thought I should not meet the devil there, I would never come there, he and I have been at odds in other places, and I hope we shall not agree there." Such another warriour was this gentleman, who could say with Mr. Alderman Jurdan whilst he was in some trouble in the Star-Chamber, and one told him the Lord Keeper was against him, he had a greater Lord Keeper than he, "the Lord is my keeper, I will not be afraid."

He might be stiled as Dr. Porter was, "the Patron of Infirmities." His charity covered a multitude of sins. When he saw any coldness growing between those he loved, he would draw them together and tell them "Friendship must go upon two leggs," meaning that there must be a reciprocation of good offices.

He had a great deal of natural courage. Who could have forborn smiling, to see him draw his rusty sword out of the scabbard, when he was once taking horse to make a pay amongst his miners. Some one asking him the reason, he replyed, "I carry a good summ of mony with me (which indeed, at that time, was nearly 1000*l.*), and I make ready, because I resolve, if I meet a rogue by the way, he shall feel my sword before he finger my mony."

An estate of a nephew * of his being sold, he was willing to get, for his kinsman's benefit, as many years' purchace for it as he could. Another man, whose land lay next it, used all manner of means to putt every one off from buying it, that it might fall into his own hands a better pennyworth. But Mr. Barnes, for all his tricks, got it sold at a just vallue, and returned the mony into the bank for the use of his nephew. The man, nettled at his disappointment, meeting Mr. Barnes upon the rode, grew very rough, and used rude language. Mr. Barnes mildly excused himself, saying, he ought not to be offended at him, for his doing his best for his kinsman, who had no other relation living in the country, "and for thy fierce saucy language," sais he, "nothing keeps me from making thy bones feel what a knave thou art, but that thou art not worth the beating." The man fell dumb and sneakt away.

He industriously obstructed whatever might prove a snare to his children. There is scarce a great or numerous house in England, where there is not one anciently, or at this day living thriving by the study of the law, especially of them who have

* His only brother died childless. But he may have had sisters, or a nephew in law may be meant.

been raised to courts of judicature. He thought his son high enough, when made recorder of a country corporation. The estate, left by Mr. Joseph Barnes, was a fair handsome thing, amongst so many children as he had, yet far short of what many would have made of his advantages.

He saw how the generality of our gentry fall into a contempt of religion, stupid and reprobate to what is good. He saw godliness losing ground every day. The failing and removal of a few who kept up somewhat of the credit of piety, without a succession to fill their places, he foresaw would bring on a new generation that knew not Joseph, and particularly in the town where he lived. But this he left to God, comforting himself that this ruin was under that hand, who could repair it.

He rejoyced in tribulation. "May not the Lord do with his own what he pleaseth," was his saying. He called to mind that Christ's throne is encircled with the rainbow, in sight like to an emerald, an emblem of the covenant, that hath the pleasantness of the green colour, betokening mercy.

Thus he was, as is said of Dr. Carlton, when young, grave in his manners, when old, youthful in his parts.

CHAPTER IX.

THE LAST TIME OF HIS MAGISTRACY.

Without any further remarques upon King Charles II.'s Restoration, we shall onely observe that the party who had all a long been uneasy under the restraint of their power, were now impatient to get places filled with men qualifyed to serve the measures of such a reign as followed. The worthy mayor of Newcastle * making scruple to surrender the staff to Sir John Marlow, who was thought a fit person to succeed him, was so pusht and bruized in the Spittal, that he was carryed out in his chair half-dead, such was the violence of the faction. Alderman Barnes, who was to stand before kings, was pitcht upon to carry a remonstrance of this breach of the town's charter up to the new court; which he did, and laid it before the Privy Council, the king being there present. The undertaking at such a juncture was brave as it was hazardous. The charge as well as the pains of the business was great. A large summ was distributed to the Clark of the Rolls; Serjeant Glynn and Serjeant Maynard met at Lincoln's Inn, upon a reference from the King and Council; but, with many good words, our Alderman was sent home, without obtaining any redress, although the mayor, who to this day never had his equall in that town, dyed of the hurt he received in the Election-House.

Yielding to the infatuation of the times, Mr. Barnes surrendering his gown to Mr. Nicholas Fenwick, who was to wear it, did bless himself in privacy.

He was now haunted by the raging eye of jealousy. He was suspected to have a concernmeut in that which was called Gas-

* Thomas Bonner, mayor 1659-60. The election of mayor was on the Monday after Michaelmas. Bonner was buried 12 Oct. 1660.

The text is thus confirmed.

Is it not marvellous that, up to and in this year of grace, no attempt should have been made by the Novocastrians to present a true chronology of their town to the public?

coign's or Rhimer's Plott. But he now purposely estranged himself from all state affairs. He avoided all meetings except upon necessary business, and trade or neighbourly visits, and those as seldom as might be, because he knew that spies and informers were thrusting themselves into all private caballs and councills and saying the hottest things that others might be induced to say somthing that would bring them within the compass of the law; or if they had the discretion or good hap to say nothing, the very being in company where such things were spoken, might involve them in trouble. Many inocent persons were so trepanned every day.

The restored King soon discovered what his manners were like to be, in an horrid debauch in the Mulberry Garden, drinking to filthy excess till past three o'clock in the morning. Mr. Barnes having seen him upon the occasion aforesaid when he appeared before him in council, was at his return home askt by a very reverend person, what he thought of him, which he answered by such a prognostic from the King's saturnine aspect, as however true it proved in the sequel, shall not be here repeated. For as Charles II. is said very much in his person to resemble Tiberius Cæsar, so did he presage, his reign would no less resemble that of Tiberius, wherein our Lord was crucifyed. The story is well known of Mr. Livingston the Scots minister, who, being enticed into the ship wherein the King was imbarquet, to come for England, standing off some leagues at sea upon the deck amongst sundry lords and gentlemen, in a most solemn manner lifting his hands and eyes up to Heaven, uttered these words: Lord if it be Thy blessed will, let us all this moment sink down to the bottom of the ocean, for we are carrying over thy heavy wrath to Brittain." But God's wrath ceased not, and therefore they did not sink. The prodigies of this reign can scarce be paralelled in any reign. To say nothing of the King's sister the Dutchess of Orleance being poysoned, nor what was the occasion of it: to say nothing of the Queen Mother and Prince Rupert's leaving the Court in discontent: to say nothing of the thousands that dyed of the plague: to say nothing of the conflagration of London, for which none was hanged but a French Huguenot, though many Papists had their hands in it: to omit the first and second war with the Dutch, in the former whereof, besides what the Parliament gave the King for the latter, he had 2,500,000*l.*: to pass by the unheard of filthiness openly practiced at Court; Chancelour Hide, being laid by, forewarns the Earl of Southampton what the wicked arbitrary temper of the King would be, if he could but compass his ends. The address for a war with France was rejected with scorn, all indea-

vours were used to stifle the discovery of the Popish Plott: in the House of Lords, Southampton speaks against the Five Mile Act, and Shaftsbury moves for securing Protestant Religion in Scotland, but they spoke to the deaf.

The complaint of Colonel Titus to his steward, Mr. Fann, is yet fresh in memory: "I have," said he, "ten times ventured my life in going and coming beyond sea in his Majesty's service when his affairs were just desperate, and though the King has requited me with places of honour and trust, yet, after all, I am grown a meer cypher and sunk into contempt at court; nor can I give any reasons for it, unless it be that the King has somtimes found a Bible lying in my chamber-window, or that I will not swear, nor be drunk, nor lie with my neighbour's wife."

I believe Mr. Barnes was one of the first who suspected this King's wavering in religion. He grounded his thoughts upon what he observed that the Countess of Castlemain, in the height of her favour with the King, imbraced the Romish religion, which she never would have done had not the King approved of her change.

He now imployed his privacy in private affairs for the good of his neighbours; sometimes in the cause of fatherless orphans, sometimes as Virginius was left tutor to the younger Pliny, and Corellus when dying, left his daughter to the guardianship of Cornutus and Secundus, so was he taken up in such offices which sometimes, through ingratitude, turned to his own loss. When the Court, to try how dispensing power rellisht with the people, saw fit now and then to abate a little of the rigor of their persecution, he was cautious of trusting to these fairy favours, remembering how the fox, when the lion made proclamation for all horned beasts to come in, warily hid himself, saying, 'if the lion will have my ears to be horns, who shall defend me?' He was easy otherwise of access. The most difficult cases and of the greatest moment, were brought before him, one particularly from a great person at Bath, who consulted him in a matter of last importance, and of so high a design in relation to the times, it is not fit to publish it.

It pleased the Almighty by the death of Charles II. to give deliverance to his people, and this deliverance Mr. Barnes shared in, when by infinite vexatious suits, fines and persecutions, his worldly estate was sunk and lying under water.

James II. flusht with his success against the Duke of Monmouth, to usher in liberty to Papists, did by his dispensing power, grant a tolleration of Protestant Dissenters. Both sorts now opened their public meetings for worship, and the magis-

tracy was mixt with Papists and Protestants, Conformists, and Nonconformists *. Men were at a loss to see how suddenly the

* 1684: The mayor, aldermen and common council surrendered to Charles II. the magisterial part of their charter. The surrender was not enrolled. The King granted a new charter, and therein constituted several new aldermen, reserving a power to displace the mayor and aldermen at his pleasure, signified by an order of the privy seal. 1685: Feb. 6: Charles II. died. Feb. 13: The new charter arrived. Feb. 16: Address to James II. signed by Wm. Aubone, mayor. Monday after Michaelmas: Sir Henry Brabant elected mayor. Dec. 15: Mandate of James II. 1686: Jan. 5: The common council removed and new ones elected, in obedience to it. June 12: License to print a small poem by George Stuart, intitled "a jocoserious discourse, in two dialogues, between a Northumberland gentleman, and his tenant, a Scotchman, both old cavaliers." It mentions the arrival of Charles's charter at Newcastle. Monday after Michaelmas: Nicholas Cole elected mayor. 1687: May 31: Mandate to admit Sir Wm. Creagh, knt., a zealous papist, to the freedom of the corporation. June 30: Admission accordingly. Sep. 20: Address, signed by Cole, mayor, thanking the King for his "repeated acts of grace and bounty vouchsafed to this your antient corporation, not only in the free enjoyment of our liberties and priviledges, but more especially in the full exercise of the professed religion of the Church of England, whereof we are true members, true loyalty being inseparable from the principles of that church." Monday after Michaelmas: John Squire elected mayor. Dec. 24: Mandate of the King by virtue of the power in the new charter, displacing the mayor, six aldermen, sheriff, deputy recorder, and fifteen of the common council, and commanding the electors to choose a new mayor (Sir William Creagh) alderman, sheriff and common council, named in the mandate, "but they being papists and persons not qualified, the electors refused to elect them. Notwithstanding which the said persons took upon themselves the office of mayor, aldermen, sheriff, and common council:" 1688: Jan 16: A remarkably fulsome address, signed not only by Sir Wm. Creagh, as mayor, and aldermen that were papists, but by some magistrates that were dissenters, was over-ruled by a majority of the common council, and not sent to the King. Feb. 11: A quo warranto served on the mayor. March 7: "The said persons put town's seal to a parchment that purported a surrender of their charter to the King, more at large than the former surrender, but also not inrolled." It was signed by Creagh, eight aldermen, the sheriff and fourteen of the common council. May 8: Burial of John Squire, the ejected mayor. Between June 9 and Sep. 22: Grant of a new charter "whereby the ancient custom of electing the mayor, &c. and burgesses for parliament were changed, and the same in a great measure put into the power of the mayor and aldermen," "A power is reserved in the King to place or displace." Michaelmas Monday: The mayor and aldermen designed two papists for mayor and sheriff next year, who made provisions accordingly, but the electors (though of the mayor and *aldermen's own making*) refused to chuse them, and elected two protestants, who continued till Nov. 5. following. Oct. 16: The Prince of Orange bid farewell to his States of Holland. Oct. 17: Proclamation, all too late, requiring the corporations whose surrenders were not enrolled, to take upon them to act as corporations, and where places were vacant by death, or otherwise, to fill them up; and an order of council for removing all mayors, sheriffs, recorders, town clerks, aldermen &c., put in since 1679. Oct. 30: J. Holt advised that the new charters were void, for void of inrollment of the surrenders, and that no scire facias was needed; that the aldermen before the surrenders were aldermen still; that as annual officers generally continued after the expiration of their year until successors were sworn, those who were in office at the time of the first surrender had better resign before successors were appointed; that new electors had better be chosen before the officers resigned; and that all freedoms made since the first surrender were void, Nov. 5: A new mayor and sheriff elected according to the ancient custom. On that day the Prince of Orange landed in England.

The successive mayors of 1688-9 were William Hutchinson and Nicholas Ridley.

world was changed, the cap, the mace, and the sword, one day carried to the church, another day to the mass-house, another day to the dissenting-meeting-house *, and those of the best penetration concluded so portentous a phenomenon must needs issue in some strange revolution.

Mr. Barnes his experience and integrity were well known, and the late Sir William Blacket, though no friend to him, openly declared that were it not for his being a Dissenter, he was fittest for the government of Newcastle of any man in it. They who could never be reconciled to some paces Mr. Barnes made at this time, have afterwards confest he was the friend of Augustus to the individual advantage of the emperor and empire. It was a wonder to his old acquaintance, who knew his former magistracy, to see old Alderman Barnes become a new one again. He became the first mover in the alterations made in those parts. He might have been with King James whatsoever he would himself, but for some reasons he chose rather to act behind the curtain, being willing that some of his undertakings should be concealed, not from any shame or guilt, but for avoiding ostentation. When it fell to the Dissenters to have a mayor chosen out of their party, because he would not hear of being chosen himself, and some were for his son-in-law, he bestirred himself for his brother in law Mr. Hutchinson, as thinking it improper the son, Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson, should be preferred before his own father, Mr. William Hutchinson. So that to make sure that the elections † went right, our Author drew up a list with his own hand as follows; the nomination of others to office being left to him, that such as he thought fit might be chosen.

* In 1720 the Baptists purchased a house on the east side of the Tuthill stairs. The lower part was a large room, the ceiling of which was highly ornamented, and the wainscotting of which bore the date 1588. "It is clear that the corporation of Newcastle, previously to the Revolution, attended it as a place of worship, as there were affixed to the old pews two hands for holding the sword and mace of the Corporation." So Douglas. It was the residence of Henry Chapman in 1587, of Yelderd Alvey the high-church vicar of Newcastle in 1637, and of Edward Stote (of *Manby v. Bewick* notoriety) in 1647, and up to 1662 there is no trace of any religious use of the property.

† According to the old charter, founded apparently on a still earlier practice, there were seven elections at Newcastle on Michaelmas Monday, before the actual election, in the course of which 24 *former electors*, 12 *first electors*, and 24 *electors*, were by complicated processes evolved. The plan will be found in the extracts from Barnes's works. On the Municipal Corporation Enquiry in 1833, when the practical working of the system was ventilated, a Commissioner remarked "it certainly was a most ingenious piece of business; and there could be little doubt as to how it would work," the Town Clerk adding plainly that "the effect of the system obviously was, to give a preponderance to the governing body." Richardson observes that this mode of election was used at least before 1512, and that subsequent charters were only confirmations of an early custom.

MYSTERIES.

Lionel Blagdon Rich. Wall Tho. Emmerson William Bountflour	*Mercers*	Joh. Bows William Sanderson Isaac Sympson Joh. Lemmon	*Drapers*	James Hargrave Tho. Errington Tho. Elliot Isaac Gilpin	*Boothmen*
Robert Laing Joh. Robson Robert Fleming Tho. Neil	*Tailors*	William Sadler Joh. Harrison William Gofton Roger Dalton	*Bakers and Brewers*	Barth. Atchinson Anth. Younger Joh. Harle Tho. Newton	*Tanners*
Joseph Bell Joh. Hancock Jonath. Spour Joh. Kell	*Smiths*	Joh. Harrison Tho. Anderson Henry Pierson Joh. Addison	*Fullers*	Joh. Barne Tho. Rushton William Gibson Th. Elliot, sen.	*Cordwainers*
Rich. Pattison Henry Emmerson Thomas Gee Will. Harrison	*Skinners and Glovers*	Will. Harrison Josh. Yelleley Will. Jackson Joh. Sheclock	*Sadlers*	Andrew Neil Joh. Neele Tho. Walton Geo. Kirtley	*Butchers*

BY-TRADES.

Tho. Poyd Jer. Cook	*Ship-wrights*	Robert Heslop Joh. Reed	*Barbers*	Robt. Watson Th. Towns	*Hous-carpenters*	Th. Thompson Th. Bilton	*Joyners*
Tho. Richardson Nicholas Bilton	*Masters and Mariners*	Joseph Dixon Tho. Moor	*Weavours*	Joh. Meg Henr. Manners	*Masons*	Geo. Bryan Joh. Hornsby	*Glasiers*
Joh. Bulman Will. Dunn	*Slaters*	Will. Armorer Robt. Gee	*Coopers*	Edw. Glendinnen Sam. Young	*Millers*	Robt. Percival Rich. Armstrong	*Colliers and Carrmen*
Joh. Richison Sam. Chicken.	*Curriers*	Robt. Hymers Edw. Hudson	*Glovers*	Joh. Baxter Garret Starkey	*Cutlers*		

The list of names is not lost, if it be but to refute the slander of his procuring a clandestine election by Dissenters to make Mr. Hutchinson mayor, whereas a great many, in this catalogue, were known to be zealously affected to the Church of England, and Mr. Hutchinson himself, from a moderate churchman, was by accident quite turned to the Dissenters. For, going one Lord's day to his parish church, he was stopt at the church-porch and forbid entrance, as being just then excommunicated. Which gave him such disgust, that the worthy man, who was before the less-half of a Dissenter, never afterwards came to church.

The Court designed not onely a suspension of the penal laws by the present toleration, nor onely an alteration or further explanation of the test-act, but likewise a repeal of both. Sir James Stewart of Scotland fell in with these measures, and few were more aspersed than he and Alderman Barnes were. He knew the test-act was capable of such amendments as would prove a sufficient barrier against the Papists, it never being the intention of that act to exclude Protestants, untill a pack of Judges were procured to declare the meaning of it to extend to Protestant Dissenters. He knew the Bishop of Rome was uneasy under the exorbitant power of France. He knew the Emperor and King of Spain grew jealous of a secret alliance between France and England and were ready to concert measures with the

states of Holland to prevent the consequences. He knew the Court of Rome had no hope of getting popery restored in England, and laught in their sleeves at Castlemain's being sent ambassador to them. He knew the Dutch wisht to have the Prince of Orange handsomly off their hands, and he knew that that prince had intended to have prevented the Duke of Monmouth's attempt in England, and had offered King James to come in person and command the forces imployed to reduce him, which with the alarm of a Prince of Wales, had made him apparently apprehensive of the danger of his own succeeding to the Crown. The sence which their Royall Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Orange had of this affair, was declared in Pensionary Fagel's letter to the Marquess of Abbeville, whome he informs, that their Royall Highnesses were content the Roman Catholicks should continue in their religion, with the same liberty they were allowed in the United Provinces, and did not onely consent, but heartily approve of a full and entire liberty to Nonconformists, and were ready to concurr to the repeal of the penal laws, provided the laws continued in force that exclude papists from both Houses of Parliament and from all sivil and military employments. As this was the sense which the instrument of our deliverance exprest, so was it all the apology our Author needs for his engagements under King James.

Mr. Barnes began to have no small share in the King's favour. No business at home could pass but our Author must be advised with about it, the King writing down to Newcastle with his own hand to get him chosen into the next parliament he was presently intending to call. Some thought the King had found Mr. Barnes his weak side, Mr. Barnes was sure he had found King James his blind side. How convenient soever the Court thought him for their purpose, which it was evident they did and were intending to employ him in a certain foreign negociation, they quickly found there was no removing him beyond his own length. Hence, when the Government was alarmed with the rumor of a great armament in Holland, Colonel Widdrington in a great huff came to him, requiring him to order some gunns down to Tinmouth Castle; "That is not my business," sais Mr. Barnes, "the King never made me governour of that castle." And hence it was, a certain Irish knight writ up to Court a grievous complaint against him as one who hung upon the wheels of the Popish party, and a person not to be depended upon, as to the grand secret then on foot. This was so far from sinking his credit at Court or getting him turned out of the Magistracy that he found more friends there than his accusers. Some in the Privy Council justifyed him to the

King's face. The Earl of Sunderland particularly, then Secretary of State, stood up and said he was of Mr. Barnes his opinion. What the case was, out of respect to some great names, shall not now be explained. He never tampered with this king, as some did, in his church-bigottry, but laboured with him all he could, never to think of more than a tolleration for English papists, so the priests and Jesuits at Somerset House were sure to have more of the ear of that weak prince than he.

The steps Mr. Barnes had taken for the ease of Dissenters, was not onely quarrelled by some Dissenters themselves, but likewise by our angry Churchmen, and no reproaches were spared nor slanders omitted, to make him odious. Of these it was the least that going one day upon a visit to see Mr. Mayor, Sir W. C.'s lady, hearing Alderman Barnes was in the antichamber, gave him opprobrious names and swore by all that was good, he had been a Jesuit ever since his wife Madam Barnes died, which he regarded as little as Socrates did the brawls of Xantippe. Nay, the abjects gathered themselves against him, they tare him and ceased not. One Harry Wallis, a master-shipwright, was so abusive with his tongue, the Alderman was provokt to commit him prisoner to the Tower upon the Bridge. The drunken beast, inraged at the stone doublet his rudeness had got him, finding a quantity of mault lying in the chamber where he was lodged, and the chamber standing over the river of the town, takes a shovel and throws it all into the water out at the window, merrily reflecting upon himself and saying

> O base mault,
> Thou didst this fault,
> And into Tyne thou shalt,

to show what virtue good ale has to inspire another Hudibrass. But this gentleman knew how to stand the storm. They who maligned him for his friendship with papists, knew well enough he was infinitely distant from their interest. It was a pleasure to him to see the Egyptians contribute to Israel's escape out of bondage.

Though his oportunities were far short of what they were under his former magistracy, he did what he could to defend the poor and oppressed, one instance I shall give.

"To the Worshipfull Ambr. Barnes, Esq. Alderman of Newcastle upon Tyne. The Petition of Henry Readhead, a prisoner in Newgate, humbly sheweth, That your petitioner, about four years ago, with one George Mitchel did take of one Mr. R. M. and Mr. J. R. four pits to sink and work, they the said M. and R. to find all materialls for working and sinking the said pits,

such as ropes, timber, iron-work, nails, and other necessaries. Now the said M.'s stewart one J. C. orders your petitioner to go to one George Hankin, a ropemaker to take up ropes for the said work. Also the said M.'s stewart J. C. orders your petitioner to go to one Mr. Rudston and other raff-merchants to take up timber, for the mannaging and carrying on of the said work. All which, your Petitioner did, not thinking but that the said M. would have paid for the aforesaid ropes and timber, but to this day he refuseth, insomuch that your petitioner is sued for the same by Hankin and thrown into prison: and for the raff-merchants your petitioner was forced to pay them to avoid charges; part of the mony was for bread and drink, and the whole summ comes to 20*l.* 8*s.* 10½*d.* which is a very hard case your petitioner should be so dealt withall by the said M. The abovesaid Mr. R. paid his part very honestly, but Mr. M. is well known to be a contentious man with his workmen, for he has ruined and undon your petitioner to all intents and purposes. May it therefore please your worship, for God's sake, to procure redress, for your petitioner has not mony to wage law with M., he being a rich man and your petitioner poor, prays your worship in your wise and discreet judgment would cause that he make satisfaction to your petitioner for the said summ of 20*l.* 8*s.* 10½*d.* And your petitioner as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c."

Having received this, he applyed himself to Sir Robert Wright, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, then in the Northern Circuit *, to procure justice according to the prayer of the petitioner, and got the man discharged.

He also set some usefull methods on foot for advancing the trade of lead and coles, but he never cared for medling in chimerical projects. When it was proposed to make the River Tyne navigable up to Hexham, 16 miles above Newcastle, he dissuaded the projectors from their intention, showing that besides the vast expence of making and upholding so many damms, locks, and sluices, as such a work would require, the thing itself was impracticable nor would it answer any usefull end. Whereupon the design was dropt.

But whilst he thus moved in his lower sphere, the superior orbs took fire, King James went off and left the world wondering at the accession of King William III. I shall insert one passage concerning the expedition which I have not read in any of the printed accounts. Sir Henry Ashurst had desired Mr. Barnes to wait upon one of the Scots nobility in his way through

* He presided at the Assizes in Newcastle on 2 Aug. 1686, and 13 Aug. 1688.

Newcastle to Scotland, who informed our Author, how he, who I think was the then Lord Stairs, imbarqt in the same ship with the Prince, who seeming concerned at the ill success of their first setting out, being by a storm drove back into Holland, he took him by the hand and said, "May it please your Highness, go on resolutely. I am as sure of your success as I am of my own salvation." This passage his Lordship told Mr. Barnes and added that the good Prince smiled and graspt his Lordship's hand, as approving his noble constancy and courage. How sure his Lordship was of his own salvation, I know not, but I am sure Mr. Barnes rejoyced in the Prince's success.

This Revolution brought an after-reckoning upon such as had acted in the late reign by illegal commissions and some had given Mr. Barnes his name as a person greatly obnoxious, who deserved to be singled out to be made an example, for the breach in the town-charter. An heavy fine was intended to be imposed upon him by way of attonement for the rest who had acted with him, to be estreated into the Exchequer. Our brave Author was like the ambassadors of Athens, who, though they had done their duty, were punisht for coming home the same way they went afield. But King William, soon after his coming over, walking in his garden at Kensington with a person of one of the learned professions, whome he had taken into his favour, sais to him, "You know the north country, can you tell me anything of one Barnes who lives there?" "I know him very well," replys the gentleman, "and it please your Majesty, as honest a man as is in your three kingdoms." "Say you so?" sais the King in a great surprize, "I have his name given up to me as being a very ill man!" and immediately drew out his pocket-book and expunged his name.

Thus was the blow put by, and this faithful servant of God and the King took his last recess from public business, well pleased that now in his declining age, his God had cut out for him so quiet a retirement, and he would occasionally acknowledge his Majestie's justice, as the accused gentleman did that of Augustus, because he knew his heart to be as inocent as his hands were. Mr. Barnes would reflect upon the vicissitudes of his age. On some accounts, and in consideration of some circumstances, there seems to be a necessity of defrauding him of the supreme degree and top of his perfections, which would make him appear to be of a long head, of a mind and spirit undaunted, and of a constancy, which in a good cause, was invariable. But in reverence to worthy persons, let their posterity preserve this faint idea of him in its truest colours, his shadows not being so exact, time having defaced some of his

best features, and shed oblivion upon the beautifullest of his actions.

Let this vail, then, be drawn over mortality, that he never had any enemies but upon a public account, never incurred the ill affections of any, wherein it was possible for eminency to avoid envy, especially of such as postponed the public interest to their own private advantage. For as to himself, neither promises nor threatnings could in the least make him decline from public justice or public service.

CHAPTER X.

HIS CHRISTIAN ATTAINMENTS.

But a man is best seen when stript of honour and worldly advantages, which may procure reverence to his office, but can add no worth to his person. So many remarkable exercises as befell him could not but issue in a considerable improvement of the grace of God which was in him. According to that sphere wherein he moved, he had surveyed the compass of the world, made Solomon's experiment of vanity and vexation, and saw an end of all perfection. This quickened his search after things above, where he continually was increasing his stock and treasure.

To be without wealth and not to want, to want and not to desire was the measure of his attainment. Increase of estate and secular honour left not the least taint upon his refined soul. Such baits carryed nothing of a temptation, and there was nothing to which he exprest more aversion than to be put at any time, to the trouble of telling out great summs of mony. Without regard to his own plentifull subsistence or ease, he did readily upon the turns of Providence divest himself of the best part of what he had, leaving his estate bare and uncertain, well satisfyd with what God had spared for his old age. His private business was his by-business. He was diligent in what lay upon his hand, but no sooner was he free of it, but his mind was so also; or if it was not dispatcht at once, he was in the meanwhile watchful without embarrassment.

His spiritual life was eleemosinary, an indigent life of poverty and begging. Whilst he lookt at himself, he complained of raggs, cold, nakedness, hunger, weakness; there was not the easiest thing to be done, wherein he apprehended not difficulty and impossibility. But when he lookt at Christ, he cryed out riches, treasures, fulness, and could think nothing impossible to himself. He relied on God alone. Whatever he was, or what-

ever others thought him possessed of, he beheld an hand from God throwing it all into an ocean of annihilation. He was lost in the greatness of God. He lay exceeding low in the sense of his own barreness. "Barreness," he said once to a dear friend, "would send many of us blushing to Heaven."

When his presence was required at any consults, he would be punctual to the time, where taking his place the lowest if it were possible, his demeanour was so easy mild and composed, that all were edifyed by it, listening to others with seriousness and great attention, as if he had no other business. If he met with pert opinionists, he would prudently take advantage from what they said, after a patient hearing of their discourses, to convince those whose error had mislead them and to inform them better.

It was all one to him, to have washt the saints' feet, or to have gon envoy to Switserland, as it was said the King once designed him, regarding nothing by its greatness or littleness, but the glory which God might get by it.

His visage was sweet and calm, a serene forehead without any show of frowning or sadness, a carriage alwayes equal, few words, and a countenance such as one sees in persons inocent and assured. Whenever he pronounct the name of God, it was with great savour and solemnity. It was very affecting to see, in the time of a dredfull fire, very near the house where one of his daughters lived, notwithstanding the terror of the flames, the hurry and consternation of the crowd, and his own solicitude for the safety of his daughter's family and goods, with what composure this good father endeavoured to recover her from her affrightment, by minding her of the presence and great and fearful name of the Lord our God.

Wherever he held intelligence, the state of religion there was sure to be one article of his enquiries. I shall translate a letter he received not long before his death from an eminent divine in the Court of Berlin, hoping it will be no offence to Dr. Jablonski, to find his name in the life of an English nonconformist, though his usual correspondence lie amongst our neighbours, who have the ascendent of us in all outward advantages. And I shall expect the rather to be excused, because he is not named in any particular relating to our controversies, wherein we concurr with him in praying for an happy composure; as also because the former part of this epistle relates onely to a tract in Latin, that was to have been printed in a forein university, but was mislaid in the pacquet of the Prussian envoy: the rest gives an hint how things then stood beyond sea between the Lutherans and the Calvinists.

"To the Honoured and much Respected Ambrose Barnes, Esq., somtime Alderman of Newcastle upon Tyne, Reverend and worthy Sir, (*Amplissimo, clarissimo, et spectatissimo Domino D. Ambrosio Barnesio, Armigero, Senatûs quondam Novicastrensis ad Tynam præsuli meritissimo, Salutem. Venerande Antistes*). I am indebted to your goodness for the sivility of your letter, in an answer to which, I intreat you not to measure my love and esteem by the length of my paper. Your request to introduce that MSS. into the light, is an honour done me that further obliges me to your service. When the tract intended for the public comes to my hands, I shall take care to get it handsomly printed, with a preface either of my own or of some of our professors of the faculty of divinity in the university, and remit as many copies of it as you would have.

"The controversy between the Lutherans and Reformd is still on foot, but mannaged with less warmth and heat than formerly. Men of hot fiery tempers on both sides have disturbed our peace, but, through mercy, things are now more composed, and the Reformed omit nothing that may contribute to the healing of our divisions, though the Lutherans are so difficult and sowr, as not to be won but by patience and sweetness of behaviour. When any thing is done in this affair worth your notice, I shall take care to inform you. Meanwhile, let us unite our prayers for the closing our wounds everywhere at home. Farewel in the Lord, and continue me in your love, who am a dutifull honourer of your name and worth." DANIEL. ERNEST. JABLONSKI.—Dated at Berlin, 3 Febr. 1705, O.S.

I need not tell what a doleful spectacle the degeneracy of this age was to him, nor can I easily describe at what a rate he regretted the wretched degeneracy of that party who pretend to a zeal for their countrie's liberty, who are called Whigs. Their debauchery and contempt of religion made him sadly fear, if God prevented not, it would end in the ruin of their cause.

It grew a constant expression in his prayers towards his latter end, that when this life was ended, we might be ever with the Lord; and it was evermore uttered with those sort of groanings which, St. Paul saith, cannot be uttered. He grew to sit loose to and live more at a distance from his pleasantest injoyments in things below. He would with abhorrence speak of the corruption in public administrations, and how basely the people were abused and burdened whilst pretences were kept up for a free government. That inundation of iniquity, that had broken into our vitalls, occasioned him grief to that degree that his sorrow might sometimes be read in his countenance.

He spent the remainder of his pilgrimage like a stranger upon

earth, walking securely, God compassing this servant of his about with his favour as with a shield. What if I should say he had a strange and particular guard attending him? Some may censure me, but I will not omit what I have heard from his own mouth, complaining of the infirmity of his great age, when others performed the duties of family devotion. His posture was to kneel resting his hands upon the arms of his elbow-chair, when, when in time of prayer he was drouzy, and like to slumber, nobody else sitting near him, he has sensibly found as ever he felt any thing in his life, a very fair soft hand laid gently upon his, and saw it distinctly and frequently after it had awakned him from his slumbring. It might be the mistake of his fancy, I am sure it was not the mistake of a self-conceited Pharisee, for he told it as shaming himself for his sleepiness in time of Divine worship. The like I have heard of an ancient godly man, one Mr. Belsher, who died a few years ago. It is reported of old Simeon, that an Angel in white constantly went before him at his going into and coming out of the Temple for 40 years before he dyed. Whatever ground there was for that report, what I have now related, was seriously affirmed by our dear Author, who was far from listning to things out of the ordinary road. The Keeper of Israel, who neither slumbers nor sleeps, loved to have the company of this venerable Moses upon his knees, and therefore sent his Angel to keep up his heart and hands in prayer; and, whatever was in it, I question not but this holy man had more than ordinary watchers, and a good and strong guard about him. He travaild on horsback in the shortest dayes, through deserts, fells, forests, and desolate dangerous places, with a fearless confidence in God.

CHAPTER XI.

HIS SUFFERINGS BY PUBLIC PERSECUTION AND PRIVATE AFFLICTIONS.

[* When in the late times, the Reformed Congregations were setled under the inspection of their several Bishops† or pastors, there was in Newcastle a private society met in the town for the worship of God after the way of the Church of England. And this they had full liberty to do, excepting that their meeting was once disturbed just when they were about to celebrate the Lord's Supper. This, though it happened near the time when Grove and Penruddock were executed and the Cavaliers everywhere restless and turbulent against the Government, yet being rashly done and without warrant, it gave great offence to some of the magistrates, and had a bad influence upon some congregations, who thought it was a copying after the unchristian custom of the episcopal times, when disturbing men for their consciences, was allowed and practised, and this was vehemently urged especially by Mr. Prideaux his people, who was then vicar of the place ‡. For though it was done without the magistrates' knowledge, who generally condemned the action, it served many as an oportunity for speaking on behalf of diocesan episcopacy, not making difficulty to affirm, as they do still, all officers and ordinances to be null without it. This breeding trouble in the parts adjacent, until by delegates and messengers, assembled to discuss the question, the matter was so happily cleared up, that many were to that degree confirmed in the truth, as cheerfully to suffer for it in the staggering times that afterwards carryed multitudes into great apostasies. In one of these meetings or synods wherein was much consultation, Mr. Barnes took notice of God's wisdom in suffering such cases to befall his church, who doubtless per-

* From a chapter in Book III. "on his peaceable Nonconformity."

† Presbyters.

‡ He was at All Saints in 1647 and 1656. He was of "the Congregational Judgment," and seems to have conformed in 1662.

mitted it in order to stir men up to search the Scriptures, and find out the will and appointment of the supreme lawgiver*.]

[An account of this conference was drawn up by a worthy gentleman of great virtue, a particular friend of Mr. Barnes, a pious valluable person, Mr. Sewell of Carlile. This was the fittest place to introduce his name, that none may except against laymen's meddling in the controversies of divines. Theological disputes commonly employ (over-employ) the learning and pains of great clerks, yet it's known how some laymen who came to the Council of Nice, for their knowledge of God's word, were made Bishops. What but unreasonable prejudice could make a late latin writer, taking notice of the heresies of Puccius the Socinian, to add, as the reproach of I know not who, that, together with other mischiefs, they mannage a design to take away the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and confound the distinction between a laick and an ecclesiastic: as if sovereignty and servility were the onely distinction between the laity and the clergy, and as if there could be no order, no decency, without rails in the chancel, golden paxes, inammeled eewers, silver sacring bells, tamasyls of red bawdkine, with the remainders of Swithin's pompous accoutrements.]

A sort of people he found, who were not more enemies to him than to whatever is taught in the Gospel. Malice grew with some to outrage, who were not worse than others whose obligations to him being next to infinite, had their consciences accusing their slandrous tongues of foul dishonesty and ingratitude. It was whispered in corners rather than spoken out that he was a person of intriegue, too much given to politicks, and this, to hide their own knavish meanings, was rather covertly insinuated than publickly asserted. He despised those who cavilled at him. "Let them beat me," sais he, "so long as I am not by." 'Tis true, the smallest defect in an accomplisht person, disorders the whole orb of his virtues, and will be taken notice of. Since all men have their blind sides and committ faults, he that will industriously lay these together, leaving out or but slightly touching, what should be set against them to ballence them, may make a very good man appear in very ill colours. And writing

* Mr. Barnes's argument is founded on Tit. 1. 5, 7; Acts 20. 28; 1 Pet. 5. 1; Phil. 1. 1; 1 Tim. 3. 2; Acts 15; 1 Tim. 5. 17; (2 Tim. 4. 22 et seq. fin. and Tit. 3 sub fin. are declared postscripts of uncertain age) 1 Tim. 1. 3; Acts 17. 14; Acts 18. 5; 1 Thes. 3. 1, 2; Acts 20. 13; Phil. 1. 1; Col. 1. 1; Heb. 13. 23; 2 Tim. 4. 6; Gal. 2. 1; Tit. 1. 5; Tit. 3. 12; 2 Cor. 2. 12; 2 Cor. 7. 6; 2 Tim. 4. 10. (supposed to allude to Paul's death). The principal arguments against diocesan episcopacy are based on there being a plurality of bishops at Philippi, Phil. 1. 1; and on Titus and Timothy being extraordinary officers, evangelists, at the Apostle's bidding.

as I do, without regard to parties, of one who was a favourite of none of them, if this distance of time should make any thing in this portraicture I draw look crooked, it may nevertheless have the advantage of some landskapes, which afar off look taking and agreable, but when nearly searcht and pryed into by a curious and intelligent eye, they seem rude, harsh, and unpleasant *.

It was a saying he used, Every man is all that he is, and no man is more than he is, between God and his own soul." The injury done to himself sat very light upon him in comparison of the dishonour thereby reflected upon the camp of God, and their ingratitude was more their own loss than his. He would somtimes compassionatly smile at the ignorance of his adversaries' malice, and was content with this kind of *country pay*.

Whatever joustlings there are amongst us, who, through contrary wayes, are crowding into two different eternities, God's saints have learnt patiently to take their lot of good and evill report. Mr. Barnes had early notice of the approaching change of weather, in 1660, the insuing warning being sent to him from Dorcht: "Worshipfull Sir, and my dear friend, God's wayes are past our search, nor know we what untrodden paths he may yet lead us in. My heart was greatly refresht, to find so heavenly a strain breathing in your few lines. I cannot now answer you as I intend *per mare*, for I hear of a master who will be ready next week, with whome, God willing, I shall send your accounts. . . . . For other things, I know not what to say. Our sad divisions and Monk's late conduct at London are surprizing. God knows what things are like to come to. I fear Monk's principles are not sound. But all is in a higher hand, and, as the Heavens do rule, they who pretend fair to the interests of Jesus Christ, and are not faithfull to it, shall, in the issue, accomplish God's design contrary to their own. I doubt most of your brethren, the Aldermen of London, and the Common Council there, are not right. This free Parliament, they are so keen for, is plainly a King's interest.—Remember me in your addresses to God, as I am not unmindful of you and the dangerous state of the church in these nations. The Lord be with you. I am Yours indearedly, whilst Thomas Kett."

The King's coming in gave so dismal a prospect, that England was not like to be a climate for such men as this to live in. He was now taken several stories down in the world, called in his debts, shut up his shop, and gave over trade. Invi-

* "As yon summits soft and fair,
Clad in colours of the air,
Which to those who journey near,
Barren, brown, and rough appear." *Dyer*.

tations were given him from several parts beyond sea, and he now begun to meditate a removal of his family, altring the course of his business and putting his estate, which then was very considerable, upon a more uncertain foot than he was ever afterwards able to recover and reestablish. Hamburgh, New England, or Dantzic was in his eye. But I meet with an article of indenture between one Gawen Hunter and him. The covenants are thus, "That upon the receit of a summ of mony by the said Gawen Hunter from the said Ambrose Barnes, the said A. B. shall have the full half of all the increase, profits, and commodities, of all the ground, wages, and buildings, that shall be allotted and given to the said G. H. at Surinam in Guyana, or any other part of the said continent; and that the full half of the premises shall be allotted to the said A. B. and his servant John Atkinson. It is also agreed, that the said A. B. shall have joynt-interest with the said G. H. in the said land for ever. In witness wherof the parties &c. Dated 9th April, 1662." But the Most High did divert his purpose.

Would that sort of conformity have satisfyed his persecutors, he could have done like him, who being askt, by what rule he governed his life, took up his Bible, saying "Here is contained all things necessary to salvation, and by this I am willing my life should be tryed." But, besides the edicts of Heaven contained in the Scriptures, the Houses of Lords and Commons framed sundry wicked laws, which got the assent of both the King's heart and his hand. All hopes of indulging tender consciences and uniting his subjects, as he at first pretended, quickly vanisht. The Bishops drove on furiously, and presst conformity to their ecclesiastical frame now made more intollerable than it had ever been before. Prisons, for the freeborn subjects of England *, began to fill apace, and Mr. Barnes, without any known reason for it, was conveyed to the Castle of Tinmouth, and charged upon suspicion with a design against the Government. But he made it appear, he was at his country-house in Yorkshire all the time mentioned in the writ for his committment †.

* "Neither liberty nor life is safe for an hour. The beast roars and rages, and the prisons are full." Intercepted letter from John Jopling to Mary Hutchinson, 4 June, 1662.

† In Book III. there is a long letter from Barnes to an elect lady, devout and honourable, who made him her father in matters spiritual, on the vanity of the creature. It contains a very coarse illustration. Barnes says that he has answered her complaints "if not with so soft a pen as became one in writing to a lady, yet with the plainness and sincerity that became one writing to a Christian." The fair correspondent was, I suppose, Frances, daughter of Sir Christopher Wray of Glentworth, Linc., Bt., and widow of the younger Sir Harry Vane, with whom Barnes had been on friendly terms. She died in 1679. The letter contains the following sentences:— ["Your

The antipathy of the clergy to the Nonconformists infused into the people an extreme hatred to their doctrines and manners. The most important articles of faith were blasphemed and derided, under colour of exposing and ridiculing the Nonconformists' way of teaching, and every thing that was serious became comical, when profest by them, like the fellow who said his preacher smelled of a Lutheran, because he pronounced Habachuch instead of Habbackuck. Many texts of Scripture, wretchedly abused and misapplyed, served the curates and parish clergy to beat the pulpit-drumms * upon, their own croaking bellies prompting them to every thing that might stir up the magistrate to greater severities.

They met with no better treatment, who used some parts of the Common Prayer, went to their parish church, received the sacrament kneeling, and to show they did not absent from obstinacy, went as far as they could in conformity for peace-sake. For this raised an exclamation, why they went no further, seeing they could go so far, and why they could not conform constantly, seeing they did it occasionally. The inconsequence of which inference, though it be descernible enough, for that which is lawful may be done at some times, which it were very inexpedient, if not sinfull, to do at all times, yet Mr. Barnes thought these gentlemen did the cause of the Nonconformists no service. He censured not their intention which he supposed was to express their charity and show their christian temper, in hopes of a coalition between them and the moderate Conformists. Yet he thought their practice weakened the interest, as it was in the controversy improved by their adversaries to the disadvantage of the principles of Nonconformity, and the best that can be said for them is, they would have healed Babylon, but she will not be healed †.

" Your wound in the loss of Sir H. is yet green, I shall be tender of making it bleed afresh; but if, besides this, your house were burnt to the ground, your inheritance taken from yours and you, as you know your own fears, your friends forsaking you, your children slain before your eyes, your honour laid in the dust, and yourself tumbled upon Job's dunghill full of sores, such I am persuaded is the state of your dear soul, these calamities would bring you nearer to God. . . . Remember by the way, in these sorrowful suffering times we are entring into, you have not yet, as your honoured husband has, resisted unto blood. . . . When at our sorrowful parting, I took leave of you and the town, was uncertain what my lot might be. I am sure I reckoned upon nothing but hatred and contempt from all, and I was helpt to bear supercilious looks, surly frowns, scornful behavour, and some hard speeches. I looked for a prison and a cold lodging every night: but, when my expectation was low, I bless God, he provided better for me. I got a chamber with a chimney in it and was very thankful for it."

* See Grey's note on Butler's "pulpit, drum ecclesiastic."

† Among the Ecclesiastical Presentments for 1680 we find under St. Nicholas Newcastle, that "Ambrose Barnes and 50 others have not been at church for the

The doctrines which now obtained, precipitated many into extravagant excesses. A certain Alderman of Newcastle, when a club of them was together to consider of a way of proceding against Dissenters, confest the Presbyterian religion, as he called the religion of the Dissenters was the true religion according to the Word of God, but swore at the same time, it did not excuse them from obeying what the King commanded. Sir Henry Brabant*, another Alderman, profest, if the King should command him to kill a man in cold blood, he took himself bound in conscience and duty, to execute his commands.

This persecution extended to parts beyond sea, where English merchants had their factories and companies. In 1662, a correspondent sends our Author this complaint: "I take notice how things go with you. We here at Hamburgh are called with you to be partakers of the sufferings of Christ. Mr. Hammond †, at the malitious instigation of some among us, is by the magistracy forbid to preach even in his own house. We, in some respects, are in a worse condition than you in England; and like to be so as long as these men reign. We have oaths imposed that you are freed from; and two, for refusing, are threatened with disfranchisement. Snares and ginns are laying by wicked men, to ruin us in our estates, liberties, and privileges. Let us make God our refuge till these calamities be overpast. Some letters have been intercepted, so that it is not safe to inlarge." Thus, whilst Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Papists underhand, were connived at in their heretical sects of false worship, no tolleration, except now and then to try how dispensing power would go down, would be allowed to Dissenting Protestants, but they were dealt with, as if they had been infidels.

And this persecution was attended with cruell mockings. In one of this gentleman's sorest domestic crosses that ever befell him, whilst he was under persecution, a certain lady of the seed of Cain, meeting him one evening in the streets, lookt at him with so scornfull an air, that her gesture exprest as much pride and contempt as words themselves could have done. Her countenance was full of derision, and so insolent she was, as to flier in his face, the language of her rude behaviour being well enough understood by him, to be an upbraiding him for his nonconformity. He who might have lived in fashion and reputation, had brought himself to obscurity and disgrace.

last 12 months or have come when prayers were nearly done;" and were excommunicated three times.

* He was mayor in 1667. † Formerly of Newcastle.

Sir Francis Anderson, his kinsman by marriage*, did him what good offices he could with safety to himself, but two other gentlemen of his former aquaintance, who had made as strict pretences to reformed religion as he, gave way to the times, and as a reward of their apostacy, were made knights. Such a number of citations, excommunications, and writts of capias, were issued out of the Bishop's Court against him, that for some years he durst not look out, but was confined a prisoner in his own house. The writs for apprehending him were limited to the county of Newcastle, and, when he had occasion to ride journies, his horse was carried over the water for him into the county of Durham, and he took boat after it at his own water-stairs, where they attended his coming†. An hundred pounds was bid to one that would bring him out dead or alive; every one was suspected who was known to visit him. Somtimes spies were busy, who feigned themselves just men, pretending they had a respect for him; but neither so were they able to discover the places of his concealment, for God hid him. Nor was he any more disturbed than Abbot Stephen Reatin, when his corn and stock was wasted because he remembred his enemies did themselves more harm than him, for though he suffered, it was they who sinned.

Whether it be from the soil or from some invisible powers that preside in every place, it is known that Newcastle has always been as tenacious of antiquities, as Athens of old was curious of novelties. There is a topographical emblem of the genius of that town in the situation of it. The high part of it still retains the names and some remains of the houses of the Nunns, the Grey Fryars, the White Fryars, Fryars Minors, and the Hospital of Pilgrims passing to Jesu-Mont, whilst in Popish times, it had the name of Monkchester: and the low part of the town is altogether won out of the river. Thus the High Church has all along so far there overtopt the Low Church, that nothing like reformation or a step towards it, could ever enter that town, but as it was won against much opposition from the inhabitants, who are worshippers of the great goddess Diana. Possibly the High Priest also has an additional influence, by his inferiour clergy, into this bigottry. Bishop Cousins, as he was going through Paul's churchyard, had a paper pinned upon his back whereon was written, *Room for the Seven Sacraments*, and 'tis well known he had a back broad enough to bear it. And if any would be informed of the character of Dr. Crew the last

* Sir Francis Anderson of Bradley, knt. a noted loyalist, who died 1679, married Jane, daughter and heir of John Dent, at Barnardcastle, in 1636. She died in 1673.

† Barnes, as will appear hereafter, was, during his troubles, residing in the Close.

Bishop of Durham, I have heard say, he might be found walking very devoutly among the retinue of the Pope's nuncio when, in the late King James his time, he made his publick entrance into Windsor *. Two such prelats were like enough to make Newcastle glow with heat against dissenters like our Author. Nothing stood in the way of the enemies' fury, but it was reckned to be his contrivance, nothing made for the advantage of those who were persecuted, but it was imagined to be coined in his mint, and his head-piece gave great uneasiness. None in the North of England was ever hunted with more unwearied pursuit, his blood was greedily sought, and no trains nor fetches omitted, to drive him to an outlawry or a premunire.

Many by his example waxed bold in the Lord. 5 August, 1679, this letter was sent him from a good gentlewoman of great experience: "Honoured Mr. Barnes, I am one of many, who adore the riches of grace bestowed upon you, and shines forth in your noble appearance for God, now when the world is raging against his truth, his people, and his cause. Blessed be his name, who reserves any of your rank and abilities to witness for him, especially in a day wherein the cross occasions many apostates. Rejoyce, inasmuch as you are partaker of the sufferings of Christ, that when he shall be revealed, you may receive a reward and a double reward. None who hold intelligence with fame, can deny you the honour of the first three of David's worthies, who by a continued martyrdom tell us, you count not your life, much less your name and estate, dear unto yourself, so that you may but lend an hand to build up that throne, which, in spite of wicked men, shall indure as the sun and abide as the dayes of heaven. Our souls, in this war, are in no danger, and, for the rest, let all go with joy as a sacrifice to Christ. The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us. Many crowns are upon the head of our exalted Saviour, which, whilst such as you, by your tribulations for the Gospel, make to flourish, brighten your own. Sir, be strong in the Lord and in the power of his might, consult not with flesh and blood, but keep on your armour, and as hitherto you have made a noble stand for God, so my prayers shall be, that through the supplies of the Spirit, you may

* "He offered to attend—but his coachman refused to drive him." (Hutchinson, from Kennet.) "Meeting the Pope's Nuncio had best never be mentioned, and if, as is hinted, the Bishop was willing to go, but John Coventry, his coachman, refused to drive him, the said coachman, as Mr. Nichols observes, deserved well at the Prelate's hands." (Surtees.) "In his train the crowd recognized with disgust the arms and liveries of Crewe, Bishop of Durham, and of Cartwright, Bishop of Chester." (Macaulay, from London Gazette, Citters, and account in the Somers Tracts.)

yet stand, and having done and suffered all, may stand. Thanks be to God on your behalf. I am your loving friend in Christ, Grace Wolfe."

The King had made Sir George Jeffries Chief Judge of Chester, and afterwards Lord Chief Justice of England, in which post, in the course of the Northern Circuit, it pleased his master to send him to Newcastle*, in both which places, his behaviour was alike, drinking to filthy excess till two or three a clock in the morning, going to bed as drunk as a beast, and rising again with the symptoms of one who had drank a cup too much. This being the way to please him, a certain gentleman who had somewhat of the name of a moderate Churchman, to keep himself out of the way of his Lordship's vengeance, invited him to a plentifull entertainment of wine at his house, with which he was so taken, that he gained his guest's wondrous good opinion. "They tell me," sais he, "such a man is a Whigg, but I find it's no such thing, he is an honest drunken fellow." Such courses, indeed, were the best proofs men at this time could give of their honesty and loyalty. When the court was sat, instead of the gravity of a tribunal, the Judge with his railleries and his jests there acted the part of a harlequin [Jack pudding *erased*]. In his hand he held out a paper, telling the Court, in a menacing manner, he had there got a black list of damned fannattiques, and was resolved to scowr them. In that black list, some had given him up Mr. Barnes his name as a very dangerous and obnoxious man. Jeffries in private enquired what part of the town he lived in? They told him his house stood in the Close, Jeffries having already had an odd representation of him, cryes out, "I even thought so, some close or field for that rebell to train and muster his men in." There had lately been a meeting or conventicle broken up at Mr. Barnes's, a fine was levyed upon the house, several was taken and bound over to the assizes, but Mr. Barnes, through the marveilous Providence of the Almighty, escapt. Jeffreys was huge witty upon all the prisoners, but it fretted him sadly he could not catch this Barnes.

A company of young men had agreed to subscribe a paper in the nature of a religious association for praying together and pious conference. The unjust judge having got this paper, against all law, reason, and conscience, would needs stretch it to be a traitrous conspiracy against the Government. And if the time limited in his commission for his stay, had suffered him to bring them upon their trialls, they had in all probability been convicted of

* The assizes were held before Jeffries and Sir Richard Holloway on Tuesday, 29 July, 1684.

high treason, Rumney * the sheriff having got a packt jury fit for his Lordship's turn. Mr. Barnes not daring to be seen publicly, went privately to the sheriff who was a partner with him in some lead mines †, and, with many high words, vehemently upbraided him with the villainy of such a pannell; and, not content with that, the trialls being put off, and they left in prison, without any other motive but the grossnes of the injustice, at his own charge undertook a journey to London, to sollicit their release. This was the second time he appeared before the King and council, believing, as the Christians of old adhered to Claudius against Furius Camillus Scribonianus, the supreme magistrate was to be heard before an inferior one, who acted with brutal rage. Before the King and Council, he did, with most profound submission, but a Roman gallantry, remonstrate, that the Lord Chief Justice neither consulted the honour of the Crown, nor of him who wore it, by straining the laws to the destruction of his Majestie's well affected subjects, and that these young men who met, with a design to pray for the Government, could not in reason be suspected of a conspiracy against it. This liberty, however brave and bold, might have cost him no body can tell how dear, but the Council at that time was of such a temper, that some there seconded him with so warm a resentment of the Chief Justice's scandalous barbarities, that it took off the edge of the offence, and proved a skreen to Mr. Barnes, who came away without any check or disgrace, the odious Jeffreys, who had at Newcastle breathed out slaughter against him if he could but have got him apprehended, now passing close by him as the Council broke up, without finding it in his power to do him the least harm.

In the many occasions our Author had to be abroad, if we lookt into his family at home, we might have found his house like a place that had suffered military execution. The furniture of the kitchen, and other moveables, were many months hid in the hay which he kept for his horses. Not a soul durst be seen, his family fled, and when the serjeants or others knockt at the door to enquire for him, the servants, when at home, ran down the back-stairs and hid themselves, for fear of being hal'd before the magistrates to come in evidence against their master, and his little son, a boy of eleven or twelve years of age, when all the rest were sculking, was oblieged to go to the gate, and be satisfyed who it was that knockt, and what they wanted, before he durst open it. That son of his going on a Lord's Day to see his father, at that time a prisoner, had his hat taken off his head by the church-wardens, for walking in the streets, in the time, as they called it, of divine service, though several boys were

* John Rumney, sheriff 1683-4. He died in 1694. † Vide p. 156.

swearing and playing at that instant, and no notice taken of them. He got not the least favour but what he obtained by the means of Papists, who being of great power and interest, were admitted to all their caballs and secrets. Somtimes household goods were stolen and imbezeld under pretence of searching for arms, and in this manner was the rapier worn by Mr. Barnes his eldest son taken out of his bedchamber and worn by a rascall of the trained bands, who kept it three months by force before he restored it again.

This storm drove the Dissenters into union. Sir William Middleton's house at Belsey was a shelter to some, Martin Hall, commonly called *Martin of the Boge*, opened his doors to others; and John Biddleston, Henry Hudson, Lancelot Turnbull, and others, living a little way out of town, in places of retirement and privacy, gave hospitable entertainment to many fugitives, and two widows, Ann Jeffreson and Barbara Cay, freely ventured their mault-lofts, to be places of assembly for preaching and praying when they had oportunity, and none of all these were losers by Nonconformity, God, who will not be in debt to any of his creatures, having bountifully returned ample remuneratives upon their children.

Having, among others, been imprisoned again when the Duke of Monmouth appeared in arms, and brought down to court in order to be discharged, new writts *de excommunicato capiendo* were privately got ready to be served upon him, to keep him still in prison, but by God's watchfull providence these netts were also broken.

Some did sadly blemish the party they suffered with. There was one John Pig well known both to the King and the Duke of York, and for his giddy singularities, noted not onely through the country, but almost through the kingdom. He usually wore an high-crowned hat, a strait coat, and would never ride, but walkt the pace of any horse hundreds of miles on foot with a quarter staff fenced with an iron fork at one end. He was somtimes Land-Surveyor for the town. Mr. Barnes was neither able to please this man nor yet to be quiet with his intoxicated whimsies. The King and Duke of York, to whome he was often trotting, made themselves sport with him, as looking upon him to be a brain-sick enthusiast, and he was no less. He would not onely go to prison when he needed not, but conceitedly chused the vilest part of the prison for his apartment, where he continued a long while, when he might have had his liberty whenever he pleased. One day he sent for Mr. Barnes to tell him how miraculously God had testifyed against his keeper's ill usage of him. It being a wet harvest, the keeper had let

him out into the back-yard of the jail, where, sais he, "I had no sooner begun to pray for fair weather, than the sun shined out very bright, but the wicked man my keeper calling me in sooner than I had a mind to, I was no sooner lockt in my lodge, but it fell to rain again as fast as ever." But as much of Heaven's favourite as this visionary fancyed himself, every body knew him to be cursedly covetous, and the end he made answered the disgrace he had thrown upon sufferings for religion, this pig dying in his stye, in circumstances not unlike those who lay hands on themselves or die crazy and distracted *.

With that fear and caution which becomes us, when we enter into the deep abyss of God's judgments, we may here notice the remarkable examples of divine displeasure in the case of the opposite party. For this persecution was accompanyed with an inundation of blasphemy, debauchery and prophaneness. There was at this time a mannish infamous woman, whose name was Grace Gray, a common prostitute to all the soldiers that came to Newcastle. This virago might properly be called the clark of the ladies revells, for whatever playes or balls there were, she alwayes gave the women of quality notice of them, and was mightily in their favour. This wretch * * * was seen on a Saturday evening, in colour as green as grass, * * * and stalking along the street like a walking ghost. She called at the door of the Town-Marshal and raged to have water thrown upon her, saying she was burnt up with heat, and knew she was damned. Upon Sabbaoth day morning, she was lying in the channel in the middle of the street, not far off Mr. Barnes his house, cursing her father, and swearing at those who past by. At noon they dragged her into a stable hard by, where she dyed, and in the evening of the same day, she was buried. Now, though this be a subject which requires to be tenderly toucht, there can be no harm in remarking the severe strokes that fell upon the informers and infamous tools, who made themselves busy with doing the drudgery of these vexatious times.

Sir John Fenwick lost his head upon a scaffold :
One man rotted many years in jail for debt :
Another died in a jakes :
One fierce persecutor kept a whore ; who, before his breath was out, pillaged his house of whatever she could carry away :

* Pigg's Folly, near Gosforth, was built by him. It is described by Hodgson as "at the Three Mile Bridge, by the side of the Morpeth Road," and to be a "curious stone pillar covered with texts of Scripture." This man, says Bourne, "in the time of the Rebellion, took down a stately cross firm and complete, that stood at the end of Barras Bridge, before the chapel. He called it idolatry, and thought to make his own use of it ; but it was broke by some who hated it should be prophaned."

Another fell drunk off his horse, and broke his neck:
One died in a mad despairing condition:
Another maliciously informed of the meeting that was at Mr. Barnes his house, but never throve afterwards, and though that forgiving family, without taking notice of it, continued their custom to his wife, for such things as she sold, a visible blast was upon him, and he and his posterity are strangely dwindled away, and their names perisht.

'Tis true, that all things come alike to all, to the just and to the sinner; nevertheless we may safely without presumption say, that such things happened to such men, that such sort of men they were, and such ends they came to.

Mr. Barnes condemned all railing against the clergy, though they were generally great incendiaries in this persecution. He kept up a fair friendship with sundry zealous Conformists, and would mention such men as Bishop Wilkins, Bishop Stillingfleet, Tennison, Tillotson, Burnett, Judge Hale, Mr. Boyl, with great honour and as the ornaments of the Church of England. Many did kindly harbour the Scots ministers who fled from home, and to one or two of them, he himself gave hearty entertainment, but kept a wary eye upon the craftiness and deceit, that naturally accompanies many people of that country. Several of their preachers proved hypocritical, self-seeking, and ungratefull persons, though maskt with specious pretences, and others, under show of suffering for their consciences, were knavishly dishonest, and the hot heads amongst them, who hurried many of them into extravagant actions, and thereby inraged the persecution in that nation, he would have nothing to do with, keeping himself equally at a distance from Nevil Pain and Robert Ferguson, from the one because he did not know what he was, from the other because he did.

*[There being a Dissenting meeting set up thereabout, his house at Startfort was lett to the minister of it to dwell in †. But the means for supporting it being small, indeavours were used for getting help from London, but with what success, let the following lines declare, "I have sollicited Mr. P's affair with as much application as an hungry courtier uses for a place. Mr. J-ee-l-n R—rts alwayes appears with a peculiar warmth against him, the wonderful reasons of which conduct, I should be ex-

* Book III.

† In noticing the Rogers family in pp. 65, 66, I quite forgot the following scrap of evidence, which shows where the quondam minister of Barnardcastle was in 1670. "Joseph Rogers, son of Mr. John Rogers, of Lartington, clerk, apprentice to Mr. Peter Sanderson, of Newcastle, merchant-adventurer and boothman. Enrolled Jan. 19, 1671: Date of indenture May 1, 1670. In the margin, *Mort.*" (Clephan.)

tremely glad to understand from Mr. R—n who is his pastor. I hope you will find a season to talk roundly to Mr. R—rts for one who is your father's tennant at Starforth. As to the fund, I had resolved not to have troubled myself any more about it, for whatever be their notion of me, I have made my requests at that board to very little purpose. They carry things just as they favour, and what I say is lost breath. I have alwayes set myself with a very sincere and a warm zeal to promote the collection for that fund, but my zeal is cooled with a witness. For though I had a while ago a very good collection on my part of the day, I had not a farthing out of it to gratify any poor minister of my aquaintance. As I think the mannagers of the fund are very unkind to some and grossly unjust to others, so I am sure they are very ungenteel to me in denying so small a matter as six pound per ann. My service to all friends &c."

He loved in proper seasons, to be discoursing upon what tended to a religious improvement of bad times such as these were. His presence and behaviour before persons in authority was genteel, polite, serious, and weighty, using a cheerful simplicity that was natural to himself. This very much arose from a course of secret prayer. Here he fetched his stores and ammunition and buckled on his armour. A friend coming into his chamber in one of his imprisonments, found him with his eldest son thus employed, and had his heart warmed and refresht by joyning with him in the duty.

They whose interest it was to persecute him, had nevertheless an honourable esteem for him. They, who bore chief sway, would mention him with high expressions of respect, excusing themselves that they could do no otherwise than they did. Vicar March, most of whose sermons were invectives against Dissenters, and who clamoured against such magistrates as showed them any marks of sivility or good-will, telling them they let these frogs of Egypt creep into their halls and bedchambers, when orthodox divines could not be admitted; even this Vicar March would step privately out by night, and make him respectfull visits, throwing the blame of these rigorous procedings upon the misfortunes of the times. So that it was evident many were acted against him, from a fear rather than an hatred of him, and from a dislike of his profession rather than of his person.

King Charles II. having trifled between Atheist, Papist, and Protestant, was suddainly arrested by Death, which trifleth with none, whether they go out of the world by violence, as it'sprobable he § did, or by the ordinary rode, and this when the furnace was

* See Dep. York Castle, Sur. Soc., pp. 268, 276, for the queer notions afloat at Newcastle on this subject.

more heated, and the persecution was increasing. No inscription could better fit this King's coin than Dioclesian's triumph that he had overturned the Christians who would have overturned the Commonwealth. The sea and the waves roaring, men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking for the things that were coming upon the earth under the next Popish successor, there was a surprizing phænomenon said to be seen in the North by credible eye-witnesses, an arm and hand out of the clouds holding a lighted candle, which turning downwards it extinguisht it. A relation of Mr. Barnes's speaking of this odd story, said, she doubted, if it were true, which I cannot avouch, it betokned the extinction of the light of the Gospel. "Nay," said a gentleman then in the company, "why may it not as well betoken the death of the King, for Scripture saith, the candle of the wicked shall be put out," and so it came to pass.

And James II. changing his measures, Mr. Barnes obtained a *nolle prosequi* for himself and three or four more of his friends, which, with the Act of indemnity that followed afterwards, saved him from the utter ruin brought upon him by fines and forfeitures of recognizances.

But, when the rod of the wicked was taken off the backs of the righteous, he was called to take up his cross daily. He buried two sweet children, Sarah and Hannah, in their infancy, and afterwards his dear and invalluable consort *. He sustained a great loss in a ship which foundered at sea in her voyage to Virginia, and met with a much greater loss in a colliery, left in his hand by his son-in-law, for near two thousand pound, which it was so far from reimbursing, that good mony was thrown upon it after bad. He buried a good estate in many lead mines which were nothing but a dead charge to him. The care also of his daughters who were marryed away from him, lay very near the heart of a parent of so great tenderness as he was. It affected him very sensibly to find they met with any baseness or unkind behaviour, from any belonging to the families they were matcht into. They and he were free of all men as to a prudent discharge of the duties of that relation they had contracted with others; but could not be alwayes free from the burden of their ingratitude, who, like muck-worms, overvalluing what wealth came by them, understood not what worth they injoyed in others, who reckned as little of their wealth as they did of the others' worth. And an heavier blow than all this, fell upon him in his old age, by the breaking of one of his sons-in-law †, who left him involved in so many debts and bonds for him to answer, as swept away almost

* Vide p. 71. † Airey, no doubt. Vide p. 75.

all he had in the world. But the most stinging of all the afflictions his Heavenly Father laid upon him was, as he somtimes with sorrow profest, the distraction of his youngest daughter. Few who were well acquainted with her, ever doubted her having the right touch of the grace of God upon her heart; but such was the crosness of her temper, the perversness of her manners, and the untractableness of her behaviour, through the crazed disorders of her head, it proved a sore exercise to his dying day, wearied his spirits, and wore him away. But his faith was unconquerable: so God was but glorifyed, he was satifyed, bearing all the Lord's burdens with invincible patience and entire resignation.

* [The following information tells us how the best Dissenters have a call to leave off their combats and watch for a reformation of manners, in many of the members of their societies "That person's character of whome you enquire, is very infamous. I heard him convicted of forging the hands of diverse persons to a letter of recommendation, which fact himself could not deny. He lately writ a scurrilous letter . . . but an account will be given of part of his miscarriages. How credulous soever some have been of this man's pretences, you are, honoured sir, intreated to warn them against giving him further countenance, least religion suffer by that means. This will be a christian office, and amongst others, an obligation upon, your most humble obedient servant, Jos. Strennett."

[The following part of a letter he received from another hand concerning doctrinal contentions, arisen in the city, dated 26 Jan. 1694, affected him with a great sense of what it complains of. "The contentions here have made great noise. The Lord heal our breaches. Pride, moroseness, and reserved tempers, have, I am afraid, done great hurt in this matter. I have some cause to say what I do. Certainly, a pleasant, free, obliging, peaceable temper comes nearest the example of our Lord, who commands us to learn of him. You remember your friend Dr. Collins's exposition upon Cant. i. 16, "yea pleasant." I cannot but think (worthy and worshipful Mr. Alderman) there is too much of the failings of good men in the controversies of our day."]

* From Book III. On August 20, 1694, occurs a letter to Mr. Barnes, addressed to him as Mr. Alderman, by his "assured friend and humble servant, Samuel Standcliffe," who had been saved "out of the sink of Quakerism," and was living in London. It is merely on the general change in doctrine and discipline of all parties.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LATTER TIMES OF HIS OLD AGE.

The discrasy and feebleness of the most temperate of men is a wound which the Creator hath inflicted upon the apostasy of humane nature. Every seventh year of our age is reckned to be climacterical, and our Author was got full twenty years beyond the grand climacteric.

Mrs. Honywood, who dyed in the 44th year of her widowhood, and in the 90th year of her age, left 16 children, 114 grand-children and 228 in the third generation, in all 367, who were sprung from her. And Mrs. Esther Temple saw 700 persons descended of her body. This venerable old man was far short of these, yet was permitted to see three or four of his great grandchildren, some of whome were grown big youths when he arived at his period. Children of old suckt the breast, till five or six years of age, which perhaps made them firmer in their constitutions.

Every stage of life has its peculiar temptations, and none apter to breed vermin than children and old people, of which he was perfectly free both in soul and body. Speaking one day when he was recovering from a fit of the stone, to an aged kinsman of his, "You and I," sais he, "have but a little time before us: I would not have this wilderness to travail over again, cousin, let us hold fast the hope of our confidence, looking unto Jesus; he must be finisher as he was the author of our faith, he hath been my life and the length of my dayes." It has past with some into an observation, that they who are not fair at 20, strong at 30, wise at 40, rich at 50, and pious at 60, will never be fair, nor strong, nor wise, nor rich, nor pious. His years gave him a more comprehensive knowledge of the doctrins and duties of christianity, and having more leisure and seeking retirement from the throng of worldly business, he was fitter to recollect these things and reduce them into practice.

He owned himself to be of Machiavel's mind, that men are often mistaken in preferring past times to the present, because the past times had many evills in them, which are now forgotten, and the present have many excellences in them, which hereafter will be extolled. Mean while, "all that comes is vanity."

It is very common for old people to be despised, especially where they are not supported with good estates. Their wonted parts and usefulness are forgotten, and when the person is despised, his example and councel is little set by. Old persons, on the other side, seeing themselves in danger of being slighted, are usually misled to preserve their authority, by keen reproofs and reflections, and require too much, lest they should receive too little. Their most pleasing harangues are concerning themselves, what they have been, don, had. Wherever the story begins, it commonly ends at themselves. Yet was our Author an exception. He would pleasantly tell of Sir R. S. who, having no better argument, would convince a certain man who contradicted him, by saying, "I am older than you, I am richer than you, and I am wiser than you." He was of a very commanding presence, but far from an imperious temper as is said of Dr. Goad, that no company pleased him, wherein he did not steer the discourse himself.

As he grew old in years, he grew strong in faith. A person who was dear to him, discovering some distrust of what he might meet with in an unfriendly world, he indeavoured to quiet him. "Be carefull," said he, "for nothing, let my gray hairs incourage you to trust God; that God who hath kept me all my life long untill now, will supply all your wants, and perfect what concerns you." A friend of Mr. Ball, having fallen from his horse, without being hurt, said it was the greatest deliverance he ever had in his life. "Nay," said Mr. Ball, "you have an hundred deliverances when you never fell." Thus was our Author thankfull for thousands of mercies known and unknown to him.

His children, as to the infirm constitution of their bodies, took all at their mother, yet some of them attained to a fulness of dayes, and he was refresht in those of his posterity who promist fair to be unto the Lord for a generation.

A natural means of lengthening his life was his temperance in diet, and in his passions. God saw fit in the latter times of his old age, to wreck and almost sink him, by new storms. An ancient gentlewoman of great piety, bemoaning some afflictions that were befallen him, he very cheerfully answered, "Good is the will of the Lord, if at this time of day my worldly rest must be disturbed, the day cannot be far off, when I shall rest without

disturbance." God helpt him with wonderful calmness to devolve those grandchildren of his upon the care of Providence, whome he was not able to provide for as he would have done. When he thought his greatest brunts were over, it fretted him not to meet them again.

He was for having none to make adoe about him, and, if any of his family came behind in sense of such a public loss as his removal was, the reason of it may perhaps be because his circumstances allowed him not to answer their private selfish expectations. He ended the world after the manner that John the patriarch of Jerusalem did, who, when dying, thankt God he had not much to leave and they who needed it next might take it, for, said he, "nothing is mine but Christ."

He was to the last inquisitive after whatever might yield him matter of improvement. When bad times had laid him by from public business, he surveyed the doctrin of the ancient philosophers, examined the opinions of the schoolmen both reall and nominall. His way of writing was plain and rational. His collections were the storehouses and repositories, from whence he furnisht himself with materialls, which however rude and indigested they may seem to those who might reduce them into a more regular body, yet they are clean, just, and graceful.

He now went about, eat and drank, followed his affairs, and employed himself in historical, political, and theological studies, believing, whatever man did, God now accepted his sacrifice. His words and actions were placed in their proper circumstances, not always taking the next, but the safest, way to his designs, ordering his affairs with discretion. Having been taught by things past, he, with more forecast, provided for things to come.

* [The last of his last works was to die daily, or to live in a constant resignation of himself to the will of God, and he has been heard to say, he was ready whenever his Lord pleased to call him.

[Death, as it appears to sense, is the king of terrors. These terrors of sense put reason into a cloud of consternation. Sickness and grones before, and darkness all behind. Reason startles at the amazing change. Somtimes it droops at the thoughts of an annihilation, somtimes it revives at the apprehension of futurity. Reason being no steady guide, dares venture upon no conclusion either way. Is death an absolute end of all? Nature shrinks at the thoughts of it. Does the soul fall into a dead sleep? That cannot be. A sleeping soul were as contra-

* From Book III. "His resignation."

dictious as to say a dead-living body. What shall we be, where shall we be, what company shall we have, what shall we imploy ourselves in, when death has done its work upon our bodies? The thoughts are in a flutter, the mind is full of forebodings, nature recoils, the soul starts back, a thick veil lies upon the question in dispute.

[Yet good men can meet death and defy it in all its dredful pomp. Our Author found surest footing to die in that faith, by which he had lived.

[Death disconcerts the animal œconomy. The spirit of a beast is resolved into its elementary principles, the spirit of a man goes upwards to God who gave it.

[He was always very serious at funerals, would look into the grave and bespeak, as it were, a burial-place for himself. He reckoned it beneath a Christian to die otherwise than by choice, and would say that a dying day would be an high day to a good man.

[But beholding mankind, thus passing into the shades of mortality, cannot but minister some matter of enquiry, whence this should be? What an *evanid*, what a frail brittle creature is man! For God to adorn him with so large a capacity, and then, after a few turns upon the stage of the world, to reduce all without distinction, to nothing, carries no fair aspect upon Divine Wisdom. Men do not bestow cost upon a lodging wherein they intend but to tarry for a night. There must therefore be some reason of this surprising phænomenon, this vanishing appearance which man makes. Which, being examined by scripture, remains no longer a mystery, since that acquaints us that death is a penalty, and life is forfeited by sin. That life does not and now cannot answer the expectation of him who first bestowed it. To withdraw man from the state of his present being, flourishing in wit, parts, beauty, learning, honour, and riches, does not look so much as if God had made all men in vain, as it would do, should man abide here to be by a sinful life, a perpetual affront to his Holy Majesty.

[Upon occasion of the decease of Captain Gray of Suddick's sister Mrs. Brown, a very holy ancient gentlewoman *, who got to heaven, six years before him, he spoke to this effect:—Death has a universal dominion over mankind, but in respect of eternity, it is but for a moment. Isa. 26. 20. 'Hide thyself as it were for a little moment. Enoch and Elijah were as earnests of what shall befall the saints who shall not all die but be changed. As to the rest of humane race, death is 'the way of all the earth,' and

* Dorothy Grey. See the pedigree, Surtees, ii. 19. She was great aunt of *the* Grey, the editor of Hudibras.

doubtless their bodies who were thus translated, were so refined as they past through the upper regions that they became altogether spiritual bodies. Man then must be made for more than this world, or it is unaccountable what he was made for. Doubtless he who was created originally immortal, is still designed for immortality. Isa. 26. 10. "Thy dead men shall live," sais the church, alluding to the resurrection imployed in her deliverance from captivity. Hence the resurrection of the Saviour, was attended with the resurrection of many saints. Mat. 27. 52. It has been said by more than one good man, when dying, God suffers not the enemy so much as to peep in upon me.

[There is no difference in the outward circumstances of death. As man dieth, so dieth the beast, their breath departs, and nothing is seen to go away from either of them. A godly man may die distracted, in bannishment, in the light of God's countenance, or in doubts and darkness. Death is feebly encountered by a weak faith. Some have raptures which break forth in triumphant expressions. Some are under the load of their disease which cloggs the spirits. And some are under the buffettings of Satan. In this variety, all believers are safe alike. Death dies in every one of their deaths, and all it has in commission is to dismiss them to their father's house.

[Families are often continued to be the living disparagements of their own antiquity. In their halls they can shew you their bearings, the tablet of their ancestors, what mannours such an one was seized of, and what issue such and such a knight had; when all the while none can tell what such persons were good for, nor can they emblazon their heraldry with one true virtuous action, but lived onely like posts to support the sorry name of a house, as if the world had not been overstockt with drones already. Now to be no better represented to posterity, is to be infamous in history; so Ahab, Judas, Julian, Pontius Pilate, are remembred. But the memory of the just is blessed, and the righteous are an everlasting foundation. This was all the genealogy this worthy man was an admirer of, that he might be found amongst God's faithful servants.

[In dying daily, this good man dyed with every one that dyed, imploying his visits in helping dying people in their last work. You should never hear him talk as usually others do of death as a common thing, or spend his visits with sick people in discourse unsuitable to them, but in clearing their doubts, shaking their presumption, awakening them out of their security and fortifying their patience. God frowned upon that generation, withdrawing the face of his favour from them, and they fell cloudily into their graves.]

CHAPTER XIII.

HIS WRITINGS *.

[I.] His Breviate of the Four Monarchies.

[II.] His Enquiry into the Nature, Grounds, and Reasons of Religion †.—*The First Part. Of the Gentiles Natural Religion.* —Chap. 1: Of the Universe ‡. 2: God's existence manifest in his works. 3: Of the loss of the knowledge of God. 4: The progress of Heathen idolatry. 5: The knowledge of God utterly lost in idolatry. 6: Of Heathen philosophy. 7: The insufficiency of the light of nature for recovering the knowledge of God.—*The Second Part. Of Religion as revealed to the Jews.* Chap. 1: The original language and divine authority of God's Word. 2: Of the Jews to whom God first sent his word. 3: Laws and constitutions given to the Jews. 4: The temple, priests, sacrifices, and worship of the Jews. 5: The primitive faith of the Jews. 6: Declension of the Jews from their first faith. 7: The tragical issue of the Jews' apostacy.—*The Third Part. Revelation compleated in Christian Religion.* Chap. 1: Jesus Christ the author of Christianity §. 2: Of Antichrist in opposition to Christ. 3: Of reformed Christianity. 4: Of Christian reformed disciplin ‖. 5: Of Christian reformed doc-

* Chap. XIII. in the MS. is confined to "His Breviate of the Four Monarchies," and is the last in Book I. The breviate is, I need hardly say, unimportant, and I make the chapter the medium of bringing together the heads of Barnes's compositions. The few passages that deserve perpetuation are gathered together as extracts, after the enumeration of their depositories.

† This forms Book II. of the MS.

‡ "Our *perspectives* now discover an infinity of stars above what Ptolomie or Ticho Brahee ever saw."

§ "The Zerubbabel and Salathiel mentioned in Matthew, were not the same persons with them of the same names in Luke. The words of the Evangelist are not placed in the parenthesis according to their natural course. The parenthesis ought more properly to be extended to Heli including Joseph, thus; 'being (as was supposed the son of Joseph) the son of Heli.'"

‖ "Unity in affection, with variety of opinions, is all the uniformity upon earth

trine. 6: Of Christian reformed reason. 7: Of Christian reformed practice.

[III.] His Censure upon the Times and Age he lived in *. Chap. 1: Of civil government. 2: The theory of government. 3: The original of government. 4: The nature of government. 5: The kinds of government. 6: Of inferiour government. 7: Orders of republican government †. 8: The religious propagation of government. 9: Advantage of popular government. 10: The times, laws, and government of Brittain. 11: The present state of England. 12: The miseries of England. 13: The interest of England.

EXTRACTS FROM HIS WRITINGS.

‡ Little more was attained by what we must be content to call a Reformation, than a reformation of doctrine. Their harmony of confessions shows how the first reformers all along agreed in substance and were tenacious of the form of sound words. Such a form we read of 2 Tim. 2. 13. In the Syriac there is an allusion to merchants, who have several nests of drawers or boxes wherein they put their cash. So does truth procede by an ordinary connection and chain of one topic from another. A world of new-coyned tearms of art foisted into Christianity, virtually and often intentionally to the prejudice thereof, they were strangers to. This plague of novelty got a great length in that heresy which sprung up after the Reformation. I mean Socinianism, which is a mixture of Judaism, Arianism, Photinianism, Sabellianism, and Mahumetism. Let the Unity of the Godhead, the Trinity of Persons, with the ineffable order of generation and procession, be once disturbed by cavils and bold disputes, and the order of operation and the identity of essence belonging to the sacred Three, whereby, as Fulgentius speaks, there is *alius et alius* not *aliud et aliud*, will render all that remains of revealed religion a shattered fabrick crumbling into pieces. Lelius Socinus having left his papers to his nephew Faustus, with much pleasure uttered his hopes, that when he was gone, his nephew would go through with what he had begun. And so it happened, to show how little there is in the seeming strictness of some men's lives, and how wretchedly they may employ their abilities in an opposition to truth. Of a

that is either attainable or desirable. Therefore liberty of conscience, which is a law of nature, ought to be a municipal law of the nation."

* Of this Book IV. of the MS. is composed. † Harrington's scheme.

‡ The following passages are from the Enquiry into the Nature, Grounds, and Reasons of Religion.

life and character equally irreprehensible was Arminius of Leyden, the great restorer of Pelagianism in our dayes. Their hatred of truth was not more remarkable than was the unblameableness of their behaviour other wayes. Socinus was very much of what we call a gentleman, a great courtier, and shined with a distinction of many appearing virtues, but indefatigably zealous in the propogation of his opinions. Calvin perceiving betimes the tendency of these adventurous innovations, grew weary and shie of this Socinus, in whome that doom in Scripture was exemplifyed, *evill men and seducers wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived.* For Socinianism is a war against the person, incarnation, merit and satisfaction of the Son of God, and strikes at the whole Trinity.

This is the most infernal contagion that ever spread in the church of God, having the advantage of that atheism and those corrupt principles that are naturally in men's hearts. But the doctrine contrary to this being secured by law, many will not, through the interest they have in the present Establishment openly profess it. Yet the coldness and indifference of many, shews what secret influence this venom hath upon them. From the spreading of this leaven procede the bold efforts of Deism and Atheism which is broke in amongst us like a flood.

Thousands in the papacy have drunk Socinian poyson and the contagion insinuates itself into multitudes of the reformed religion.

As Socinianism is an addition to Arianism, so the Pelagianism of the 4th century is revived in the Arminianism of this. Concerning which Polinburg affirms that most of the Bishops and great men in England are of this way. Dr. Reynolds, in the name of all the conforming Puritans in England in the reign of James I., declared that the doctrine of the church was blasphemed by the cursed doctrine of Arminianism. And in the first parliament of Charles I., a protestation past the House, the first article whereof says that whoever promotes Arminianism shall be reputed a capital enemy to the kingdom. The drift of Camero and L' Blanc's writings are known and not altogether to be condemned, and the way which Testard, Daillè, and Amyrault took in France, in explaining the order of Divine decrees and the extent of Christ's death, did so fire the professors of Divinity at Geneva, that it disturbed the whole city. The partizans of this way were very inconsiderable in Switzerland, nor did they ever, till of late, get any footing in Scotland. For the generality of the Divines adhering to the old doctrin, drew up articles wherein these new methods were considered as novelties, oblieging candidates for the ministry to subscribe them, so that by their authority they

got them totally suppressed at Geneva. By this middle course, Strangius writ with an express design to reconcile the Arminian points to the suffrages of the Synod of Dorcht. We said not amiss, if we called these the followers of Vincentius Lirinensis, Gennadius, Cassianus, and other semi-Pelagians, since their principles issue from, and tend to, Arminianism. But because candor is to be exercised, even towards adversaries, and stigmatising names are a sort of persecution, we may call them New Methodists, because in predestination, efficacious grace, and perseverance, they affect a new method. If a new method do not produce a new doctrine. Nor are we to force conclusions upon them, which they are unwilling to own, however justly they follow from their principles. Indeed those disputes which have been about the order of the Divine decrees, predetermination, efficacious grace, and perseverance, with the nature of humane liberty, few understanding them or concerning themselves in them, never did, or ever will, much disturb the peace of the Church.

Some suggest great things by going this middle way in controversy; so Amyrault, with the Arminians and Grotius with the Socinians went a middle way, and all who will not follow them are rigid men, who will by any means defend the opinions they are fallen upon, and still condescension, catholicism, and moderation are cryed up. But the common issue of such proposals is, after by their middle wayes they have raised no less contention than there was between the extremes, the accommodators, through a keen desire to make good and defend their own expedients, are insensibly carried over to the party and extreme they proposed to make a condescention to. It is difficult standing in a slipry place and ticklish tampering between contradictions.

* Should the States General of the United Netherlands give way to one standing General or perpetual Stadtholder, they would not long maintain the character of High and Mighty. The interest of all these provinces is in the main the same, to keep the French from incroaching upon the Spanish Netherlands, firmly to hold with Spain, Germainy, England, and the Northern crowns, clearing the seas and keeping the Baltic open from being monopolized by any one, especially the Czar, who ought not to be suffered to have one port or a fleet in the Baltic seas, since his ambitious improvements may in time effectually enable him to overtop both these maritime powers in conjunction. Liberty, in civil and ecclesiastical matters, is the interest of no place more than Germany. Was but the Austrian family convinced how grossly the Pope

* The remaining extracts are from the Censure upon the Times and Age he lived in.

usurps upon it, detaining a country, which, as King of the Romans, the Emperor had a just claim to, he would better secure his hereditary countries. Liberty, without armies, hath made the little Republic of Geneva stand long amidst formidable neighbours. Their frugal administration and good order, invites strangers and travailers to visit them, all exercises being as well and cheap learnt there than in other countries, their fredom of traffique ballancing the small produce of their manufacture. The same freedom gives all advantage to commerce, and renders the Venetians formidable to the Turk at sea. Nor can commerce flourish without liberty, of which the Imperial family is sensible, as appears by their inviolably maintaining the free towns of Germany in their rights and privileges, and which in time may probably move the Elector of Hanover, now in the entail of our English crown, to indeavour the acquisition of Bremen, whereby the port of Staden may ballance the loss of trade in the reduction of Brunswick.*

No passion nourisheth a vice more hurtful than a depraved desire of rule, which yet issueth from a noble root. It must also be confest, there are no small numbers of men, whose incapacity to govern themselves proves them plainly to be slaves. And, as before the warrs between the Houses of York and Lancaster, we in England had many bond slaves, and some think the laws concerning villanage, whereof the latest are the sharpest, are still in force; so, since slaves were made free, which were of great use and service, there are bred swarms of rogues and robbers, slaves in nature though not in law.

The people have never been more fond of kings than their manners have been corupted to the height, nor have ever more distasted them than when their spirits were bravest and most refined.

Henry VIII., dissolving the Abbeys, brought so vast a prey to the industry of the people, that the ballance apparently turned to the side of the popular party, which Queen Elizabeth all her time kept caressing and cajolling, by which means the House of Commons became at length formidable to the throne, and the House of Peers sinking down, which had formerly interposed between the King and the Commons, dissolved the government, and brought Charles I. to take his refuge in an army. Before Henry VIII.'s time, the lands possest by the nobility and clergy in England did four to one outballance the lands possesst by the people: but, since the clipping the wings of the clergy, the lands possesst by the people do at least nine in ten outballance that of the nobility.

* Vide pp. 47, 48.

Every country and every corporation might easily become a free commonwealth, where the gentry, befitting their parts and qualifications, might make their judicial laws and execute them by elected judicatures without appeal in all things of civil government between man and man, whereby they might have justice in their own hands, and none to blame but themselves if it be not executed. In these employments, men of bright parts might exercise themselves, until their lot fall to be chosen into the higher councils, by their distinguisht merit taken notice of by the people. To which end academies and schools might be erected, where the youth without going from home which is often a prejudice to their education, might be bred to all generous liberall and noble arts and exercises, to the spreading of knowledge, good order, virtue, civility, and religion, in each of these counties, corporations, and petty republicks. Of all which, none would share more in this new charter and equally regulated government, with the blessings it would draw after it, than that town, for which no good wishes shall be awanting, Newcastle upon Tyne, scituate upon the ascent of an hill, seven miles distant from the sea, adorned with many fair new brick buildings, whose government is independent of the Lord Lieutenant, and which, after London and Bristol, is commonly reckned the chief Port Town in England, especially for its trade of sea-coal, wherein there are somtimes three, four, or five hundred sail in one fleet employed to London, which city, at six and thirty bushells a chaldron, takes off from Newcastle, 600,000 chaldrons a year.

This, which anciently was but a poor hamlet, standing upon a large navigable river, has in length of time grown considerable for its numerous, trading, wealthy inhabitants, and seems to have been peculiarly favoured by several Kings of England. It is called *Villa de Novocastello*, wherein, 18 H. III., is granted *probis hominibus de N.C. reddend.* 100*l. p. ann.* and grants further 110*s.* and 6*d.* rent out of the escheats &c. to be assigned to those who lost their rents by the castle-ditch next the water. And power granted to chuse coroners in the town. In 17 Johan. it is provided no burgess shall be distrained for any debt, for which he is neither debtor nor pledge. Gild granted, and none of the gild to be impleaded extra muros, unless in forein pleas of tenures. Burgesses of the Burgh and their heirs of the gild to be quit of toll, *lastagio, pondagio, et passagio*, and also to be quit of *the Resgyne* and *Scotall*. Burgesses of N.C. to be quit de *theolonio, muragio, et pannagio, de omnibus rebus et merchandizis suis per totum regnum et potestatem*, and not to be convicted of any pleas by foreiners. A fair granted to be held at St. Peter's Even and twenty-

seven dayes after. Castle-field and Castle-moor confirmed to the town. [There was a wood given to the town by Adam of Jesmond, lying on the North, and now called the Town-Moor, to which, for the benefit of freemen, they have added the Castle Leeses *, purchast of our Author amongst other proprietors.] 7 Edw. I.: granted the mayor of the town to be the King's Escheator. 27 Edw. I.: Lands and Tenements in Pampden *in Byker juxta villam de N.C.* granted to the town, and in those lands and tenements to have *liberum Burgum*. Lands in Pampden, and town of N.C. *sint una villa et unus Burgus*, and no forein officer to meddle therein but in default of the Burgesses or their Bailifs.—[*Abstracts of other well known charters follow*]—42 Eliz. 22 March, The Mayor, 10 Aldermen, the Sherif, and 24 Commoners, to be the common council of the town. The Mayor, Aldermen, Sherif, and 24 Commoners, or the major part of them, whereof the Mayor and six Aldermen to be seven, to have power to make By-laws. Upon some methods agreed on for reformation of manners in the town, according to that clause in the charter which impowers them to make by-laws, there was one Gardiner † writ a malicious invective against the government of Newcastle. But he got his reward, being afterwards at York hanged for coyning.] Licence to grant and assign lands and tenements within the manors of Gateside and Whickham to the Mayor and Burgesses of N.C. (This Gateside stands in the county of Durham opposite to N.C. as Southwark to London, of which Godwin in his Catalogue of Bishops, relates how the church there, whilst Newcastle was but a small village, was burnt down, the Bishop of Durham slain in an uproar and buryed by the Monks of Yarrow, in the first year of William the Conqueror, and what desolation followed, by the

* See Archæologia Æliana, 8vo. iv. 103, as to this part of the Town's property. The words in brackets are a note in the MS. by the memorialist.

† "March 30th, A.D. 1661. Peter Hall and R. Gardner, both for coining. They was executed at the Tyburn, without Mickelgate Barr. Hall's body was buried at St. George churchyard, Been-Hill. R. Gardner's body was buried at St. Michael-le-Belfray churchyard, close to the Minster, where some of his relations is laid." This passage, in a Criminal Chronology of York Castle, is quoted in the Shields edition of Gardner's England's Grievance, the editor considering that an entry of the Bakers and Brewers of Newcastle in their books for 1662-3 disproves the identity of the coiner with the great reformer of the Tyne. The entry runs:—"Paid at Shields and other places for discovery of Mr. Gardner's brewing, with wherry-hire, and given to Peter Easterby for his paines touching the same, 1*l.* 2*s.*" My opinion on the subject is not very strong, and I refer my readers to the book, and to the reply to Gardner's statements in Richardson's Imprints, for the circumstances bearing upon it. Raine is of opinion that "one Mr. Ralph Gardiner, who is now in his Majestie's present servis in the hors guard and bound to appeare [in 1682] to an indictment of trespasse and assault" was our Ralph. Another Ralph Gardner, alias Wallis, appears in South England as a scurrilous writer in Charles II.'s early years. See the Calendars of State Papers. The words in brackets are a note.

army under the Norman Bishop Odo the King's brother, sent down to the North to revenge the sedition.

The former manner of electing officers is changed by the charter 31 March 2 Jac. I. and a new form settled, the same which is now practiced. The Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, or any five of them to be Justices of Gaol-delivery *.

[Memorand. in some of these sessions, I find, by the date of it, an old charge of our Author given in the following tearms, to the Grand Jury. "Gentlemen, I never was fond of speaking in public, especially now, when, of my brethren, you had a fairer choice of several to be your mouth, than him who is putt upon taking this task. This is *mutabilis annus*, changes and rumors of changes are continually alararuming us, and who knows how quickly the time may overtake us, that shall make a man an offender for a word. . . . Honesty, with peace and quiet, may be your portion, where an Heathen, a Papist, a Cavalier, or an Infidel rules; but freedom and countenance to be godly, which the world is alwayes sure to hate and scorn, and *as godly* to injoy quietness and favour too, this is an enfranchisement to be had onely under a good magistracy. . . . Gentlemen of the Grand Jury, . . . you are so frequently informed of the law in the cases you go upon, I need but, out of many more, hint a few of the statutes in force for the direction of your verdicts. It is high treason. . . . All priests abiding in foreign seminaries after six months proclamation: to receive bulls from Rome or any absolution, aid, or abettor. . . . To contribute to any foreign seminary incurrs a præmunire. . . . Every recusant, not coming to church, forfeits 20*l.* a month. It is your duty also to take notice of those catchpoles and pettifoggers who practice as attorneys, promoting barretry, champetry, forgery, and subornation of forgery to get mony. . . . If artificers, labourers, or servants, conspire what wages to take, and not to work under those rates . . . you are to hear complaints made against them. . . . Some laws are made *in terrorem*, and no law must be strained to the rigor of it. None should be exacting or quick to take the outmost advantage. Let us hear no cry of oppression amongst us. Men should be content with their wages, but its hard for them to be content without their wages. Many poor hired servants are ready to say as in that old complaint,

quia tu gallinæ filius albæ
Nos viles pulli natis infælicibus ovis.

Take heed of beating down the hire of jorney-men. But I must

* The matter following is an interpolation of the biographer. "In the MSS. (he says) *plurima desunt.*" However, far more remains that any one will read.

not longer delay you in your work. Let reason, equity, and piety, be your guide in all things, and the Lord be with the good."

[But what a turn, since those dayes, there has been in Newcastle, may in part be gathered from the following complaint to him in a letter privately given him by an honest Alderman, as long since as the year 1677, one of the new Aldermen that were put in place after king Charles his restoration, and matters are not much mended there to this day.—"I believe you are well content you have no share among us in our feastings and jollity. We are like a drunken man who feels not his wounds and weakness, high in our loyalty, low in our faith. You need not wonder we damn you fannatticks, for it is come to pass a man is not thought to speak modishly without wishing his own damnation. We all pretend love to our king, and we curse, swear, and drink for him. You can expect no justice, much less favour from us. The tendency of things in the government of the town, may be discerned by any that is not blinded by prophaness. The perquisits of places are more minded than the duty of them. *Once an Alderman and never poor afterwards,* is grown a proverb. Bakers shall furnish the market with half that size of bread required by law, and be connived at, if they be customers to an Alderman who is a corn-merchant. If there be a vacant spot of ground that belongs to the Town, an house without leese, without leave, without rent, is presently built upon it. Our artificers learn to drink instead of learning their trades. This will fill the town with dunces and blockheads, who, because we can employ none but freemen, will impose their own price, and botch our work, and we must submit to scoundrel rascalls, and give double mony for what is neither well done nor half-done. You bid me turn to Isa. 3. 5, and I shall there find these words, 'the people shall be oppressed every one by another and every one by his neighbour; the child shall behave himself proudly against the ancient and the base against the honourable.' Our case exactly. Apprentices grow gentlemen and get such liberty before their time be out, that they quickly break when they come to be their own masters, and then, to keep up their pride, some place in the Kings army, some office in the revenue, or a stewartship under some man of great estate, must be had, and attorneys and alehouses are like to be the onely standing traders. Our bench, which now shines with knights, will be shortly filled with what I shall not name; and our charter, which was granted for the good of the town, will become a barr to keep every good thing out of it."]

The loyalty of Newcastle consists doubtless in improving their

privilieges to the ends for which they were conferred. For the preceding grants and liberties are confirmed by charter 16 Cha. II., onely reserving power to the King to approve or disapprove from time to time of the town-clerk and recorder, except Sir Robert Shafto who is thereby approved of during his life.

The *twelve Mysteries* are, the Drapers, Mercers, *Merchants of Corn* alias *Boothmen*, Skinners, Tailors, Bakers, Tanners, Cordwainers, Sadlers, Butchers, Smiths, and Fullers. The *fifteen Bytrades* are, the Masters and Mariners, Weavers, Barber-Surgeons, with Chandlers, Shipwrights, Coopers, House-Carpenters, Masons, Glovers, Joyners, Millers, Curriers, Feltmakers and Armorers, Collyers with Carriage-men, Slaters, Glasiers with Plummers and Painters.

The manner of appointing the Electors is thus: The 12 Mysteries seperately elect two out of each Company, which make in all 24. These 24 must elect the Mayor and three others who have been Mayors and are Aldermen, and for want of such then three of the Aldermen to be elected. These are the first 4 of the Electors, and these 4 elect 8, whereof 7 are to be Aldermen if they be there present, and for want of such then such as have been Sheriffs, and for want of such then other Burgesses of the town, and the eighth is to be the Sheriff or one who has been sheriff. Then the 12 Mysteries are seperately each company to elect one, out of which 12, the 4 and the 8 are to elect 6. So then there are 4, 8, and 6 electors. Then the 15 Bytrades elect each of them one out of each company; these, making in all 15, elect 12 out of the Burgesses of the Town. Out of that 12 and the remaining 6 of the former 12 elected by the Mysteries, the 4, 8, and 6 Electors, mentioned before, are to elect other 6. And the 4, 8, 6 and 6 make 24 Electors. The Mayor, 10 Aldermen, the Sherif, and 24 Commoners, elected by the Electors, to be the Common Counsil, they, or the major part of them, whereof the Mayor and 6 Aldermen to be 7, or the Mayor and Burgesses or the major part of them, whereof the Mayor to be one, to have power to make by-laws.

Parents and they who superintend the education of youth. should with some measure of judiciousness observe the indications of nature, that, training them first of all in the knowledge of Christ, without acquainting them so much with heathen authors and school pedantry, no employment be thought too mean, that in any degree comports with the rank of their families and fortunes, nor too high, that is grounded upon the parts of a youth, meeting with insuperable means to promote it. Where has the state had finer men than some who have sprung from Christ's-Church Hospital, yet where has the church been worse served

than by gentlemen who for want of estates become clergymen as the way to preferment, or by the sons of farmers, tailors, and mechanicks, insolent, insufferable, and saucy, as if the humble office of a minister gave a right to think themselves equal with gentlemen of the best birth? Every employment becomes not every man.

The National Church guards Religion against illiterate sectaries, and the liberty of conscience establisht by law prevents its corruption by a learned clergy. The emoluments of the Universities and the benefices of the clergy may be so regulated, as to prevent their being capable to disturb the government, whilst they are not allowed to hold any synods or assemblies but upon evident reasons shown in the Universities, who must do nothing without consulting the council of state. Nor are the clergy capable of any other public preferment whatsoever besides their own function, which they must be strictly tyed to. Ministers of all men should not be tampering with Government, because they as well as others, have it in express charge to "submit themselves to the ordinances of men." It is common with the French to call mistakes in government the Parsons' Government, and the Council of Venice cause all clergymen to go out, when matters of state come in hand. An ounce of wisdom is worth a pound of clergy. The greatest clerks are not the wisest men.

After many contests between petty kings who were all subdued to the Romans, and after many revolts and attempts to drive out the Romans, Galgacus being defeated, the Brittons were quite brought under, and what remained of the ancient rude form of government was crowded into the northern uncultivated parts of this island beyond Adrian's wall. This, which useth with contempt to be lookt upon by the English as the inconsiderablest part of Brittain, is capable of great improvements. For, according to Scottish writers, abundance of whales frequent the Orkneys and about the isle of Skye. Plenty of seals are taken on the coast of the island of Norvist. Herrings so abound in all the costs of Scotland, that the Dutch have by it got a great part of their wealth. By settling in the Lewis island, and during the small time of their stay there, they made the inhabitants so expert in the fishing trade, they excede to this day those of the neighbouring isles and continent. And greater improvements had been made, had not Charles II. withdrawn his encouragement. The fish they caught were the best in Europe and gave a price accordingly, and the fishery succeeded very well, 'til the King, sending away the Dutch, disgusted our merchants and ruined the design. Herrings are somtimes bought for 6d. a barrel, and

when cured and sent abroad, give from 25*s.* to 40*s.* a barrel. 36,000 barrels of white herring have in season been exported from Clyde to France, besides what was exported from Dunbar and other parts of the kingdom to France and other nations; which shews how capable the trade is of improvement, especially considering the situation of the West of Scotland, from whence they may be a month sooner at market, than from any part of England or Holland, which with the advantage of taking and curing them cheaper and sooner than the Dutch can possibly do, considering how far they have to sail backward and forward, what hazards they run at sea, what number of tenders they are oblieged to send too and again between their own country and their doggers with provisions, salt, and the like, they might soon be outdone in this profitable trade by the inhabitants of Great Brittain, who may lie ashoar at night and land their fish as soon as caught, many of the bays wherein herrings abound, being safe for ships to ride in. So unaccountable is it, that what has long been known to every body, should not 'ere now be thought of, proposals being heretofore publisht for retrieving the fishing-trade both here and at Newfoundland.

From Harris-island, in the time of year, 400 vessels have been loaden with herring, the harbor of Lochmaddy being capable of ships of the greatest burden, herring coming in such thick shoals as almost to stop the boats, and are very large and numerous about Dunbar. The situation of the island is very convenient for a trade with Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Hamburgh, and Holland, and the more westerly where herring swarm in abundance, and with a fair wind, are within 6 or 10 days sail of France and Spain. For they fall immediately into the Atlantic Ocean, without being exposed to the danger of cross winds of the British or Irish channel, and consequently lie more commodiously for a trade to the Streights and East and West Indies without so much hazard of capture in case of war. To which may be added the populousness of these islands, the islanders being computed at 400,000 men, and many of them without employment, so that from thence and the neighbouring Continent, there are hands enow to be had cheeaper than any where else, the men for the most part knowing well enough how to handle the oar, endure fatigue, live hardly; and their temperate way of living gives all manner of encouragement to venture stocks and factories for improvement of trade there, considering the simplicity of the peoples manners and their love and kindness to strangers. The Scottish coasts likewise afford salmon as good as any in Europe. In the north and in the isles, great quantities of cod and ling are bought drest and dryed for less than a penny or two pence a piece, and

the larger sort are frequently sold in England and elsewhere, for from 18*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a piece. This and the herring-fishing has employed 500 vessels yearly, and, their cod being cured with their own salt, they commonly export them to Holland and Hamburgh, to the Baltic, England, France, Spain, and Portugal. In time of peace, plenty of salmon are exported from Aberdeen to Holland and France, which together with red herring might make a very advantagious trade to the Streights. And though their barrel be a third less than that of Barwick, yet partly because of their goodness, and partly by being better cured, they have yielded 10 livres more a barrel than the Barwick salmon. My good friend Mr. Sprule in conversation has told me of a Yarmouth man that somtimes got 4000 cured fish in a voyage at 1*d.* or 2*d.* a piece and retailed them again from 18*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a piece. The Scots cod is reckoned better than that of Newfoundland. About the middle of May usually come the Bremers, Hollanders, and Hamburghers to Shetland, to fish for herring, cod, and ling. Upwards of 2000 Busses will be there in summer. As soon as they arive, they set up shops in several parts and barter linnen, bread, brandy, beer, and other things with the inhabitants for fish and fresh provisions, or, if demanded, for ready money. Lerwick, which 30 years ago consisted onely about 3 families, is now increast to above 300. Joynt-stocks will make good improvement of this fishery. Besides these, they have other fish as big as ling, commonly sold at 15*s.* or 16*s.* the hundred, all sorts of excellent good haddocks, abundance of salmon for home consumption, and such quantities of shell-fish that a spring-tide usually leaves 15 or 16 horse-load of the best oysters on the sand at the Kyle of Scalpa in the isle of Sky.

This country does also produce stones of great vallue, with marble both white and of other colours very good, to be got at easy charge. I am assured by a merchant, who has for 40 year dealt in the pearl-trade, that he has sometimes got 100 rixdollers, or near £25, for one pearl, and who affirmed the Scots pearl to be as firm, clear, and more transparent than the Oriental, and more in request amongst foreiners.

The chief manifacture of this country is brown and whitned linnen, plain and stript Hollans, muslains, callicos, bed-ticking, damasks, thread and laces: 6 spindle of fine yarn has been known to be spun out of one pound of flax of Scot's growth, which, being but one shilling, the yarn was sold at Glascow for about 4*s.* 8*d.* a spindle which made the product of that shilling to be 28*s.* to the spinner, and the same yarn made into fine muslain, that pound of flax amounted to 10 or 12 dollars, which deducting for the small charge of whitning and weaving is about 2*l.* 16*s.* Nay, from one

pound of Scots flax, lace has been made to the vallue of 8*l.* sterlin. Such might be the improvement of this commodity, and such numbers of poor women might get a livelihood by this employment, that 'tis pity it is not considered. The Scottish wool, though not as good as the English, may be made into good serges, stuffs, and hose, Aberdeen alone making such fine worsted hose that a pair of womens stockins will give from 10 to 30*s.* a pair.

There are reckoned to be 40,000 men in England, many of them getting thousands, and most of them hundreds by the year, by the profession of the law, they and the clergy being without doubt the wealthiest part of the nation. But such is the abuse of the practice of the law, as, if no course be taken, will inevitably devour the people. An attorney's fee is limited by statute, but, in spite of the law, he makes his notes as high as he pleases. The Bailif's fee for an arrest of 40*l.* is 4*d.* by the statute, a jaylor no more, and the same for a bail-bond, but now none knows what it is. A justice of peace his fee for warrants, recognizances, and supersedeases should be but one or two shillings. A mayor of corporation's fee for sealing of measures, is but one shilling: a sherif's fee for arrests, 4*d.* But the costs of law, in the forms of courts of justice and judicature, is grown to that excess of scandal, that the robbery of law is worse than the felony of wrong and injury, and men had better lose the debt than sue for it. Known and common barretters are countenanced underhand and incouraged to carry on the gainful trade of law. Every Papist is disabled by law from purchasing an estate after the year 1700, yet how many wayes are invented to evade that law. Convict recusants by statute ought not to remove 5 miles from the place of their dwelling but by licence under the hands and seals of 4 justices and the deputy lieutenant, whose assent must be given by itself without the other four, and the business also for which the said recusants remove, ought to be particularly shown. How the law is kept in this particular, is seen in the great number of recusants, who never being in due form convicted, keep open assemblies, and go about insulting the government. On the other side, some have been indicted at a quarter sessions and fined for using other prayers, and in another manner, than is appointed in the Act for Common Prayer, whereas Queen Elizabeth's Statute has virtually been made void, by introducing new forms of Prayer injoyned by later Statutes: and to use others besides the Common Prayer, is no crime upon extraordinary occasions; to be sure a writ of error should not be denyed, since such indictments are not warranted by law, and the verdict cannot help in the case of an indictment, for all the statutes of jeoffails have left them as they were before. And

if the justices in their sessions have any power to inquire into the matter, they must not however pretend to give judgment, because the punishment is directed by the Statute. Meanwhile, the multiplicity of laws is such, that Sir Francis Bacon in the House of Commons long ago said, a year would not suffice to purge the statute-book and lessen the volume of laws.

King James I., as one sais, waved his crown in the 22*s.* pieces, and in his new 20*s.* pieces wore the laurel. The poets being poor, bays were alwayes the emblem of wit rather than wealth, for King James, no sooner began to wear them, than he fell 2*s.* in the pound in public valuation. Great things were expected from the union of the crowns, but his whole reign represents him under as awkward a figure, as it is said he made when he sat on horseback, it could not be so much said he rid as that his horse carryed him.

That the cause of Charles I. might look with a better grace, it was contrived to decorate his person with the portraiture of a saint, though saintship was wont to be odious to him and his courtiers. Dr. Gauden, Dr. Duppa, and a hand or two more, are now known to be the compilers of the book, though done with artifice to personate the king.

The story of Lord Clifford has made noise enogh though it happened in a corner. He, the King, and the Duke of York, being one day at a certain house in a private room where one Sir W. B. came, who being a person who frequently accomodated the Court with mony, was wont to get access at all hours. In presumption of this liberty, he was ready to enter the chamber, when hearing the King speak with more than ordinary warmth, his curiosity made him harken with particular attention, but could onely hear some broken imperfect expressions. The Duke also spoke so low, he could not understand him, but Clifford was loud as in public, answering the King in a very audible and articulate manner in these words: "Sir, if you are driven off by fears, you will never be safe, the work will do if you declare yourself with resolution, there are enow to stand by you." The King replyed, "this name popery will never be swallowed by the people." Upon which the King started off his seat and said, "Somebody is at the door," whereupon Clifford the Treasurer hastily opened it, fell furiously upon B. and dragging him to a pair of stairs kickt him down, whose death soon after, as well as the hastning the King's own death, was not improbably imputed to this accident.

Time will shew whether Charles I. or his judges were England's martyrs, and the Church of England cannot now with any modesty upbraid the Dissenters. Have the Dissenters been in any rebellion since the Revolution? Were the Dissenters in the

assassination plot against King William, or were Friend, Fenwick and Charnock, Dissenters?

A Jew hates a Christian worse than a Turk, a Papist hates a Protestant worse than a Jew, an High Churchman hates a Dissenter worse than a Papist; but let the day never come that a Presbyterian should hate all Dissenters who are not so.

'Tis presumed we have among hands 16,000,000*l.*, that is 6,000,000*l.* of coyned gold, and 10,000,000*l.* of silver. The revenue of the Prince of Wales is 20,000*l.* a year; that principality pays 43,755*l.* to the land tax, the people being almost equal to half the number of Scotland, and pays near as much as the whole, though more underrated and easier in excise than Scotland before the Union. The Court of England is retrenched in comparison of former times of houskeeping, when the King had every day 86 tables, furnisht each meal with about 500 dishes.

The manning of a fleet of 70 men of war, requires 40,000 seamen, every seaman having 4*l.* a month, besides convoys for trade. The charge of building a first-rate man of war, together with furnishing her with gunns, tackle, and rigging, comes to 60,000*l.* besides victualling, and for lower rates proportionably. The charge of keeping the navy in harbour in time of peace, amounts to 130,000*l.*

There are, by computation, yearly brought into the Thames 600,000 chaldron, each chaldron containing 36 bushels of coles, the customs of London commonly amounting to 400,000*l.* a year.

The duty upon coles comes to 113,688*l.* a year.

Cesses and public aids through favour and partiality are so unfairly collected, that some pay as much to the land-tax for an estate of 50*l.* a year, as others who have interest to save themselves pay for an estate of 500*l.* a year.

When during our war with France, our clipt money had brought us into a miserable embarassment, the French expected no less than a convulsion in our state; but when they saw at that crittical juncture, how wonderfully we had waded through a difficulty which they thought insuperable, they were amazed, and concluded there was nothing impossible for England to do.

King William's friends say he did all that he could for us, and they are not his enemies who say, he did not all that the necessities of our nation required to be done for us. That Prince left us in a morning strangely overcast with clouds. Our deliverance was not more amazing, than the unaccountable stop put to the success of it.

Our Revolution has cost us more millions than all our warrs, I had almost said since William the Norman's time put them

together. We have had forces enow to have subdued the world, yet all has ended in marches and counter-marches, loyal camps, and the taking or retaking a town or two.

We are fond of French clergymen, French goods and French fashions, though mere trifles, shittlecocks and gewgaws. No inventions please us unless they be French-made, and, like their apes, we imitate their garbs and their house-keeping. Their tooth-drawers and their barbers are our admired surgeons. We are mad upon French music, French players, French misses, French danceing-masters, French language, French airs, French legs, French hats, French grimaces and compliments.

All the expence of blood and treasure, all the jeopardy and hazard we lie under, are justly chargeable on the Court party of the Reign of Charles II. Whatever names or apellations that party take to themselves, they have alwayes carryed about with them the same inclinations. Somtimes they call themselves Churchmen, and somtimes Kingsmen, and by their friends they are stiled the Government; but their interest is visibly separate both from that of the king and the people. This Court-stile is but an art of hocus pocus to conveigh the idea of English Government out of our minds, and slide the idea of Arbitrary Government in the room of it.

I know not any one instance of so much as a frown upon the zealots of Charles II.'s odious reign, except that on Jan. 2, 1689, Sir Robert Sawyer was expelled the House of Commons for being one of the prosecutors against Sir Thomas Armstrong.

Who were advocates for the Jacobite Rebells, who stifled the Jacobite plot and procured the concealment of the chief plotters, and who got the knavery of the South Sea husht in silence*? Who were they who had got pardons and had made their peace with King James?

Parliament-men are chosen in Bedlam. Owen Vaughan, High Sherif of Denbigh, excused his not executing Queen Ann's writ for electing parliament men, by reason of a suddain cry that Sir Richard Trevor and Sir J. Salisbury were fighting on different sides, and their companies ready to do the like; for in the church-yard he found both parties ready with their swords drawn and was forced to read the proclamation against mobbs. And, anno 1695, in an election for Portsmouth, Gibson the Governour, standing against Admiral Aylmer, came to a private house and Mooday the master-gunner, with trumpets sounding before him, and bid the mobb turn the man upside down, and broke his windows, and several windows besides, and other houses were threatned. At

* Apparently a late interpolation by the biographer.

Westminster election, Sir Henry Dutton Colt's faction knockt several men down, struck others with whips and sticks, others of them rid on Flanders horses with swords and pistols, others of them threw up cards and dice, sand and dirt, insomuch as that one surgeon had three under cure, and another surgeon seven that were wounded. Twere endless to enumerate the like in almost all parts of the kingdom. In the same year, 1695, Sir George Meggot's coachman was in Southwark knockt down from his coach-box, (see Bohun, pages 113. 322. and 271.)

Salust advised Cæsar to remove bribery, that neither prætor nor consul should be chosen by his wealth, he might have added, nor by his wine and his ale, and then our elections of parliament-men would be more soberly carryed on and more free from the brawling noise of drunken country-curates bellowing to take care of the churchmen and of the Church of England, *Gentlemen, remember the Roundheads of* 41. Forty-one indeed was a scurvy year to scandalous clergymen, when several cento's of the tribe of ignorance were exposed to the view of the world.

Nor can they be fit to come to Parliament who, postponing the business of the nation, become pensioners to the speaker, spending whole sessions in private bills to their private profit *.

We have wrought no deliverance in the earth, we are baffled in all our measures. Sometimes we have this foreign potentate to support, sometimes that, and all at our own charge. Strangers have been taught our way of shipping with other arts and they are armed against ourselves. We are threatned with invasions one while from France, another while from Spain, another while from Sweden, another while from the Czar.

The fatality of stout King William's Revolution portends an approaching period to our boasted tranquillity. Good kings can do nothing without good parliaments, and good parliaments are not to be had, so long as our parliament-men are put in the pound for being catcht in the mault, their election is by extraction out of wine, ale, and other besotting liquors. We have sinned against the Lord, and what can a King do for us?

Reformations are not alwayes effected by the same means, but a return unto the Lord, and to the things that were before this apostacy came on, would draw the North and South part of Brittain into a stricter union. Scotland long since sold their King, they now lie under the reproach of having sold their

* "The Solicitor General had 60*l*. 9*s*. 6*d*.: Mr. Hungerford had 20 guineas: the Speaker had 1100*l*.: Joddrel the clerk 60*l*. 9*s*. 6*d*.: Mr. Finch had 1650*l*. And the Crown complained of being 17,000*l*. out of pocket, which was also to be considered among other great summs for the Orphans Bill, 1695.—Bohun, ib."

Parliament, and, since mony answers all things, they may come in time, if England will but bid high enough, to sell their Kirk too. But this is the price of blood, which, leaving that nation in greater poverty, shall compell that people to confess with shame and disgrace, that, after all their dear bargains with their neighbours, they have plaid a losing card and broken covenant with God. Though they strained the form of it beyond its due construction, and hookt in some clauses against names of parties which in their country, through mistake, were lookt upon with dislike and prejudice, yet the Solemn League and Covenant, for the substance of it, was certainly a sacred bond between the two nations, tending to the establishment of Protestant religion in them both. It was the oath of God which we can never discharge ourselves of, 'til God forego his part, which to be sure he never will. Many indeed say that the Scottish Covenant had better never been medled with, and no more it had, rather than, by turning our backs upon it, to have brought three kingdoms under the vengeance of bloody and public perjury. And others of the better sort have devised an easy discharge for themselves, by very gravely telling us this mattter was transacted before they were born, that they had no hand in it, they never took it, nor take themselves to be concerned in it. By these reasons Saul had been excusable for killing the Gibeonites, for he might as justly plead Joshua's covenant with them did not bind him, being made before he was born, whereas the oath being entered into for posterity as well as for those then alive, the whole land was punished for his infraction of it. Whatever be the form of civil government amongst us, tis a further reformation that can alone discharge us from the obligations of that Covenant. The Scottish Kirk is now settled by Act of Parliament, upon the foundation of the Union, as the Church of England is, and in as ample power, the one as the other, in each kingdom. Yet the Scottish Kirk, instead of renewing their National Covenant, are hankering after the Episcopacy of England. And the English Dissenters, instead of being formidable to the Bishops as they were formerly, seem to have no higher hopes or desires, than, after long waiting, long beseeching, long languishing, like a company of poor starvlings, or like the tail of an army with bare buttocks and ragged cloaths, out of the Church of England's mere good nature, to be taken as renegadoes ready to perish, into her gates and walls. We have been wise for revolt, profound to make slaughter. "Sleep on now and take your rest, behold the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PARTICULARS OF HIS CHARACTER *.

It now remains to gather such particulars out of the miscelanious account of this worthy person already given, as will amount to a distinct enumeration of the severalls of his character. I am in hazard rather of repeating the former narrative, than of giving an additional representation of his life. And if I should cursorily touch upon his Christian excellencies, they would not be set in a light clear enough for ordinary observers. We must therefore take a middle course between being too copious and too scanty.

He had a constant displicency with himself, delighting onely in God, nor taking complacency in any thing but in relation to him. Distinguishing love can be demonstrated by nothing common, yet common blessings when apprehended by faith as given in Christ, are, in their place, true signs of God's peculiar favour. The spiritual use he made of creatures did not a little strengthen his hopes of better things in God. After his being refresht by an ordinary meal of meat, how cheerful have I seen him in lifting up his heart to God.

A gentlewoman vehemently expostulating with him for favouring the cause of her adversary, among other arguments used this, how much religion and the gospel was like to suffer if the matter went against her. But he, by plainly laying the case down, telling her what the law was, and what was required in equity, helpt the poor woman to see how much self-love had blinded her, so that she went away fully convinced, the gospel had suffered far more if he had taken her part.

Having once received a credible relation concerning the apparition of one lately dead, whose spectre represented him in an

* Book I. ended with its chapter XIII. The present title is that of Book III., and the fragmentary character of this chapter is explained by its comprising whatever seems to me proper to be printed from the various Divisions of that Book, except from Chap. VII. of part ii., which is reserved to form Chap. XV. of the text.

horrid condition, the importunity of as intimate a friend as any he was pleased to favour with his friendship could not prevail with him to discover who the person was, because, he said, he had been a gentleman of rank and reputation, in Newcastle, and he was willing to believe the apparition might be some delusion.

A person letting some expressions drop which hinted a little at his true character, he was never seen to suffer more disturbance and confusion, and though all the company then present knew what was said to be very just, he did not onely by words but gesture also signify his displeasure at it. Humility is like a flower overtopt with weeds, for as flowers that lie concealed lose not their lovely colour, so neither does humility cease to be amiable because it is despised by the world.

One day, gently admonishing a grandson of his who gave himself too great liberties, he proposed to him his own example, telling him how he himself was wont to quench the wild heats of youth, by drinking every day a quantity of water, keeping down his body in order to master the least wanton flame, which youth, favoured with vigorous health, is subject to.

A gentlewoman of unspotted virtue found herself so strangely smitten with him, that putting a force upon the shiness natural to her sex, she stopt a paper into his hand, which in Latin informed him of the uneasiness she was in upon his account. But he, without exposing her, privately, very obliegingly, and with much acknowledgment, exprest his sense of the honour she did him, being a person of rank and fortune, giving her to understand, he being then a widower, it was his resolution never to marry again. And he could wish that all men were even as he.

This was the testimony given him by a stranger, who falling accidentally into his company, was greatly edifyed by his discourse, "I know not," said he, "who this is, but I perceive he is a man of God, and I am sure I never met with his fellow."

Requesting a person to pray with him, he askt him what he must pray for? He replyed, that he might have the peace of God keeping his heart and mind by Christ Jesus. "Sir," said the other, "you have it already." "I hope I have," replyed he, "but I would fain have all my comforts from Christ fresh and fresh."

He was frequently alone by himself in a posture of meditation, and as Chrysostom would have Paul's epistle to the Romans three times a week read to him, so Dr. Owen's book of Justification, the doctrine whereof is very much fetcht from that epistle, was a book that our Author dwelt much upon and read over and over.

In all his intercourse whether in England or beyond sea,

matter of religion was sure to be one article of his correspondence. This gentleman had his intimates and colleagues, who cultivated Christian amity thro' all the undulations of their earthly pilgrimage, he comforting and incouraging them, they informing him of their comforts or their conflicts. "My last was from Amsterdam," sais one *, writing to him, 1667, from Hamburgh, "acquainting you how the Lord was pleased to raise me from the bed of sickness, and to manifest his grace and favour to me under it. And being here, I long for a line from you, for your stile is alwayes comfortable and more prized by me than never so much intelligence touching the course of trade." "I desire," sais another who thus unbosoms himself to him, "to speak it, to the honour of Divine goodness, that I am come that length again, as that I think I can sincerely say I believe the first article of my crede, which lookt to me to be *phantasiæ inutile pondus*, a doubtful matter at least, whether there were a God.—I bless His name, who in some measure dissuaded me from this Atheism last week, insomuch that on Lord's day I attended the celebration of the Lord's supper. But I hung so between hope and despair, that my strength was gone, and I could do nothing but lie upon my bed in the evening of the day. But after some time of reflection upon what I had heard, and particularly upon that never to be forgotten evening-lecture, together with a secret and familiar address to my God, I had methought such feeling discoveries of the nature of the New Covenant, of that overwhelming Mystery . . . that I tell you rightest if I tell you that I cannot tell how much I was carryed above myself out of this horrible sink of despondency and unbelief. . . . I can acknowledge but not requite the inestimable benefits received from you."

One man among a thousand he found, but a worldly-minded man among all these could he not find, who did not bless himself in his prosperity. It was, I know not whether with more generous disdain or pitty, he heard Sir R. J. † one day boast of the success of his returns in trade, that, though he had somtimes many thousand pounds at once in ventures abroad, he never lost a penny at sea.

One having built a good house upon another man's ground, Mr. Barnes told him he thought his leese was too short for so good a house. "What talk you to me for," sais the man, "of these carnal things?" Whereas Mr. B. was neither so carnal,

* Apparently Samuel Richardson, referred to afterwards.

† "The Buriall place of Sr. Ralph Ienison of Elswick in the county of Northumberland Knight sometime Maijor of this Towne Obijt tertio die Aprilis Anno 1701 Ætatis suæ 88." St. Nic. NC.

nor himself so spiritual, as he pretended. But being sensible of his mistake he could not without vexation think of it, and not having humility and ingenuity enough to confess his error, he would indeavour to hide his folly under pretext of acting less concernedly in temporal affairs.

Our Author laid his whole stress upon it, that grace now reigns unto eternal life, nothing of man, as work done by him, must once be suffered to come in. A gentleman of a choice spirit, who uses to acquaint our Author with all the private concerns of his family as well as of his own soul, in a letter from Amsterdam, 21 March, 1667, sends his sweet experience of these things:—"It pleased God ten dayes after my arrival with my family, to visit me with sickness that brought me to the gates of death, and in the opinion of all friends my life was expiring. But God hath been pleased to show much of his power in bringing me up again. . . . I can now seal to it, the Holy Ghost, in one moment, can speak more to the poorest man of the meanest and lowest understanding of the greatness of Divine Love, than all the Scriptures or all the divines in the world can say of it. . . . My conflicts were many and great, and through Grace the victory and triumph of Faith very great and observable to those who converst with me in my sickness. And though I was bereft of understanding for ten dayes, yet never of sweet communion with my God even to rapture and ravishment. . . . Thus, sir, I give you some account of the love and grace of God to my soul, and am persuaded where I have tasted you have often drunk. My purpose is, God willing, within three weeks or a month, to repair to Hamburgh, where I desire to hear from you, that wherever I am, I may know I have you for my friend. I leave my family here, for here we have the injoyment of Christ's ordinances, I and mine being in fellowship with the Congregational church of Mr. Maltown. I have had no letter from you since I came here, when you write inclose it to Mr. Arch. Yours in the best bonds of love, Samuel Richardson."

In these studies he had the assistance and company of some rare souls, whome he called his helpers in Christ, such as old G. H., N. L., J. J. and his wife, together with Mrs. D. B., who had been one of the few good women who had the privilege of hearing Dr. Goodwin constantly after the infirmities of age oblieged him to preach in his chamber. Our worthy Author has done more in clearing after Dr. Goodwin's copy these important truths than if he had imployed the whole army of schoolmen. Practical Christianity is a mystery of so seeming a contradiction the wits of men cannot reconcile them. God at once loves the sinner with an everlasting love, and yet he is a child of wrath: this offends the

Remonstrants. The Socinians cannot see the consistency of free mercy, rich grace, and full satisfaction. That one in whome God works inherent righteousness should be justifyed by an imputed righteousness, stumbles the Papists. That infallible conversion should stand with man's free will and abilities will not go down with the Arminians. The doctrine of Election gives not the least occasion to perplex ourselves about Preterition.

God, he took notice, often drives a design clean contrary to our designs, desires, expectations, and prayers, which perhaps have been too much laid out upon earthly things. He breaks us in all these, gives others what we aimed at, denies our prayers, takes all away from us, doing the quite contrary. With respect to this it was that one day bemoaning himself to a Christian friend he said, "You never had that vanity of mind, which God is now humbling me for."

We have few surviving monuments of antiquity left in this North country, by reason of the ravages of the Saxons, Danes, and Normans *. But when the Records of Eternity shall be laid open, all the councels and results of that profound wisdom lookt into, when we shall see thus were the designs laid, here were the apt junctures, and admirable dependences of things which, when acted upon the stage of this world, seemed so perplext and crost, so full of mysterious intricacy.

A person who both unjustly and with unbecoming asperity, reflected upon him about an affair wherein he thought him negligent, carried his censure into such tearms of rudeness, as would have provokt any other but him into passionate resentment. The blow forced from him no more angry reply than "If it be with me as you say it is, it is my loss; the Lord help both you and me."

A reproof, though neither well grounded nor well guarded, fell like oil upon him, that broke no bones. The sins of the world, the sins of the nation, the sins of the Church, the sins of his family, together with what sin survived in himself, did deeply humble him.

One who, for his skill in History, was commonly called *The Four Monarchies*, was of a sober life, but leavened with irreligious and prophane principles until Mr. Barnes brought him back from Spinoza to his Bible, and reduced him from Deism so that he profest with Picus Mirandulanus, that having run through almost all sorts of humane writers, he could find no satisfaction nor nay sure footing anywhere but in the Word of God onely.

* The time of the writer must be remembered. Now he would have divers societies, and individuals, and corporations, ecclesiastical and civil, aggregate and sole, to add to his black list. His barbarians acted *bonâ fide*.

The exercise of repentance this good man was accustomed to, especially on set dayes of humiliation. Such dayes are too often abused by faction or formality. Ignatius observes the ancient Christians, in oposition to the Jews, fasted on Tuesdayes and Fridayes, which Clemens of Alexandria calls the Fast of Hypocrites. Repentance may be exercised any day, and, as our Author conscientiously kept these solemn times, his chief care was to turn these fast dayes into execution-dayes, I mean that sin might thereby be more mortifyed and subdued.

Many would not for never so much omit prayer either morning or evening, who are yet upon the matter resolved to live in sin all the day. This is a most dangerous condition, for a person, in the sense of the guilt of any sin, to betake him for relief unto his prayers, which having done, to rest there, without ever looking for a sense of pardon or strength against it for the future. We very often hear prayers, which, to a spiritual descerning, openly discover themselves to be the labour of the brain by the help of invention and memory, without discovering any mixture of humility, contrition, reverence, godly fear, or any actings of faith and love. As to order and fluency of expression, they flow as wine. None, who pray for deliverance as they should do, are ever inslaved to sin, therefore every praying man who perisheth is an hypocrite.

A man that had in an high degree been laid under obligations to him, being grown proud upon the riches he had got, in the surliest manner repaid his kindness with vile ingratitude; yet, after all, had the confidence to desire his help in making up a difference between him and another who was like to prove too hard for him, which this good gentleman, without taking the least notice of his baseness, readily did for him; and it was hard to say whether was more admirable, the fellow's impudence in making such a request after his knowing how he had abused him, or the other's forgetfulness of it, when an opportunity of doing the ungrateful wretch another good turn fell in his way.

After the pattern of our Saviour, our Author was an early riser, and, as the dew ascends in the morning, so did his thoughts. In multitudes of dreams he knew, as Solomon sais, there are diverse vanities, but he feared God without regarding the fanciful observations which timorous and weak minds are somtimes apt to make of them. And the lifting up of his hands was as a morning sacrifice. Nor was he, though he went very neat in his cloaths, ever tedious or curious in dressing himself.

He would make very pious reflections upon the protection of watchful Providence over the lives of men, that fires, that are so dredful, did not oftner happen in the night-time. This he did

especially upon occasion of the preservation of his own large dwellinghouse, some cinders having fallen between the joynts of the hearth-stone in one of the chambers of the middle story, which all night kept burning in a smothering smoke, till one of the great oak beams underneath was burnt half way through. So, that little children who run carelessly a thousand hazards of their lives ever come to maturity; and that chimneys and houses in great towns, where are commonly many decayed buildings, are no oftner blown down by furious winds, were, he thought, not unworthy of observation.

When it was time for family worship, he never cared for appearing too long and formal in his preparation for prayer, but ordered the duty as urgent occasions of the day required, imploring in pathetic expressions Divine assistance in whatever lay before him.

Thousands of mental and ejaculatory prayers he sent in the compass of a day up to heaven. The things of this world had with him their due place, but out of their place he would not admit one thought about them. Nor was he wont to crowd family worship into a corner cursorily and in haste, but bemoaned it sore when he found not his spirit quickened, elevated, and enlarged. In worldly matters he was calm, assiduous, and full of dispatch, knowing that a man has no more religion than he takes care to show in his ordinary employments.

I cannot forget what freedom he used with one who made a great show with an estate he was intrusted with for the heir who was in a far country abroad upon his travails; and with what gravity, plainness, and authority, he reprimanded another, who, after many indirect practices and straining of honesty found himself never the richer. His rebukes were never salted with biting expressions or tearms of disdain and insulting contempt.

Smoaking a pipe one day with a man of quality, the quality had no more honour than to pilfer a pretty tobacco-stopper of his that was lying on the table, not imagining Mr. Barnes perceived it. But before he could drop it into his pocket, "Pray, my Lord," sais he, "accept of it, I will not put you to the inconvenience of stealing my stopper, you are welcome to it." So with a leering downcast look he laid it again upon the table, nor need I say how this complaisant way of taxing him with theft put his Lordship to the blush.

Many came no better off with their critticisms upon him, than that sorry fellow, who thought himself as wise a man as Mr. Barnes, because he had won a dish of coffee of him. A gentleman pointing to the chair, wherein our Author used to sit in company amongst his friends, and bemoaning his death, said, there was his

seat, as indeed it was a seat which nobody else would sit in if he was present, but it would now never be filled again.

When wet harvests for several summers together, had occasioned great dammage to corn, and what was sound was bought up and shipt off to other parts by the merchants, there grew such a scarcity, that the poor of Newcastle went about in their necessity begging sheep's blood of the butchers, to mingle it with oatmeal and bake it, which served them for bread instead of wholsomer food, and this brought a bloody flux and mortality amongst them. Then was this gentleman's liberality like Scaliger's, who, when winter came, would buy cloth to make coats for the naked, charging his family to serve the beggars, putting them in mind how these wretched people were their brethren by nature, and, being skilful in chirurgery and physic, he saved the lives of many who were ready to perish. When strangers were at a loss, they were sure by some or other to be directed to him, who, upon satisfactory evidence that they did not impose upon him, never went away without his advice and assistance.

In the year 1709, the following complaint was inclosed in a note to him: "Sir, I came from Barbadoes and landed at Grenocke, and am now going to my father, who is minister of Gottum Parish near Wisstter City. I went from Oxford with one Dr. Durledge, who, at Rouan in France, sold me to go to the West Indies, and there I remained four years. My soul hath been weary of my life. *Dom. miserere mei, qui sum procul à patriâ*, a poor stranger in these parts: I hope you will have compassion upon me, for God is my witness I tell you the truth."

So, when our Government thought fit to grant the Palatines a brief, he so bestirred himself, that with the help of two or three friends, he procured upwards of six pounds for them, the best part of which was of his own contribution.

In society, I cannot tell whether he disrelisht the openly prophane, more than he did those sivil sort of people, who pass for the world's saints, as believing men of a cold, formal, lukewarm, neutral stamp in religion, to be at the bottom as inveterate enemies to the power of godliness as any whatsoever.

He made very pious reflections upon the harmony that is often discernible between the Word of God and the works of God, Providence attending upon all events in infinite particulars, to the fulfilling of the Scriptures every day. In his exposition of the 104th and 107th Psalms, he took notice how God 'turneth the wilderness into a standing water, and there maketh the hungry to dwell that they may prepare a city for habitation, he blesseth them also so that they are multiplyed greatly,' and this he principally remarkt with relation to the Port-Towns of Stockton

and Sunderland, which were in his time, much inlarged in building and improved in trade.

He was careful, above all, to record deliverances which either himself or some belonging to him had met with. Whether it was upon an escape at sea, when himself and all his children, except his eldest son, who was expected to be on his voyage from London, were upon the brink of being lost in a boat amongst the breakers, or whether it were upon the recovery of any of his family from sickness, I am not able to say; but in the course of his family exercises, there is a savoury paraphrase upon the song of Hezekia, the twentieth verse whereof is largely insisted on, Isa. 38. We may call it his *Te Deum*, as it was his gratulatory commemoration of all his mercies and deliverances.

He was in particular observant of the sabaoth of the Lord's day, keeping a mean between the latitude of the Gentiles and the severity of the Jews. The Jews counted the seventh day from the evening of the day preceding; and the servants of this houshold did their work and the house was alwayes cleaned before six o'clock on Saturday, though he still used that liberty which he apprehended the milder dispensation of the Gospel allowed beyond that of the Law. Works of necessity and mercy, and actions indifferent in themselves, he made no scruple of, when tending to a spiritual end, but practised them under consideration of their being parts of the main business of sanctifying an holy rest unto the Lord.

Some will be rich, over shoos, over boots, over conscience. Others are poor and discontented, poor, envious, and proud. I knew an instance in one of our Author's acquaintances, whom he greatly vallued for her godliness, though others lookt lightly on her because of her poverty, that lets us see man lives not by what is in his own hand, but by what is in God's hand for him. This woman and her husband were reduced in their old age, to great straits. One Saturday night she was expecting him home with a week's wages due to him for his labour, and, reflecting how dark it was, she lighted a bit of a candle that was sticking under the slates of that sorry cock-loft they lived in. It happened, as she past along the street, the candle dropt from between her fingers and continued burning in a thin puddle it had fallen perpendicularly into. As she stouped down to take it, she found a shilling lying near it, which served their present necessity, her husband, whome she met a little way further along, being disappointed of his wages that week. Another time sitting alone very hungry, she put a crust of rie-bread into a little water, setting it in a pann over the fire to soften it, that, having no teeth left, she might be able to bruise it with her gumms. Sitting by

the fire these words came into her mind, 'Fear not, little flock, it is your father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom,' and, thought she, if my Father have a kingdom for me, certainly he has daily bread for me. In this musing posture, she perceived a dog come in and fall a chewing somwhat under the chair where she sat, and going to look what it was, she found a large good piece of beef, but so scrupulous a creature was she, that, before she took it to herself, she shewed it to all the butchers, if happily it might belong to any of them.

It was to this considering person horrible to see the wayes and ends of most of them who are intrusted with this world's goods. Their lives are spent in an industrious care that they may perish eternally.

There were sundry discoveries of God's providential government the truth of which none can question who knew the witnesses, which fell out in this gentleman's lifetime.

One of his brother-in-law's apprentices stepping up into the back-lofts to fetch somwhat he wanted, in his heedlessness and haste, stops his candle into a barrel of gunpowder, whose head was struck off, to serve instead of a candlestick. But the man reflecting upon what he had done, was struck with affrightment, his heart failed him nor durst he stay any longer, but running down stairs leaves the candle burning in the gunpouder cask, and with horror, trembling, and despair, tells the family what an indiscretion he had committed. They were all immediately at their witts' end. And well they might, for the lofts were three stories high, very large, and stowed full with whatever is combustable, as brandy, oil, pitch, tar, rozin, flax, allum, hopps, and many barrells of gunpouder. Had the candle fallen to a side, or had the least spark fallen from the snuff into the cask, the whole town had been shaken and the low part of it had been immediately blown up and in a blaze. But one of the labourers who used the shop, a stout fellow, run forthwith into the loft, and, joyning both his hands together, drew the candle softly up between his middlemost fingers so that if any snuff had dropt, it must have fallen into the hollow of the man's hand; and by this means was Newcastle saved from being laid in ashes.

There was also in his son-in-law's house a maid-servant who fell asleep as she was unlacing her stays to go to bed. In her sleep she dreamed she and another girl were going into a spout that lay betwixt that and the next house. But instead of doing as she dreamed, she goes to the garret-window in her sleep, opens the casement and lets herself gently down, hanging by her hands on the forcside of the house which faced the Market-Place, and five [four *erased*] stories high from the ground. It is easy to

imagin what a consternation the poor creature must be in when she awakened. She was sunk so down her weight hindred her recovering the window, and the fastest hold she had was a thin ledge of wainscot, which she grasped on the inside with her fingers' ends. In this posture, as near as could be supposed, she had hung about an hour, her arms grew weary, and she was several times minded to let her hold go, which if she had, her fall in probability would have broke her all in pieces. But a water-man happening to come by heard her moaning, raised the people of the house, who with much ado pulled her in at the window again.

God is also known by the judgments which he executes, as he did upon a fish-woman of Newcastle, who, being charged with some mony which she denyed, wishing she might sink that minit if she had it: the words were scarce out of her mouth, when she dropt down dead, and the mony was found in her pocket. Another example I shall add of God's severity, in the case of Elizabeth Sharper, who was well respected by all her neighbours, and lived with her sister to a great age unmarryed, onely it was whispered she bore a child to another woman's husband in her younger years. But the report blew over and she lived with her sister in good credit many years after. But see the power of conscience, which, though it may sleep a long time, will recover its authority again. When she had reacht the eightieth year of her age, she fell all at once into a deep despair. There was no outward cause by losses or other calamities that could be assigned as the occasion of it, but purely anguish of mind, that being now grown an old woman she must in the course of nature appear to answer for all her sins before the Judgment-seat of Christ. She accused herself of many things that were not known to others, confest her bearing a bastard which was taken from her body, and as she believed, was murthered. Most, if not all the parish-clergy of Newcastle, did visit her, but no comfort they could offer ever staid with her: and many hellish rufull expressions she uttered. At last, worn to a skeleton, and in a raging haste to be gone to her place, she ript up her belly with a pair of scissars, and pulled her bowells out with her hand. A surgeon put them in their place again and sewed up her belly, but she foamed and was grievously chafed at the care that was taken of her, the last words that came from her, before she expired, being a horrid curse upon those about her, for hindering the devil of his prey so long. She had her reason and senses perfectly, and lived and dyed in a house that belonged to Mr. Barnes *.

* "Elizabeth Sharper, who lived in Sidgate, rip open her owin belle with a par o' sesers: the wound was six euches long, and her pudens eam out and lay on each sid of her, and was buried 8 Aug. 1703." Reg. St. And. NC.

Old Mr. William Hutchinson, a person of undoubted credit, has somtimes given from his own knowledge, this account of a woman in the West, who for five or six years together lay on her back without any descernible motion, her eyes fixt, spoke not a word, received not the least morsel of meat, voided nothing by the usuall passages of nature, not any signs of life remaining save that she breathed and was warm. She was critically watcht, but this was still her posture night and day; until having so many years lain in this miserable condition, a spectacle to all who came to see her, it pleased God to permit her to utter these words and no more, that what had befallen her, was a just judgment of God upon her for murmuring and repining at the death of a child of hers. Which confession having distinctly pronounced, her speech, her breath, and her life ended all together.

The mark of creating-power upon the least of creatures, differeth vastly from what is finite and limited. This is well spoken to by one who had done much better, had he confined his learned studies to natural religion. (Baxter, p. 30. *Method. Theol.* of whome it may be said as one said of Seneca: *Si Christianus, scripsit paganicè, si Paganus, christianè.* [Another striking coincidence with Dr. Priestley. See ordinary service at Pudsey, 1782, *In manu Will. Turner.*]

It grieved him, when, stepping accidentally into the house of A. D., a kinsman of his, amongst other ill words wherewith the man was then abusing his godly wife, he heard him say, "a blasphemous bitch, nothing will serve her but she will be marryed to Christ." What the ignorant creature called blasphemy, is the matter of every true Christian's profession. Rom. 7. 4.

This gentleman had too large a soul to think that the congregations, constituted according to the rules which the English Dissenters think are to that purpose appointed in Scripture, are the onely true churches amongst us. Nothing but wicked arts to get them exposed to envy and popular odium, can tempt any to such imaginations concerning them. Yet good men, as we see in the instance of Elijah, may be more severe in their censures for God, than he will be for himself. A unity, or agreement in outward order, neither flowing from, nor regulated by, supernatural, evangelical, and spiritual love to Christ, are things wherein neither Christ nor his church are much concerned. This gentleman had the charity to believe that Conformists were conscientious in their Conformity, that is, that they, according to the best light they had, offered the same measures of love and peace to others, which they were satisfyed with themselves. But then he thought it would be no lessening of their wisdom and piety, to judge the Dissenters do with an equal integrity indeavour the direction

and information of their consciences in what they believe and practice.

It is said of Sir Arthur Chichester, somtime lord deputy of Ireland, he was so observant of the actions of suspected persons in that kingdom that Tyr-Owen was heard to complain he could not drink a full carouse of sack, but the state within a few hours had notice of it. As few material occurences escaped the observation of this Vigilantius. During the course of the Confederate war in Flanders, he still was of the same apprehension, that England was labouring for nothing. When the French were most formidable, he grounded his hopes upon Isa. 7. 9. that God had ballanced the kingdoms of Europe, and would not suffer one to overrun the rest. When the warr changed in favour of us, he received news from Rotterdam by a letter of 13 July, 1708, inclosing the following account:—Mr. Alderman, I have been twice at Amsterdam, the English minister will do what he can, which in a little time you will hear. Just now we have received the agreeable news that the army of the Allies, under the Duke of Marlborow and Prince Eugene, have by the Lord's grace and goodness, obtained a compleat victory over the enemy. There are 20,000 killed and wounded, 30,000 taken prisoners with 12 of their generals, all their cannon and baggage; the remainders of them are retired to Ghent and Bruges. Yours to be commanded, O.B." This further success, after that at Hoistet, set many upon tiptoes, as if the way now was right prepared for entring France with flying colours. But he, upon the change at Court, was not sparing even at his death to express his apprehension, that the fruit of these toils, and expence of blood and treasure, would all be blasted, and onely end in impoverishing the public, and raising private men to vast estates. So like he was to Ezekiel, who when things were at the worst, strengthened the people's hopes, and when at the best, thretned them with disappointment.

Preferments and profits, which to one of his accomplishments had been easily accessible, he made very light of. Speaking of the insignificant titles of honour that some of his contemporaries had acquired, he would pleasantly make the remark, which Euripedes did to his father, they had got that which any man might get for his mony. Keeping himself as much as it was possible from jealousy and envy, he was, in the main, respected by all sorts.

In a private station he was still a public person: persons of great rank have visited him in his obscurest retirements, have paid him visits merely to entertain themselves with the pleasure of his profitable society.

He so lived among his equalls, that when they quarrelled with

one another, they were both alike friends with him. Amidst the greatest persecutions he indured, he could say, "You see me run down and despised, not by my fellow citizens, but by the enemies and betrayers of their country." Himself went with great ease under loads of slander, and with Cato was fifty times accused and as often cleared, and, like that wise Roman, with some men he carryed fair, though he neither loved nor trusted them.

*Upon his observation of the deplorable state of what is called the Church of England, he lookt with a nearer view upon Dissenters, not as seperated from that party, but as pursuing the Reformation, which without hope of remedy was defective in it, and he found, men agreeing however in the main, that the world held on its own way and grew worse and worse. We see here at home a separation kept up from the Church of England, but we can see very little separation from the common evills of Atheism, scepticism, and formality. Here is a nonconformity to the church, but little nonconformity to the world. And such a nonconformity, considering the ferment it begets in the nation, is worse than none at all. For it is shaken in its foundation, if purity of conscience, and purity of life and doctrine, as well as purity of worship, be the foundation of this seperation. Tacitus, speaking of Pompey's going into the Jews' Holy of Holies, sais he met with nothing but an empty room and secrets not worth minding. The like may the scornful and prophane say of our present Dissenters as to any tracings of God in their sanctuary. Religion must not be struck at through the sides of any party, nor can any who love God take pleasure to expose the nakedness of those who belong to him. But as none can conceal what he will not cover, so it can be no fault to say what is proclaimed upon the house-top, that there is so much faction, pride, crosness, ill nature, so much ignorance, conceitedness, covetousness, fraud, and so little of the true spirit of religion amongst this breed of Dissenters, that it need give no surprize to observe those, who fall into a dislike of the church, turn Deists rather than Dissenters. This, though it be a sad symptom of men's desperate malice against the gospel, yet does it withall bring an heavy charge against our Nonconformist-Israel, who instead of being among many people as dew from the Lord, are pricking briars, grieving thorns, scandals to what they profess, making the stink of their camps to go up. Many of them are drones, the helpless, useless, burdensom orphans of humane society, others are troublesom, quarrelsom, litigious; and not a few are quite dead, nay stink,

* The following extracts are from Chap. V. of part ii. of this Book III., which is headed "His Glance at Dissenters." Whence I suspect that much of it is in Barnes's own language.

and we must not seek for the face of former piety in their public assemblies, but in the gleanings after a vintage, a few, here and there one, raked up and hidden in the heap, or thinly gathered in corners, little accounted, little taken notice of or regarded, in comparison of the rich, who get the vogue and bear all the sway, in the mannagement of their congregations, whereby that party is become visibly corrupted, and is daily losing strength.

Though our stiff Churchmen will not abate an ace of their height, and dislike a Dissenter as much as ever, they are hugely pleased to find the Dissenters of this generation, no matter whether of a more Christian, so long as they are of a more pliable and yielding temper towards them, and such Dissenters may unenvied take the encomiums that our Church-writers give them. The toleration, sais a writer of that stamp, instead of increasing, has gradually diminisht the Dissenters. And nothing is better known, than that the families of the nobility and gentry, as their youth comes up, leave the dissenting way, and few of them adhere, except the old persons, who are continually dropping off by death. How pleasing a prospect soever this may be to some, it is a lamentation to others, and the upshot of it will be tragical and for a lamentation to all. But an observation suitable to this was as long ago made as Edward VI.'s time. For, notwithstanding the Reformation, the professors were bad even as to their moralls, and sober men took notice of it; whence things looked with so sad a face, it made the best people expect tremendous changes and woful times to follow, which accordingly came to pass.

Some contend for purity of worship without intending purity of practice; we strive about externals and circumstantials until we have amongst hands lost the substance, and have cryed Lo, here is Christ, and lo there, until it is hard to find him any where. How do the perilous tokens of the last dayes abound in the worshiping assemblies of all parties! Were men ever greater lovers of their own selves? 2 Tim. 3. 4, proud, boasters, covetous, disobedient, ungrateful, unsavoury, unmerciful. Are not congregations overrun with such as are without natural affection, truce-breakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good, lovers of pomp and pleasures more than lovers of God, having a form of godliness but denying the power thereof. Some are all for forms of prayers, and others are as formal in their extempore prayers. Some are hot for their church-ceremonies, others are cold, neutral, supercilious, and superstitious without ceremonies. Some keep to the old doctrine of our first reformers, without the holiness that did then adorn that doctrine, others, like those things in the sides of the Nile, are half mudd, half Arminians, half Socinians, half Deists. This is a trial

the Supreme Disposer hath put us under, to correct us by our own backslidings, and reprove us by the felt mischiefs of our long apostacies, to discover a generation whose hearts are not right with God, to shew what dead things divine institutions and free will are without divine influences; and, though it favour not the conceit of a *seculum Spiritus Sancti*, as superseding the written word, yet we apparently want those dews, those showers and effusions of the good Spirit of God, which, whilst by many despised as enthusiasms, can alone put virtue into the waters of the sanctuary, and without which those waters will become as the blood of a dead man. This, in the present scituation they are in, should cool us towards parties as such, not as Deists or prophane men of pretended reason, who are making ready for whatever change come, be it Popish or Turkish, but as respecting our own change to a better world, or a change for the better in the world below. A general apostacy can never end well, but catholic degeneracies will be shut up with catholic desolations. Jerusalem shall either shake her self from the dust and put on her beautiful garments, or we shall shortly go into captivity for our transgressions.

Scarce an article of faith but we have made bold with it. Whoever broacht or taught Arminian doctrine was formerly, by a vote of our House of Commons, declared to be a capital enemy of the kingdom. But where the fountains are foul the streams cannot be clean. The old statutes recommend Calvin's Institutions to our tutors and heads of houses, as a book to be expounded to their schollars. But that book contains too many truths, to agree with the impiety of Dr. Laud's scheme. A sett of new adventurers, imbarqut in the Holy War against Antinomianism, have left us in the dark where to find Arminianism. A friend of our Author's (Dr. Jenkins), who, in Charles II's time, was a prisoner for the Gospel, calls upon the Church of England clergy to consider what dear pennyworths they had in the applause of the Jesuits, and what poor earnings they made of bartering truth for their trash. But it was too astonishing for me to describe the grief he lived to have in seeing the same necessity of an outcry against many false Dissenters. The course of the warfare of faith is altered from rituals to essentials and fundamentals if the doctrines of a Trinity in Unity, justification without works, the specifical nature of grace, with other points deriving from these, may be allowed to be so. Concerning which our more crafty gentlemen wont speak out, but keep braying amongst the bushes, and cut us up juniper-roots for our meat. Others, more emboldened by the harness they have got on, scorn to be stopt by any names how great soever. And, to these, John and

Cerinthus, Athanasius and Arius, Calvin and Socinus, the synod of the Lateran, and the synod of Dorcht, are alike, though the last was approved both by the Church, and by those who seperated from her. These are the wits, who, affecting to be originals, scorn to be beholden to any who are gone before them, much less such antiquated, sowr, dull, exauctorated writers as Owen, Polhil, or Goodwin. Many know not what spirit or what principles they are of, but they tell you they are *Catholic* (i.e. *English*, not *Roman* but *Protestant* Catholic) Christians. Thus and so far they can conform to the Church of England, but Venus will not let down her lap that they may lay their eggs in it; they are great admirers of learned Churchmen, but learned Churchmen will not admire them; they would fain press into the Church, whilst the Church thinks not fit to put them to the meanest sordid use. It is below them to walk in trammels. Remonstrants or Contra-remonstrants are too mean partizans for them to herd with either of them. You may be born with, if through inadverteney you deny the Lord that bought you, so long as you deny not the God that made you. Cocceians, Vorstians, Hobbists, Confucians, Musselmen, are capable of Catholic Communion, and whilst trading is dead we must love and prize all good men, the wealthy and the wiseacres, the muckworms and the horseleeches, a congregation omnium gatherum will imp out a salary and adorn our Catholic Nonconformists, whilst tis odds but these Catholicks who set up for advocates of love, hate those most whome God loves most.

Our day is a day of barreness, and God curseth that barreness with barreness. Our Author had his fears least vision might become less open, that it might be more precious. The old way of preaching is now decryed as ridiculous. The method of doctrine, reason, and use that was helpful to ordinary hearers for retaining sermons better in memory, is left off. And though there was somtimes indiscretion in Latin and other quotations, that was little to the understandings of common readers and hearers, yet the custom of dividing the text into its parts was profitable for clearing the sense and meaning of it, and where there was not an overdoing of the business from a weak conceit of great learning in it, which indeed did but serve to hold the auditory at a gaze, the crittical opening of Scripture was a means of preserving the knowledge of the original tongues, which seems now to be disused and decayed amongst the clergy. Preaching is embased and emasculated amongst us, and what was once a gift is now become an art. A Church of England writer observes the Dissenters begin to nibble at rhetoric, from whence he concludes the certain loss of the savour and practical power of religion amongst them. And another, to be sure a great friend of

theirs, (G. Nichols, Par. II. cap. 14, page 331. Defens. Eccles. Anglic.) strokes their preachers upon the head, congratulates their reformation, and extolls them for their imitation of the rational and eloquent mode of preaching used by the great doctors and orators of the church. In swarms of sermonings and pamphlets preacht and printed, words are not so properly the cloathing of the matter, as the matter serves for stuffing to the words. Insipid harangues with an empty multiplicity of words pay a piece in twenty one shillings which might be paid in one guinnea.

But had we all learnt the language of Canaan, whilst we see our tribes going up to Reformation, the tribes of the Lord to the testimony of Israel, we need not fall out by the way about our speaking fine English. To direct a body of men is not the work of particular persons. Every one goes as his eyes serve him, and no question but the several denominations suppose they keep to the path of truth. "If any man trust to himself that he is Christ's, let him of himself think this again that as he is Christ's even so are we Christ's." 2 Cor. 10. 7. This is the sound right Catholicism, Catholicism without a juggle. The Danish ambassador moves the King of Navarr to do as his master had done, that was to favour Luther's doctrine rather than Calvin's. "Luther and Calvin," replies the King, "differ from the Pope in forty points, and agree between themselves in thirty nine, so that there is but one point of difference between them, let them both try to compose that one odd point of difference between them, but let not one odd point in the mean while hinder them from joyning in the forty points against the Pope until they have vanquisht him." God will not be put off with the outside formalities of Reformation. No party must pretend to be infallible. Be not envious if any excell you, or see farther and go beyond you. We pray that Christ's kingdom may come, let us not fight against it when it is come. We profess the communion of saints, and dare you dress them like devils, because they were not your mark, which, after all, is perhaps the mark of the beast. All parties have had their dreggs as well as their flowers. Canibals, Brazilians, the Barbarians after Paul's shipwreck, discover a greater cognation to humane nature, than the Popish Inquisitors, or the late French King's Council of Conscience. In the Romish church there are found men of better morals than many of the boasted Church of England. In the Church of England there is a number of more honest, sober and discreet persons, than are many of our Hotspurrs and stickling seperatists. Spiritual societies may continue in the possession of church privilieges, they may pretend to the chastity of a virgin-profession, retaining some faint shadows of a former

Shechinah, and yet be actually under the Lord's interdict. A continuation of nobility is seldom favoured with the noble qualities of the first founders of their families, for we often see those, who as to nobility ride upon the fore-horse, as to any usefulness for God or their country, to come behind in the thiller's* place.

Reformations rise and fall, nor must we judge of God's approbation or disapprobation by events. Reforming times may be times of great disturbance and distress, dark trialls, and many public distractions; contrarily, when nations are at an height of sin, they may be in the profoundest peace. Surprizing changes are often brought about by ordinary untrusty men. One overhearing another speaking askt him who he talkt to? The man replyed, he was speaking to himself. "Take heed," sais the other again to him, "thou speak not to one who is stark nought." Self is stark nought, especially in matters of reformation.

†"I doubt not," sais a pious writer, who dyed in the latter end of the reign of James I. "but we have seen with our eyes these things that are the forerunners of the coming of our Lord," but he saw not what others saw some few years afterwards. Every revolution shall prepare the way to the final revolution.

Nich. Raimer fixt upon 1673 for the last year of the world: others upon 1666. Melanethon saw an old prophesy that put it upon the year 1680. Grebner fancyed he had found the end of the world in the numeral letters of the word IVDICIVM, from some cronogrammatical expressions in Scripture. Aret proposed 1645 to be the last year, and no less man than Joh. Picus of Mirandula affirms that, by the secret of the Cabala, it may certainly be shewn, that from his time the world shall last no longer than 514 years and 25 dayes. I shall add one instance more of that strange confidence one who our author had some correspondence with (Th. Beverley), a deserving serious man, had workt himself into strange confidence concerning prodigious changes that were to fall out in 1697, "as the time of Christ's kingdom coming into its succession." "It is not a personal kingdom, but, as I stile it, a kingdom entring into its succession, and so preparing for its glory, by the pouring out of the Spirit from on high, a return of miracles, the preaching of the everlasting Gospel, the Papal, and Mahometan Tyrannies ending about that time, or rather as I hope before it, so that the kingdoms of this world shall be proclaimed to be the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ, when he shall take to himself his great power and reign. Seventy-five years after 1697 I look for

* See Bailey's Dict.

† The remaining parts of the chapter are from Chap. VI. of Book III., which is headed "His Zeal for the Christian Interest." It must chiefly be by Barnes himself.

the personal kingdom, the palace whereof for Christ and his saints shall be the new heavens and the new earth." Having for above 20 years before kept poring in the study of the book of the Revelation, the enthusiasm of it proved so catching, that all things in history and prophesy appeared to his imagination like rayes of light pointing to 1697 that being loathe to rise from the feast of his fancy, he followed this letter with another, dated 9 Nov. 1695, "I humbly through divine assistance avouch, I am able to pass from Solomon's death, whilst I account prophetic time in Ezekiel's three hundred ninety and forty dayes of years entred, by such steppings as prophecy hath made upon the line of time, down to 1697, with evident consent of Scripture and general history. Now, whereas present times look so dark, I am comforted with Hab. 2. 13, as also with that conjunction prophesie hath made of the iron of the ten toes, now in the French most visible, and the brass of the Turco-Græcian Empire removed, as here unnaturally, to the brass from the clay, Dan. 2. 45, whereas it was joyned to the clay three times before in that chapter. It may be I have writ the two last notes already, for I am full of them." To what a length had this good man briared himself in visionary speculations! After he had been the author of sundry rational and learned books, he was bewildered in a subject out of which he was not able to extricate his thoughts, but having dedicated some of his adventures to the Archbishops and Bishops assembled in convocation, and alarmed the whole nation with strange apprehensions of the year 1697, he outlived his mistake and suffered the confusion of his disappointment.

Fears and hopes break out in such conjectures. What harm can it do any party of pious Christians to suppose there will be, there must be shortly, an universal revolution in the world. The harbingers of nature tell us the Judge is even at the door. Some modern mathematicians give us their observations, that the celestial orbs are not as they were, but that the sun is many Germain miles nearer the earth than it was. Many apparitions in the heavens, in the earth, and in the seas, have in our dayes hung out their portentous lights. What unaccountable thunders, what stormy tempests of lightning and hail, what inundations, what meteors and blazing comets in the sky, what impoverishing warrs, what raging pestilences, what terrible irruptions and roarings from mount Ætna, what violent hurricanes and disorders in the seasons of the year, how many earthquakes and hideous eclipses of the sun in diverse places! The frequency of such appearances, in every age, makes them to be less taken notice of, yet this also shews them to be signs of the Son of Man, the oftner they are repeated the nearer is the event. What mean

those earth-quakes to which Italie is more subject than other places, what meant that earth-quake which a very few years ago shook Rome particularly at such a rate as was never felt there before. Plinie will not be thought a visionary nor enthusiast: now he tells us the city of Rome never was shockt by an earth-quake that did not foretoken some extraordinary event to follow it. The Pope's high stile will dwindle into no greater titles than were given to Harry IV., namely, the Cypher of France, Romantic King of Navarr, Titular Prince of Parma, Chimerical King of Poland, Turnkey of the Louvre, Churchwarden of St. Germains, Pedlar of the Palace, Valet de Chambre to Miss, Guardian of Four Beggars, Protector of Capuchins and Banditti. The Bishop of Rome hath knockt down the door of bricks with his silver hammer *. Perhaps his Jubilee for the year 1701 may bring him such a Jubilee as Martin Luther brought him for the year 1500.

* "I am now in the hurry of the Jubilee, in the midst of a most unnatural uproar, with the cries of many penances around me. And I'll assure you a Lord Mayor's show is infinitely preferable to that of opening the holy door. It was very silly, for, after a great length of most wretched pageantry, the Pope reached the door, and beat it down with three strokes of a hammer, three good prayers, and the most successful force of three or four lusty fellows, who pulled and hauled within with ropes and crows of iron, so fell down the little wall on a carriage of low wheels, and they wheeled it away to be broken into 10,000 pieces to be dispersed, for pence and halfpence, to all the corners of Europe." *Letter of Dyer*, 1725. The Jubilee since 1475 was celebrated every twenty-five years. It is clear that this part of the text was written by Barnes.

CHAPTER XV.

HIS FINALL PERIOD AND DEATH *.

Before Noah's floud, they who lived longest attained not to a thousand years. That, being esteemed the number of perfection, is reserved for heaven. We tell our dayes as it were upon our finger ends, the swiftest motions are too slow an emblem of them, and whether the things of the world be considered in themselves, or the various conditions wherein men are in this valley of tears, either of riches or poverty, knowledge or ignorance, wisdom or folly, their different employments, the occasions and occurrences of youth and age, their joy and sorrow being [are?] much alike and all mere vanity without the fear of God. This grave person spoke his sense of this, when, in the beginning of his last sickness, one making an observation to him of the goodness of God, in drawing out his dayes so great a length, he lift up his eyes and, with a sigh, said in Jacob's words, Few and evil have the years of my life been, and what is the longest life compared with eternity!

Because we have not yet taken notice of it, we shall here add a few words in some description of his person. His presence was manly and majestic, his aspect sweet and pleasant, and of a countenance that commanded love, reverence, and fear, and exprest gravity and good nature. He was tall of stature and well-made, not fat though well furnisht, his complexion fresh and sanguine, and he went very straight in body to the last: of a clean, firm, healthful constitution, though not robust or very strong, and rarely troubled with pains in his head. For many years he injoyed a perfect health without any considerable interruption, onely he once had a dysentery, wherein physitions despaired of his life, and from which he difficultly recovered by an excoriation of the bowells. Slight indispositions rarely confined him, and he

* This is Chap. VII. of Book III. part ii.

thought the way of medication now a dayes, with a suddain change of diet and nse of physic, served for nothing but to made slow recoveries and hold a disease in credit. And particularly, for a person of his years to forbear his wonted actions, for a long while together, would greatly disimprove him in the use of the bodily parts; and to betake him to his bed for a small matter, and change his wonted course of exercise, he thought a needless weakening of himself. He was indeed long haunted with scorbutic aches, but these he cleared himself of by chafing at nights in bed with his hand the spots and places affected. His appetite was all along very good, he slept sound, his mind, memory, and fancy retained their vigour to the last. Not any thing like dotage appeared in him, much less the crooked humours of tenaciousness, covetousness, pievishness, or crabbed impatience, the common blemishes of old age.

His course of life, to say the truth, was a course of abstinence, austerity, and mortification. He alwayes went very neat in his cloaths, and loved to have everything about him cleanly. The best of his furniture he gave away to his children when they married, and kept nothing of household-stuff to himself, but what was very decent, plain and convenient. Except strangers were with him, he seldom, in his fullest estate, dined upon more than one dish, with a piece of cheese, a little ale, and somtimes wine after dinner. A dish of coffee and a bit of bread was his usual breakfast, and for the most part some light thing for supper. Nine o'clock at night was his bed time, unless more than ordinary business kept him up; and four o'clock in the morning in summer, and five o'clock in winter, were his constant hours of rising. He would lie no where but in one of the uppermost rooms of his house, and 'til a year or two before he dyed, would never have a fire in his chamber in the rainiest weather nor in the sharpest frost. When he took his journeys, he would admit no servant to go with him 'til a while before his death. And he was so careful to get his miners paid, that their families, who depended upon his work, might be supplyed against the holidayes, as they call them, that after he was turned of fourscore years of age he would never omit a journey in the depth of winter in December into the worst part of Cumberland. But the God, who crowns the year with his goodness, crowned him with his favour, and through frosts and snows, hideous moors and fells, appeared remarkably in his preservation, though the last winter-journey he rid was but two months before his death.

He had seen two worlds, the world renewed by reformation and again destroyed by a deluge of wickedness, being in comparison of his younger dayes brought into a private station of greater

obscurity. After all our controversies, he apprehended the last debate would not be between Conformists and Nonconformists, but between Protestants and Papists. An observation how the far greater part of that called the Church of England were gone off from their doctrinal articles, and some Dissenters treading in their steps; and how the generality of men were grown despisers of piety and prodigiously vicious in their lives, brought to his mind Bishop Usher's prediction concerning the fate of the Protestant churches. For, though at first he lookt at that much talkt-of prophecy, as the jealousy or as a fear, which that good man had, and which others of a different denomination have had, grounded upon the incurable degeneracy of all the churches of the Reformation; yet what our Author lived to see brought with some fresh impression into his thoughts the circumstances, which to be sure our Churchmen will not say were enthusiastical, of the Primate of Armagh's prophesy, that the Outward Court should for a time be given up to the Papists. And this gentleman could not tell, but that same prelat who was able to prognosticate Ireland's being punisht by the Papists 40 years before it came to pass, might have that further discovered to him which should be bitter in an after age. Let infatuated high-flying Churchmen consider it. For the Bishop being askt, as both Dr. Bernard and Dr. Parr relate it, not long before his death, whether he thought that time was yet past? he turned his eyes towards the person, fixing them in a strange manner as he used to do when he spoke not his own words, and when the power of God was upon him, he said, "Fool not yourself with vain hopes of its being past, for I tell you, what you have seen is but the beginning of sorrow to what is yet to come on all the Protestant churches, which 'ere long shall fall under a sharper persecution than ever yet they have had upon them, and that by the cruell hand of the Papists."

But the shadows of the evening began now to stretch a great length upon himself as well as upon the church. He would somtimes complain in the prophet's words, Hab. 1. 4. "the law is slackened, and judgment doth not go forth," where the word used by the LXX. alludes to a man's pulse, which, if it moves not he is dead: so is it with religion in a nation.

Our Author's sight grew dim, his eyes served him not to read with, which though it deprived him of one of the greatest pleasures of life, yet he was cheerful and thankful that so much sight was allowed him, as served him to go abroad with. He was able to write, and could keep as straight a line and write as legible a hand as ever, but was not able, through the defect and glimmering of his eyes, to read one line of what he wrote after he had writ it. His son-in-law then attending in Parliament

procured spectacles for him made by the best artists in London, but none could be had to relieve his sight. There was also a luxation in his right knee, which pined that thigh more than the other and made him halt a little, (though he still went very straight), occasioned by a fall he got, that, without breaking the skin, broke the great sinew which is inserted in the knee-pan. He was never afflicted with any pains of the stranguary causing a retention of urin, yet was usually so costive, that he staid frequently three dayes, before the parts which expell the excrements could do their office. And there was once so great a quantity of small stones, sand, and mud together fell upon the neck of the bladder, as occasioned for near 48 hours a totall suppression of urin; during which, his behaviour was so humble, his discourse so heavenly, it must be an hard heart that was not affected with it, for the serenity of his mind was more like one in ease. This extremity oblieged him to use Father Paul's remedy, I mean the candle, performing the operation with his own hand, whereby though it pleased God to give him present ease and deliverance, the sphincter muscle was so weakned, it is not improbable it brought him into that diabætes which five years after proved fatal to him.

He was loath to remit any of his usual exercises, and took up a custom of enquiring the age of such beggars as asked alms of him, that, comparing his own case with their infirmities, who he saw look like elderly people, he might make his own use of it. Numbers of his most vallued acquaintance he had outlived, who in point of time had got the start of him and to whome he had been not a little helpful in attaining those crowns which he and they now enjoy together. He dyed in such full assurance as to his eternal state that some of his last words were, "I hope I know in whome I have believed and am persuaded he is able to keep what I have committed to him."

[* Having on Saturday been to wait upon the young Earl of Darwentwater, then in town (the same who was afterwards beheaded) and then newly come to the honour and estate of his family, in returning home he felt his cloak grow very heavy and cumbersome to him, and was sorely faint and weary before he reacht his own house. But the Lord's Supper being to be administered in the congregation the day following, he would not be hindred from going to it. The text insisted on for that occasion had somwhat of a presage in it, being the story of Elijah's wandring in the desert, 1 Kings xix. 8, "And he arose and did eat and drink, and went in the strength of that meat

* From the Funeral Oration, already referred to at p. 24.

forty dayes and forty nights unto Horeb the mount of God." For about so many dayes and nights after this last *viaticum* did this our Elijah also go unto the mount of God. Finding himself loaden with his distemper, he raised his spiritt with all his might and said, "Well, there is a rest that remains, and that rest is sure!" He had no expectation of relief from physitions by reason of his advanced age. As much as he could he concealed his infirmity, that neither by grones nor intermission of his cheerfulness, any thing could be descerned except his decay of strength which intimated an approaching dissolution. The importunity of those about him prevailed at last, that a physition was admitted, but his malady had got too far on to do him any service. He received visits and discourst upon all occasions, but still, when the company was gone, retired to God in the employment of his thoughts, which he exprest in fervent and frequent prayers. To those that were with him he gave pious and good advice, and was very careful least watchers and servants should be worn out with attending upon him.]

Several weeks before our Author's last sickness confined him to his house, he found an extreme weakness in those parts which retain the urin, and grew much worse, being sorely spent and enfeebled. Himself, of all that were busy about him, was the least concerned what the issue of his distemper might be. He made his will, leaving what estate was of his own purchasing to his younger son *.

[† Our dear Author employed his solitude and retirements in deep meditation, where he would somtimes be ravisht with the remembrance of that dayes drawing on, wherein, because he was a scanty vessel (though of as large a size as most) that, during mortality, could not hold much, he should be comprehended of Christ Jesus, plunged over head and ears in that ocean. For a good while before he died, he every night recommended himself after he was in bed, into the everlasting arms of his Heavenly

* This will and other testaments of the family and the will of Richard Prideaux, were abridged and indexed by Sir Cuthbert Sharp, who was employed by Bp. Barrington to index the Durham Wills. But Raine tells me that they are not now to be found. The index bears opposite to their mention a + the favourite mark of the knight. From his MSS. we find that the will of "Ambrose Barnes, merchant, aged 82 and upwards, weak and infirm of body," was made on 21 March 1709[-10]. He leaves 50*l.* for his funeral, and gives to his son Joseph Barnes and his heirs a rent-charge of 24*l.* for the life of testator's daughter Sarah Barnes out of his messuages in Newcastle, and so charged, gives them to his son Thomas. Testator's son-in-law George Airey had given him two bonds in 1709, and these and other monies were to be paid in part of the marriage settlement of his son Joseph Barnes. He leaves all his household stuff to his son Thomas and daughter Sarah, and 5*l.* to his servant Jane Brown. And he appoints his son-in-law Jonathan Hutchinson and his son Joseph Barnes executors.

† From a previous page of Book II. part i. Chap. IV.

Father, and used his voice in prayer, for the benefit of one of his grandchildren, who then lay in the same chamber. And upon his death-bed, after some silence and musing upon the preciousness of Christ, he broke out with an emphasis of affection into these words, "Oh to be with him! to be with him!"]

When in intervalls he was in any degree of ease, he was wonderfully cheerful, to the refreshment of those about him. To such as came to see him, he carryed [himself] with great manners and respects, taking their visit very kindly, discoursing somtimes of things pertaining to the kingdom of God, somtimes about news and such affairs as were then in motion. But his desire was to be kept retired and as free from company as possible. Much enquiry without doors was made of his physition concerning the progress of his disease, the mayor of the town doing him the honour to send his officers several times to know how he did. Amongst others, an ancient gentleman of his more intimate acquaintance, coming to take his leave of him, he spoke most affectionately to him of the state of future glory, intimating his strong persuasion that they who had been companions in life should not long be separated by death, but be both shortly where Christ is. And so it came to pass, for that worthy person who was born six months after him, dyed six months after him, being indeed better half killed for want of him.

I think it is Abarbinel makes June an unfortunate month to the Jews, because in that month the murmurers dyed in the wilderness, both the first and second temple were destroyed, and the Jews bannisht out of England, France, and Spain. Were we to imitate the conceit of this Hebrew doctor, I know not why we might not make March as inauspicious a month, for the mortality of considerable men that has hapned upon it. For on the 8th of March, did our William III. finish one of the greatest lives in Europe, and on the 23rd day of the same month in the year 1710 he was followed by this gentleman, as good a subject as that prince perhaps ever had. They who were in the house during his illness affirm it for a truth, they heard the tinkle of a little bell pass before them up stairs to the higher part of the house, though there was no known cause of any such sound. [* The progress of his disease having brought him to his last moment, a dear friend of his whose name will be ever precious in the church of God, standing up with eyes and hands elevated to Heaven, did the office of an inferior angel by pronouncing these words, "*Lord Jesus, receive his precious soul into thy everlasting armes,*" at what instant, without the least struggle or motion, he breathed his last and that prayer was answered.]

* The words in brackets are from the Funeral Oration.

Thus with Abraham he gave up the ghost *satus dierum*, full of dayes and of a short sickness in the LXXXIII. year of his age. Several worthy gentlemen, of great note and use in their country, dyed about the same time in the communion of the national church.

[* "The Author's Memory Revived in a Funeral Oration spoken in an Assembly of Gentlemen and Friends of the Deceased, March 27th, 1710, at the Tolbooth in ——, Northumberland, being the day after the Interment of Mr. Ambrose Barnes. By F. V. Esqr. (*Barnes Arms.*)

> "Nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret,
> Hos mihi prædixit luctus, non dira Celæno.
> Hic labor extremus, longarum hæc meta viarum.
> Hinc me digressum vestris Deus adpulit oris.
> Sic pater Æneas intentis omnibus unus
> Fata renarrabat Divûm, cursusque docebat.
> Contiecuit tandem, factoque hic fine quievit."
> Virgil. 3. Æn.

(*Incipit.*) "When my own private affairs brought me lately down into this country, the sorrow befallen me since was not lookt for, much less that part in it which your request hath put upon me."—(*Explicit.*) "Should the present age be as regardless of his memory as it was ungrateful to his merits, a better age will do him justice, his record lying before his tribunal who is coming to judge the world in righteousness, and to render to every one according to their works. To which let this worthy company of honourable gentlemen, as they break up, joyn their hearty concurrence, saying 'Even so, come Lord Jesus, come quickly.' Amen, Amen."

[† "Part of an ode dedicated by a gentleman to his remembrance, who, whatever be the performance of his poetry, has kept very close to the truth of history: he begins thus:—

> "How softly should these flowing numbers stream
> If Virgil did but sing, for Pollio is the theme.
>
> "The western Dame amazed stood,
> Gazing upon Tamarus-floud,
> Neptune his trident shook,
> Wondering to see the brook
> Where dwelt this rare example of the age
> When he appear'd first on the stage.

---

* This, already quoted from, is placed at the end of the MS. Vide pp. 24, et seq.

† In the Funeral Oration, "An epitome of whose character will appear in part of an ode &c."

"Hail happy boy, whose lofty genius shines,
Solid but vigorous too,
What more could nature do
To raise this patriarch of this house,
An old young man betimes
Polisht for ornament and use.

"Famed Delos whence Jove came,
And Teucer's race who boast
The huge antiquity of their coast,
Must here give place
Least Caius Marius they disgrace,
The Saint and Gentleman are not two, but are the very same.

"The fables of the knavish Greeks
Had spoilt our mass of blood,
And Egypt's learning (like her leeks)
Had hindred us of better food;
For here we see meek Moses rise and shine
Whose constancy to truth was masculine.

"The golden age returns,
Our incense at his altar burns;
In suff'rings for his God to 's country true,
His conscience and his fortitude
By gen'rous actions he made good,
What more could Brutus or a Cato do?

"Let mother Rome survey
Her noble list of gallant men
Cippus, Menenius Agrippa,
And he who shut up Cacus' den,
When this grave Consul to the Senate goes
The little village to a city grows,
So Athens may but live
Kind Codrus can himself for hostage give.

"Tell me, ye Powers above,
Ye who dwell in realms of joy,
What pity, mercy, and what love,
Did his high heavenly mind employ.
Soft was his breast and soft affection burns
Even where his kindness meets with vile returns.

"Epaminondas never fought
Battels so hard as these,
Taming fierce beasts at Ephesus with nought
But honey (not the stings) he ravisht from the bees.

"Grown full of dayes, and weary of the age,
He kept in view
A better state of things to come,
His death a sad presage
The Commonwealth grew near its doom;
But who the race of virtue runns
Must share the fate of Argea's sons."]

This servant of God was taken away, that he, who was worn out with labour and old age, might not behold the calamities

which quickly followed. For of his children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren, whome he left alive, first his grandson, who bore his name Ambrose, dyed in Holland; then his grandson Will. Hutchinson; then his son-in-law Jonath. Hutchinson; then his own eldest son Joseph, all in less than two years; and, to make up the period of this mortality, his grandson by marriage, a justice of peace in Northumberland, fell under the ignominy of an untimely death, by being rashly ingaged in the Northern rebellion against King George*: to show us the fading condition of families that have lived in fashion and good credit, and, as if he had been the prop and life of his house, the uncertainty of earthly prosperity, and what an alteration the removal of such men as he was, makes in the world. For as to the public, his breath was scarce out, when our affairs took such a turn as cast the nation upon the brink of ruin, and all Europe into a consternation, and has been followed with such a succession of disasters, as He only, who knoweth all things, knows where they will end; for as to the town he left, all the concernments of it a few years after ran to a dregg.

When, many years after, his grave happened to be opened, to make room for one of his family, an old man seeing his scull, which another there present was holding in his hand†, broke into tears, uttering these words, "Lord what are we! that once was the wisest head in the North of England!" That he was an incomparable person, was the confession of all who lookt upon him without malice and envy: that his fellow would never arise in Newcastle, was the voice of many: that, had his fortunes equalled his parts, and had his conscience moved in the orb of the national religion, he could not have failed to be—I know not what—topping man, was the compliment our great men past upon him. But this is fond talk, for he was what is infinitely better.

* "Hall of Otterburn, the estate forfeited and sold to one of the same name but of another family." John Hall, of Otterburn, "of daring and pertinacious spirit," five times reprieved, who boasted that his dying speech would turn the hearts of the kingdom to King James III. Parson Paul and this Justice Hall "behaved themselves rudely to the Ordinary, at the place of execution, where they were attended by priests of their own persuasion, in a lay habit. They were hardened to the highest degree, gave their treason free vent in their seditious speeches, and died in a rage, denying every thing which they had owned in their petitions." See Hodgson's Nd. i. 115. Hall died, aged 44, on 16 July, 1716, proving, with other details, that some of the Memoir of Barnes is later than the date of the Dedication. Hodgson makes his wife daughter of Alderman Hutchinson, who was Mayor of Newcastle when William III. landed. The dates confirm the text, and show that she must have been daughter of Alderman Jonathan Hutchinson the son of the Mayor, and husband of Mary Barnes. The differences of creed and politics in the relatives is not unparalleled.

† This must surely have been written more than six years after Barnes's death.

Because some persons have in two or three days' time come to life again, who during that time were laid out for dead, the Jews used once a day for such a space to go view the bodies of their friends who were laid into the vaults, supposing the soul hovered about the sepulcher so long, earnestly expecting to return again to the body; but when they observed the face on the third day to alter towards putrefaction, they closed the vault, looking upon them as quite dead beyond hope of recovery. So must we be content to leave this our friend fallen asleep in Christ. It was easier to go by the house where he lived, than it is to go by the stone under which he now lies buried, nor is there any relief left but this good hope through grace, that, knowing our Nepotian is with Christ, as Jerom said, joyned with the quoir of saints, we ere long shall be joyned with him.

God vouchsaft him that privilege which a good man would prefer before many, not to outlive servisableness, to live till he was weary of the world, not til the world was weary of him. And what occasion for art and contrivance to make him live amongst men? There was a pyramid stood many ages upon the grave of Jehosophat; there goes a tradition that Adam and Eve as well as Abraham and Sarah lie buried in Hebron: and over many sepulchral monuments we see an helm, a surcoat, a sword, gauntlet, and spurrs, poor perishing trophies! over which Death triumphs. This gentleman's monument is raised in the dear remembrance of as many as retain a pious sense of his name and worth, exequies that are out of the reach of moths and worms, such sordid souls, as, envying him his dues, shall leave their own names in eternal obscurity. The ancient Thracians, called Drausi, buried their children with great joy, but wept grievously at their birth, calling to mind the miseries they had to go thro' in this mortal life. And the Counsil of Toledo observe Christ wept not at the death, but at the resurrection, of Lazarus, because good men are better out of an evill world than in it. One hour of refreshment in the life to come is better than a lifetime of pleasure here, is the true saying of a Jewish Rabbin. Who can describe that paradice into which infinite Love hath caught up such a soul as this! The Jews' prayers for their dying friends was after this manner, "Let their souls rest in peace in the garden of Eden until the Comforter come, who will make them hear the peace * of our fathers who sleep in Hebron, open ye to them the gates of Eden." And at the burials of their friends, they pluckt up tufts of grass, repeating these words of the Prophet,

THY BONES SHALL FLOURISH AS AN HERB.

* Sic.

APPENDIX

OF

EVIDENCES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF RELIGION IN NEWCASTLE AND GATESHEAD BETWEEN THE REFORMATION AND REVOLUTION *.

Reign of Henry VII., 1485—1509.

1487-8. All Saints. "These be the statutes made in the third year of King Henry the Seventh, by the worshipful men and the churchmasters, with the whole body of the parishing of Allhallows, for the welfare of the church now and in time to come, and for eschewing of malice and evil will within the said parish, and that no man nor woman shall challenge nor wrong duties now nor yet in time to come. *Imprimis.* What woman that will take a stallroom within the church, shall have it whilst she lives, if she dwell in the parish, and if she dwell a twelvemonth and a day forth of the said parish, then it shall be lawful to the churchmasters to let it to another after the same custom. *Item.* If a man's wife die in the parish, that hath a stall in the church, when she is dead if her husband will take it again any day within fourteen days next following he shall have it before any other, and, if he will not, then the churchmaster to let it to another to the behoof and benefit of the church. *Item.* If a man take a stall again the which was his wife's stall before, to remain in his hands whilst he provide a wife for it. If it happen that that wife have a stall, then it shall be lawful to the man to take it, in his pleasure, which of these two stalls he will have unto his wife; and the other stall to be resigned in again to the behoof and benefit

* Commencing before the first event, and ending after the latter one. This was necessary in order to give any proper idea of the state of affairs of the two periods. The first document, though long known, does not seem to have received the attention it deserves. Observe its restriction to females, and cf. Langland, c. 1362: "Among *wyves* and *wodewes* ich am ywoned sute yparroked in *puwes*. The person hit knoweth." See *Pule* and *Puler* in Halliwell's Dictionary.

of the church. *Item.* It is agreed that there shall no stall be letten to any man's daughter, except she be handfast, or asked in the church, or else married with a husband. *Item.* That there shall be no stall letten to any woman dwelling without the parish, because the parishing shall not be unserved of itself in that. *Item.* If a wife have a stall, and thinks that she sits not well, then, if there fall a stall void that the churchmasters think lawful by their advice, then they shall change for 4*d.* an they be both of one price. *Item.* If a wife may not come to her stall, because she is impotent, she shall let it to no other without the churchwardens' licence*."

1490. Gateshead. CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS†.

"*Memorandum. Theys ben the gifes of lyn cloth that ys gyven to the vestmentes.* In primis of William Broon's wife vij 3erdes. Item of Stven Byrom wife vij 3erdes. Item Ricard Lyghton a halbe and chaulese. Item Sanct John Gyld v 3erdes. Item Robert Robson wyfe iiij 3erdes. Item John Ricerson wyfe ij 3erd. Item Dame Sorelay ij 3erd. Item John Layton wyfe j 3erd. Item 3oyngar wife j 3erd. Item Margret Boroden j 3erd. Item Esbel Tuggelk j 3erd. Item Thomas Barnes j 3erd. Item Janet Benton j 3erd. Item Ricard Belles wife j 3erd. Holme wife ij 3erdes. Dame Esdale ij 3erdes. Alen Hawdynettes wife iij quarters of a 3erd. Robert Symon a halbe to a chyld. Item halfe a schett and a kandilstyk.

* Sopwith, from a copy circa 1630, in All Saints' vestry. He adds:—

"These stall rooms are mentioned in one of the parish books of the date of 1488, and the rents arising from them are regularly recorded in the parish books, since the year 1630. The following items will give some idea of the amount of this department of the church revenues, being the amount of the yearly receipts for the pews, &c. during the seventeenth century:— [But read note * on p. 259.]

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1640	5	2	8	1670	10	8	6
1650	5	18	0	1680	10	12	0
1660	7	11	0	1690	11	7	6."

Mr. Haswell points out to me the similarity of these pre-Reformation stall arrangements to those which ruled the customary freeholds and renewable leaseholds in the North. The Gateshead practice will occur presently. In my notes of the Darlington churchwardens' accounts, which begin in 1630, I find that on the restalling of the church in 1635-7 Mary Nicholson was "placed in first seat in the fourth stall from the font on the south ailey, because it was her mother's, her grandmother's, and her great grandmother's, and paid for it 6*d.*" My general conclusions drawn from those accounts for the 17th century, were these. "On St. Paul's day the churchwardens let the stalls to persons wanting seats. They only let a single 'room' or seat to each person, and a small fee was exacted. At the death of an individual, his representatives had to be readmitted, and, although hereditary claims were respected, they did not pass as a right. The members of several families would sit in one pew, and even where a family had erected a stall seats to other parties were let by the wardens. The allottee sat till change or death. Before the century was out the assignment of pews was in vogue, and the expression "by consent of the churchwardens' gradually ceased."

† The leaf containing what remains of these curious items is here transcribed in extenso. A few extracts are given by Surtees, transcribed when somewhat more of the accounts was forthcoming. The leaf is now in the book of charters and other documents formerly loose in Gateshead vestry, which was made up by Hodgson the historian of Northumberland.

"*Memorandum. Resavid.* In primis for a stall de John Davyson vj^{d}. Item of John Fornese for a stall iiij^{d}. Item of Cristian Thomson for a stall iiij^{d}. Item gathir in the kirke to a boke v^{d} ob. Item Janet Benton to a boke iiij^{d}. Item Robert Robson to the gylton of the crose xij^{d}. Item of Alisander Fathiestanhaugh iij^{s} iiij^{d}. Item for the berryall of John Borrell tal$\overline{\text{or}}$ iij^{s} iiij^{d}. Item of Patrik Cramlyngton for a stall iiij^{d}. Item of John Scotton for a stall iiij^{d}. Item of William Barlay for a stall vj^{d}. Item of William Connyngam for a stall iiij^{d}. Item of Richert Hall for a stall iiij^{d}. Item of John Whyet x^{s}. Item of Robert Thothirwik for a stall iiij^{d}. Item of Herry Sandirson for a stall iiij^{d}. Item of John Richerson for his dowghter Kateren for a stall vj^{d}. Item of Robert Belle at command of Mister Kook xvj^{d}. Item of Robert Robson cordiner to the kirk wark iiij^{d}. Item of William Johnson for Benscham medew vj^{d}. Item of Hew Hogeson xx^{d} and xx^{d}. Item of Thomas Carr for a stall vj^{d}. Item of Margret Borrell for a throwghestane xij^{d}. Item of Robert Hogson v^{d}. Item of Thomas Herison xv^{d}. Item of Thomas Fairs vj^{d}. Item of Thomas Wrangwis wife for a stall vj^{d}. Item of William Hollen for Wetsonday farme . . . . . iij^{s} iiij^{d}. Item John Langschafft for a stall vj^{d}. Item gathir in the kirk to the gyltyng of the crose iij^{s} j^{d}. Item of Robert Robson to the kirk wark vj^{s} viij^{d}. Item for the berriall of Robert Robson iij^{s} iiij^{d}. Item for a soke fon in the kirk ij^{d}. Item of Margret Hert for a stall iij^{d}. Item of Annes Robynson for hir farm ij^{d}. Item of Robert Berton for a stall vj^{d}. Item of Thomas Rand for a stall iiij^{d}. Item John Fresell for a stall iiij^{d}. Item of Elyng Rae for a stall iiij^{d}. Item of William Dorram for a stall iiij^{d}.

"*Expensæ.* In primis for a nald nobill to Bartem Yonghosban viij^{s} x^{d}. Item to Sir Thomas Huchonson for a farthyn of gold ij^{s} vj^{d}. Item to William Broon for a quarter of a nald nobill ij^{s} ij^{d}. Item for qwiksilver to gilt with xij^{d}. Item for oyle to the lampe ij^{d}. Item for gylting of the crose xx^{d}. Item to the saweres for sawyng xj^{d} and xij^{d}. Item for halfe j c. wanscott xv . . . . . Item to kyrvore for ix dais halfe wirkynge . . . . . Item to John Loksmith for bandes and crokes and a lok . . . . Item to John Hallinson for x schore nalles . . . Item to Edward Hahes for mendyng of a glase wy[ndow] . . . Item to John Hallenson for barres to a y^{e} * glase . . . . . Item for silke and threde and mendyng of vestm[entes] . . . . . Item Lowrens Swane wife to a nabe . . . . . Item John Swyth . . . . . " Something is cut away and the sheet may have extended much further.

On the back of the foregoing account come the following items which I place here in deference to Surtees, and as the hallowing of the vestments is mentioned, though I am not sure that they are not the conclusion of a previous account.

* Probably meaning *the*. Here however the character is an unmistakeable *y*, elsewhere in the MS. it is the peculiar theta familiar to readers of mediæval hands.

"*Expensæ.* In primis for makyng of a supplacacion to Andro Wryter to one person iiij^{d}. Item for payntyng of the crose stafe iiij^{d}. Item for oyle to the lamp x^{d}. Item to Robert Robson for his costes to Hugkon v^{s} ix^{d}. Item for haloyng of the chalese and ij corporakes ij^{s}. Item for karyagh of the chalese and cruettes viij^{d}. Item to Ricard Postell for the sterne * makyng vj^{d}. And for the payntyng j^{d}. Item for mendyng of the loke of the stepill doyr j^{d}. Item for synggyng of the Lady mese xl^{d}. Item for synggyng of a dirige for the wife that gafe the skarlett hode xviij^{d}. Item to Androw Writor for a letter of a tornay iiij^{d}. Item for sewyng Alisander Fethirstanhawgh in the ton korte iij^{d}. Item for a spade and a schoell and mendyng of the hac vij^{d}. Item for ij spares and to a ledder and the makyng vj^{d} ob. Item for mendyng of glase wyndow iij^{d}. Item for gangyng to Dorrem to Sir Edward Chepman ij^{d}. Item for rydyng to Dorham for haloyng of the vestimentes vij^{d}. Item for a stryng to the litill bell iiij^{d}. Item to Richer Postell for a qweyll to the lytill bell vj^{d}. Item to Robert Wylkynson for making of nessessariis to the belles iiij^{d}." The remainder of the side blank. Surtees adds, possibly from another leaf, now lost:—"For mendyng of the organe, xxvj^{s} viij^{d}. For swepyng of kyrk, ij^{d}."—and says that these accounts are signed "Anno Domini M.CCCC^{mo} nonagesimo. Thomas Huchinson, capellan., Rob. Robson, smyth, Thomas Robynson, John De . . . ." Thomas Hochinson was chaplain of St. John's chantry about that time.

1503. July 24. Margaret daughter of Henry VII. conducted to her husband, James of Scotland. Upon Tyne bridge, "cam in process yon rychly revested the college [clergy] of the said towne, and with the freres &c.—At the bryge end, apon the gatt, war many children, revested of surpeliz †, syngyng mellodiously hympnes, and playing on instruments of many sortes."

Reign of Henry VIII., 1509-1547.

1519-20. The Bishop's Receiver "paid to the Rector of Gateshed for tithe coals of my Lord's pit there, 31*s.* 8*d.*"

1520. Apr. 4. John Snow, merchant, conveys a stable in the Broad chare to feoffees, who are to suffer the churchwardens "of the church and chapel of All Hallows" to receive the rents for "the augmentation of the reparations of the said church and chapel of All Hallows for ever."

1521. May 4. The kirkmasters and parishioners of the church of All Hallows being, by the gift of John Cokke, late mayor, seised of a house in the Broad chare, the kirkmasters, by consent of the whole parishioners, sell and convey the same to Edward Baxter in fee, in consideration of 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* "to them paid in their great necessity

* "Sterne, a star." † Vide Rock's Church of our Fathers, ii. 1, et seqq.

for the buildings and reparations of the said church of All Hallows, which was in great ruin and decay at that time, and, without the special aid and help of the said Edward Baxter, could not at that time have been builded." On May 13, the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriff, and commonalty, confessing that the money was well and truly bestowed on the building and reparations, confirm the gift. Baxter covenants with the kirkmasters and "all the parocheyns of the said paroche church of Alhalowes" that he and his heirs will celebrate the obit of the donor of the property *.

1531. Nov. 24. Roger Dichaunte, merchant, of the parish of All Hallows, Newcastle, appeared before Bishop Tunstall in the chapel within Auckland manorhouse. He was suspected, accused, and convicted of heresy. On 1 Dec. he solemnly abjured his opinions "in the name of God. Amen." Chiefly and mainly had he offended in these articles. 1. There is no purgatory. It is folly to pray for them that be dead. 2. The sacrifice of the mass is not acceptable to God, but rather stirreth the ire of God, and crucifieth Christ of new. 3. It is but vain to pray to saints. Christ is only our mediator. 4. We be justified by faith. No good work neither commanded by God nor invented by man can make us acceptable to God. 5. Man hath no free will. All things be done by necessity. It is not in the power of man to do good or to eschew evil. 6. Every christian man is a priest, and hath power to consecrate the body of our Lord, and to do all other things that priests alone now use to do. 7. Every priest might and ought to be married. 8. The life of religious men living in their cloisters is hypocrisy. All monasteries ought to be pulled down †.

1536. July. Bishop Tunstall, residing at Stockton, has inspected a little book in English, called Ortulus Animæ, which has been brought in by some folks of the Newcastle. Is told that many copies of it have been imported, chiefly into London and other ports. When the reader of it looks in the August calendar, upon the day of the decollation of St. John Baptist, to find the cause why he was beheaded, and to that intent consults the commentary set in the midst among the dominical letters, there, in that gloss, appears a manifest declaration against the effect of an act of parliament establishing the royal succession. Forthwith wrote to the Mayor of Newcastle to search and seize such books and ascertain the importers. Thinks if the King or Cromwell were also to write, his worship will do the service with more diligence. Sends the book up, and suggests the sending of letters to other havens and places. (S.P.) ‡

The Dissolution of smaller monasteries, and consequent disaffection known as the Pilgrimage of Grace.

Dec. 4. Henry writes that a royal proclamation has been sent down to Newcastle, and on the same day he sends a free pardon for

* See this deed and the last more fully in Archæologia Æliana, 8vo, i. 37.

† The document at large in its old orthography may be seen in Dep. and Eccl. Proc., Sur. Soc., p. 45.

‡ These letters shall mark extracts from the State Papers and calendars thereof.

Norfolk only to use in extremity. It includes the king's subjects and commons in "the town of Newcastle upon Tyne, and the shire of the same."

1536-7. Jan. 28. Sir Ralph Sadler at Newcastle, writes to Cromwell. "Sir, on Friday last I arrived in Newcastle; where, I assure your lordship, I have been well entertained, for the King's sake, both of the Mayor and the Aldermen. And, at this time, I assure your lordship they have shewed themselves honest, faithful, and true men to the King." See the whole graphic letter as to the means of defence and merits of the mayor, "a wise man and substantial." (S.P.)

1539. There were 1907 ablebodied men available for the defence of Newcastle. Mr. Hinde estimates the population at 9,535 *.

1539. Dec. 11. From the deposition of George Busshope of Auckland it appears that Dr. Hilliard [styled in 1540 late chaplain to the Bishop of Durham and who had been counselling religious houses not to surrender to the King] on his return from London sent for Busshope to meet him at the Bishop of Durham's palace at Auckland, and from thence to accompany him towards Newcastle, preaching; that upon Thursday the 4th they arrived at Durham, and tarried there one night with Mr. Chancellor and dined there the next day and in the afternoon rode to Gateshead, where Hilliard preached on the Saturday, and from thence to Morpeth where he preached on the Sunday. He retreated into Scotland. (S.P.)

1540. The Dissolution of the greater monasteries.

1543. Died Dr. John Heryn or Heron, the vicar of Newcastle during the Pilgrimage of Grace and Dissolution of monasteries. He alienated the tithe of Cramlington for a cheese and a couple of capons, to be tendered on 9 May, St. Nicholas' day, yearly in the porch of St. Nicholas' Church. Dr. Henry Aglionbye succeeded Nov. 15.

1545. Instructions to the Archbishop of York President and the Council of the North. They are to sit for the space of at least a whole month in every year at York, Newcastle, Hull, and Durham. Have power to change the places of their sittings, "if by death or any other occasion" they are unsuitable. In all sittings they shall set forth to the people the laws of the "parliament and clergy, and specially the laws touching the abolishing of usurped and pretended power of the Bishop of Rome, whose abuses they shall so beat into their heads, by continual inculcation, as they may smell the same, and perceive that they declare it with their hearts and not with their tongues only for a form. And likewise they shall declare the order and determination taken and agreed upon for the abrogation of such vain holy days, as being appointed only by the Bishops of Rome to make the world blind, and to persuade the same that they might also make saints at their pleasure, do give occasion, by idleness, of the increase of many vices and inconveniences. Which two points His Majesty doth most heartily require and straightly command the said president and

* Arch. Æl. 8vo, iii. 63.

council to set forth with dexterity, and to punish extremely, for example, all contemptuous offenders in the same." Furthermore they are to inquire "who hath taken and enclosed commons called intakes; who be extreme in taking of 'gressoms and oneridge of rentes;' and so call the parties that have so used themselves evil therein before them; and leaving all respects and affection apart they shall take such order for the redress of the enormities used in the same, as the poor people be not oppressed, but that they may live after their sorts and qualities." (S.P.)

Reign of Edward VI., 1547—1553.

Soon after the battle of Musselborough (Dec. 10, 1547), John Rough, a Scottish reformer, who had had a yearly pension of 20*l.* from Henry VIII., while at St. Andrews (where Knox preached with him), fled for greater liberty to Carlisle, and from thence to the Protector. Somerset sent him as a preacher at his old stipend to serve at Carlisle, Berwick, and Newcastle; from whence, after he had taken a countrywoman of his to wife he was called by the Archbishop of York to a benefice in Hull. On Mary's accession he fled to the continent, where he lived by knitting. But, "lacking yarn" he came over to London to provide it, and attaching himself to a secret society as minister, was betrayed by a tailor and burned. He had, when in the North country, been the means of saving the life of Dr. Watson when endangered by a sermon that he made there. Watson became Dean of Durham and Bishop of Lincoln in Mary's time, and at the examination of Rough, detected him to be a pernicious heretic, who did more hurt in the North parts than a hundred besides of his opinion. "Why, sir (cried Rough), is this the reward I have for saving your life, when you preached erroneous doctrine in the days of King Edward VI.?" Watson was for 24 years of Elizabeth's reign a prisoner, being opposed to her ecclesiastical supremacy, and, in these his "elder years," is reasonably stated by Wood as "of a sour disposition—learned in deep divinity, but surly, with an austere gravity." In his "younger years" he was "given much to poetry and making plays." For the details of the persecution and martyrdom of Rough and his deacon Cuthbert Symson I refer my readers to Fox.

1548. Return of the Commissioners of Chantries, &c., appointed 14 Feb., 2 Edw. VI. (1547-8). Gateshead stated to have 1000 communicants or "howselinge people." Only those of St. Andrew's among the Newcastle parishes are given. They amounted to 992, "which would give a total population of about 2000. On a rough calculation, we may estimate St. Nicholas' and St. John's respectively,

as equal to St. Andrew's; and All Saints' as double the proportion of any of the others. This would give a total of 10,000 *."

1548-1549. Feb. JOHN KNOX †, who had preached with Rough at St. Andrews, and had been carried thence by the French fleet, obtained his liberty. He came to England and was appointed by the English Council, at Cranmer's suggestion, to be preacher at Berwick ‡.

1549. July 15. WILLIAM PURYE, instituted to the vicarage of Newcastle, on the vacancy occasioned by Aglionbye not paying his tenths to the king and being therefore deprived.

1550. A charge was exhibited against Knox for teaching that the mass was idolatrous. It is stated, without quotation of authorities, that the charge was exhibited before Bishop Tunstall, and that the Bishop summoned him before the Council of the North, and the matter has produced a severe critique of the gentle Tunstall's character, and the position that he durst not inhibit Knox, who acted under the authority of the Protector and Council, but was disposed to listen to the informations lodged against him, and that Knox might owe the liberty of public defence, not to the bishop, but to the council. It does not appear where the teaching complained of took place, but Knox's defence is understood to have been delivered at Newcastle. It states that "the 4th of April, in the year 1550, was appointed to John Knox, preacher of the Holy Evangell of Jesus Christ, to give his confession why he affirmed the mass idolatry. Which day, in presence of the council and congregation, amongst whom was also present the Bishop of Durham and his doctors," he began his address. Knox's motto was, "Spare no arrows" (a very proper one, considering that his wife was a Bowes, and her family's cognizance a sheaf of arrows), and the defence was, according to his usual style, interspersed with raillery. He adverted to doctrines which he had heard in that place, on the preceding Sabbath, the falsehood of which he engaged to demonstrate. But, in the first place, he said, he would submit his notes of the sermon to the preacher for correction; for he did not wish to misrepresent or entrap a speaker through words unadvisedly uttered, but to defend the truth. Bale says: "Et 4 die Aprilis ejusdem anni aperiens in concione opinionem, ejus idolatrias et horrendas blasphemias, tam solidis argumentis, abominationem esse probabat, ut, cum omnibus sciolis, Saturnius ille somniator (Dunelmensis) refragare non possit."

About July, Ninian Menvill, of Sledwish, charged Bishop Tunstall with having consented to his conspiracy for a rebellion in the north.

Sep. 16. Dudley to Cecil. "After my harty comendacions.

* Hinde, Arch. Æl. 8vo, iii. 64.

† In these notes as to Knox, his works edited by Laing have, of course, been found most valuable. I referred to the originals of the State Papers calendared, although some of them are printed by Tytler. McCrie's Life has also been consulted.

‡ Laing i. xv.

Forasmotche as the matter concerning the B[ishop] of D[urham] and M[envill] may chance to be comuned of be fore my comeing agayne, I have thought good to send unto you th'abstract which you deliverd me at Otlandes, drawne furth of thos writinges which came from the sayd B. and M., to th' intent that, at my Lorde of Somersettes comeing to the courte, you may deliver the same to his grace. I have allso thought good to signyfy unto you that the sayd B. hathe byn here with me, and, being out of doubt that he hathe perfytt knowledge for what caus he was sent for, I fyll into comunication with him, and took occation to saye that he hadd a good frend of M., marveling motche that when he hadd him at soche advantage by testymony of his owne lettres that he dyd not bothe send upp him and his lettres to the councell. Whereunto his answer was so cold, as I cold not what to make of yt, but full of perplexity and feare he semith to be; and no doubt but the matter wyll toche him wonderfully, and yelde to the Kinge as good a reste as the B. of Winchester ys like to doo, yf the cardes be true. At Ely place, the xvjth of September, 1550. Your loving frend, J. Warwyk. To my loveing frend Mr. Cicill, oon of the too principale Secretarys to the Kinges Majestie this be dd. at the courte, with spede." (S.P.)

Towards the close of the year Knox was removed from Berwick to Newcastle. He seems already to have "made faithful promise, before witness, to Marjorie Bowes."

1551. Richard Marshall, formerly prior of the Black-Friars at Newcastle, preaching at St. Andrews in Scotland, found it necessary to argue that the pater-noster should be said to God only, and not to the Saints. The doctors of St. Andrew's did not agree. See the Preface to Knox's History of the Reformation, quoted by Brand, i. 131, for their opinions to the contrary, and some of the *learned reasons* for them.

Knox in 1554 wrote thus: "What was said in Newcastle and Berwick before the Sweating Sickness, I trust some in those parts yet bears in mind." Never had England before been so mortally afflicted with that disease. It began first in April, 1551*; and, as the north parts were first afflicted †, so, after posting from town to town, and acquiring the names of Passing Sweat, Hot Sickness, and Stop Gallant, it vanished away in the north, about the beginning of October ‡.

May 15. Wm. Earl of Wilts to Cecil. "I have wretin to my L[ord] of Durham and to the Deane to be at the court upon Monday where I pray you cause the oder part to be, as then they may be hard, as my Lordes gave order it shulde be, as you kno well.—Sins Sir Robert Brandling is staied at Ormston's complaint, it shalbe well don he be at the court upon Monday, they may be hard to geders." (S.P.)

May 20. The Bishop commanded to keep his house.

* Godwin, 243. † Grafton. ‡ Godwin, 243.

Aug. 2. He had licence to walk in the fields.

Nov. 1. Knox referring to this day, afterwards wrote: "What was said upon the day of All Saints—as they call it—(Nov. 1) in the year that the Duke of Somerset was last apprehended (16 Oct. 1551) let Newcastell witness! What before him that then was Duke of Northumberland in the town of Newcastell and in other places more . . . If men will not speak, yet shall the stones and timber of those places cry in fire, and shall bear record that the truth was spoken."

December. Knox was appointed by the Privy Council one of six chaplains in ordinary at the Court of Edward VI; of whom two in succession should always be resident, the other four being absent in preaching; one year two in Wales, two in Lancashire and Derby; next year two in the marches of Scotland and two in Yorkshire; and next year two in Norfolk and Essex, and two in Kent and Sussex.

Dec. 20. The Bishop appeared before the Privy Council, on the discovery of a letter from him to Menvill, the want of which, until its discovery in a casket of the Duke of Somerset, had prevented the determination of the Bishop's matter. He confessed it to be in his hand and was sent to the Tower.

Dec. 22. Tuesday. Knox writes: Dearly beloved sister—Upon Monday I was with your daughter Bowis, who hath her heartily commended unto you and unto our sister Marjorie * . . . I was not, as yet I am, in good case to have travelled; for I had lien Thursday at night, and Friday all day, sore troubled in the gravel . . . It will be after the 12th day before I can be at Berwick, and almost I am determined not to come at all; ye know the cause. God be more merciful unto some than they are equitable to me in judgment . . . At Newcastell, this Tyisday 22 of Dec. 1553 †. I may not answer the places of Scripture, nor yet write the exposition of the sixth psalm. Every day of this week must I preach, if the wicked carcass will permit."

1551-2. Jan. 22. Protector Somerset beheaded. "What (says Knox) the devil and . . the papists meant, by his away-taking, God compelled my tongue to speak in more places than one, and specially . . in the New Castle, as Sir Robert Brandlinge [who had been knighted by Somerset in his return from Scotland] did not forget of long time after. God grant that he may understand all other matters spoken before him then, as at other times, as rightly as he did that mine interpretation of the vineyard, whose hedges, ditches, towers, and wine-press, God destroyed, because it would bring forth no good fruit. And that he may remember that what-

* Shortly afterwards Knox's wife.

† Mr. Laing states that the year 1553 in many undated letters has been supplied by a later hand. The day of the week renders my allocation to 1551 certain, and throws considerable doubt on the dates of divers other letters which have come down to us in disorder, but are all given to 1553.

ever was spoken . . that day, is now [1554] complete . . . except that the final destruction and vengeance of God is not yet fallen upon the greatest offenders, as assuredly shortly it shall, unless that he, and such other of his sort that then were enemies to God's truth, will speedily repent, and that earnestly, of their stubborn disobedience. God compelled my tongue, I say, openly to declare (and this was affirmed before the Kinge and Northumberland oftener than once) that the devil and his ministers intended only the subversion of God's true religion by that mortal hatred among those which ought to have been most assuredly knit together . . and . . minded the overthrow of him that . . procured the death of his innocent friend."

1552. Edward VI's second Book of Common Prayer. Knox procured the considerable differences between its communion office and that of the Book of 1549. "So much prevailed that one man's authority at that time."

March 28, 29, 31. A bill for the attainder of Bishop Tunstall read in the House of Lords these days and pased, Cranmer protesting. The Commons, not satisfied with depositions, required that the accusers might be brought face to face, and the bill went no further.

Sept. 21. Commission to seven persons to examine Tunstall of all manner of conspiracies &c. and if he were found guilty, to deprive him.

Oct. Tunstall deprived. He remained in the Tower until Mary's days.

Oct. 28. Dudley Lord Northumberland writes to Cecil. "I wold to God yt moght pleas the Kinges Majestie to apoynt Mr. Knokes to th'offyce of Rochester bischopriche, which, for thre pourposys, sholde do very well. The fyrst, he wolde not only be a whetston to quyken and sharp the Bischop of Canterbery wherof he hath ned, but allso he wold be a great confounder of the Annabaptistes lately sprong upp in Kent. Secondly, he shold not contynew the mynestracion in the North contrary. To this sett forth here thyrdly, the famely of the Scottes nowe inhabiting in Newcastell chefely for his felloschip wold not contynew there, by coulere wherof many resortes unto theym out of Scotland, which ys nat requisyt. Herein I pray you desyer my Lord Chamberleyn and Mr. Vice-Chamberleyn to helpe towardes this good act, bothe for Godes servis and the Kinges. And then for the North, yf his Majestie make the Deane of Duresm bischop of that see, and apoynt him oon thousand marks more to that which he hathe in his deanry; and the same houses which he now hath, as well in the citty as in the contry, will serve him right honourably. So may his Majestie reserve both the castell, which hath a princely sete, and th' other stately houses which the Bischop had in the contry to his Highnes, and the chauncelor's lying to be convertyd to the deanery and an honest man to be placed in yt, the vice-chauncelor to be turned into the chaunceler. The Suffrecan, who ys placed without the Kinges Majesties auctorite, and allso hath a great lyinge, nat worthy of yt, may be removyd, being

nether precher, lernyd, nor honest man. And the same lying, with a little more to the valeu of a hondreth marke, will serrve for the erection of a bischop within New Castell. The sayd Soveryean ys so pervers a man, and of so evyll qualites, that the contry aborth him *. He ys most metist to be removyd from that offyce and from thos partyes. Thus may his Majestie place godly ministers in thies offyces as ys aforsayd, and reserrve to his crowne 2000 li. a yere of the best landes within the north partes of his realme, yee I doubt nat yt wilbe iiij^{m} mark a yere of as good revenew as any ys within the realme, and all places better and more godly furnyshyd then ever yt was from the begynning to this daye. I pray you allso that the order to be taken for Gower be nat neclectyd and then muste the tresaurer be procedyd unto for abusing his offyce to the great detrement of the Kinges Majestie. Scribled in my bedd as yll at ease as I have byn moche in all my lyffe. Your assured frend, NORTHU'BRLAND. To my veary lovinge frend, Sr. Willm. Cycyll Knight oon of the two princypall Secretaryes to the Kinges majestie." [*Seal.* device of a lion rampant.]. (S.P.)

(Endorsed Nov. 1552.) Northumberland to Cecil. "The auditor of the late Byschop of Dureame's posessions and revenewes muste nedes be sent for, otherwys yt ys unpossible to have any profytt or true knoweledge for the procedyngs with the newe electyd bysshoppe without great prejudice to the Kinges Majestie, but, for as motche as the Kynges Highnes muste comytte all to the newe bysshopps hands in full posession, otherwys his Majestie can have no surrender, yt shall not be amysse in my poore opynyon that there be no tyme therin protractyd, but to procede to his Highnes election with all maner of this thinges apertayning to the same. And by that tyme yf the audytor be sent for by post he may be here with his perfyt booke of all the holle revenewes out of whiche booke the landes and ryalltyes moste meatiste to be reserrvyd to his Highnes may be apoyntyd . . . The late chauncellor or Mr. Horne can give informacion of his name and dwellinge place." (S.P.)

Nov. 23. The Duke again urges that some order should be taken for Knox, otherwise the Scots would not be avoided from out of Newcastle, "which, all things considered, should not be forgotten." (S.P. Haynes.)

Dec. 3. Northumberland to Cecill. Chelsey, "This berer, the chaunceler of Duresme, with the audytor of the revenews of the byschoprick, ar redy to present a trew and a perfyt valew of the sayde revenews which shold be well to receyve and to procede with the placeinge of a byschop at Duresme without any lengg delaye, for the contry wyll ells gro more and more to barberusness which ys not nedfull. I do not thinke yt expedyent that this pevishe deane shold be as yt were sought apon to receyve that which ys mete for as

* For notices of Thomas Spark, formerly Prior of Holy Island, Master of Greatham Hospital, Rector of Wolsingham, and Suffragan Bishop of Berwick, see Raine's North Durham, 128.

grave a man as any may be founde. I ame credybly enformyd that he ys lowys of his tong, and lettith nat to talke apon his al benche, that yf he may nat have yt after his owne wyll, he wyll refuse yt. Therfor a soberer man, that dyd nat stand so motche in his owne conceyte, were fytt to have yt. I have byn motch deceyvyd in him, yf al be true that ys reportyd of him touchinge the standing in his owne conceyt, condemping every man's doinges and conciens but his owne. I am sory it shold be soo, for I have otherwys taken him and so reportyd him as you can wytnes with me; but I will see better proffe in theym all before I wyll presume to judge in theym more I can justefy from hensforth, as knoweth the Lord." (S.P.)

Dec. Same to same. "Alltho I kno yt nat nedfull, yet, the matter wherof we talkyd this morning being of soche importance, I have thought good eftsones to put you in remembrance, for the calling apon to my lords, concerning the election of two aptt parsonnys [B. *eraced*] for the pourpos you wat of, upon Brunos advis, and this ys nat to be delayd, yf eyther honour or keping of frends ys to be estemyd, other I have nat to troble you with, but do send you herewith a lettre which came from M. Moris ine which, yf it pleas you, and shall so think yt worthy, to let yt be seen to the King's Majestie. And yet I cannot but marveyll why th' establyshing of thies vacant sees is so long prolongyd, eftsons requiring you, ye, and chargeing you with a duty towardes God and the Kings Majestie, to be a mor earnester caller apon yt, for suerly ther may mor harme ensue apon yt then men think of." (S.P.)

Dec. 7. Same to same. Chelsey, "Master Knokes, beinge here to speke with me, sayinge that he was so wylled by you, I do retorne hym againe, becaus I love not to do with men whiche be nether gratfull nor plesable. I assuer you I mynd to have no more to do withe hym but to wishe hym well, nether allso with the Deane of Duresme, becaus, under the colour of a silfe conciens, he can pretely malygne and judge of others against good charite apon a froarde judgement; and this man you might se in his lettre, that he canot tell whether I be a dissembler in relygyon or not, but I have for xx yere stand to oon kynd of religion in the same which I doo nowe profes, and I have, I thanke the Lorde, past no smalle daungers for yt. I do send you herewith the letter which I mynd to send to the constable of Fraunce, by Vilandry, becaus the conestable sent me oon by hym, which the Kinges Majestie dyd see, prayinge you to knowe his highnes pleser in yt, and to send me word by this berrer. I have allso thought good to putt you in remembrance eftsones of the matter revelyd by the Deane of Duresme, for that yt semithe not to me good yt sholde by in hogarmoger, for the matter ys perhaps of more importance then yt ys taken for, yf yt be provable yt is without all doubtes mete for his majestie to knowe the truthe of yt with all the syrcumstances and adherentes. Nisi forte veniant Romani; and, yf any perille by scilens kepinge sholde happen, as out of longe smoulderinge smoke burstithe out moost cruell fyars, we must all, that have

byn made prevye to yt, yelde us, to no smalle blame worthye. I remember well your consyderations, conserning whate might be judged by evyll people of me, as thoughe yt might be imagynyd, that I shold be the procurer of the matter against the partye, for displesser, or for that I wolde be alone or for to have some of his inheritance. . . . My pore father, after his master was gon, suffered dethe for doinge his master's comandement, who was the wysest prince of the worlde lyvinge in thos dayes. And yet coulde not his comandement be my fathers discharge after he was departyd this lyffe. So for my parte withe all earnestnes and duty I will serrve without feare. Sekinge nothinge but the true glorie of God, and his Highnes suertye." (S.P.)

Christmas Day [Sunday]. Knox preached a Sermon at Newcastle affirming that whosoever in his heart was enemy to Christ's Gospel and doctrine which then was preached in the realm was enemy also to God, and secret traitors to the crown and commonwealth. "For as they thirsted nothing more than the King's death, which their iniquity would procure; so they regarded not who should reign over them, so that their idolatry might be erected again. How these my words at that time pleased men, the crimes and action intended against me did declare. Against me were written articles, and I compelled to answer, as unto an action of treason."

1552-3. Jan. 2. Northumberland to Cecil. From Chelsey. "Forasmoche as thys olde yere past was not happie for olde Durham to receyve a newe bysshoppe, I wold wishe yf so yt myght pleas the Kinges Majestie and my lordes so to consydder yt, that contrye sholde no lenger be defferryd from a pasture where there ys all reddye so manye strayinge sheppe.—I wolde some other that semyth to make the matter so light hadd myn offyce there and I dischardgyd therof. And then the shall perhapps knowe better what yt meanes to have the rule and government wher God shalbe neglectyd and forgottein. And what order was latelye taken with the Deane of Duresme, I nether yet dyd here—and where he ys and how he ys imployed by the ordder of my lordes, whether he be gone home or whether he remayne here I know not, but wherresoever he be I have bynmoche deceyved by hym, for he ys undoubtedlye, not onlye a gredy covetuous man, but allso a malicious and an open evell speaker, and therof ther ys enowe nowe can make report. Therfor for the love of God let not the see be to longe destitute of some grave and good man, yea rather a stout honest man that knowith his dutye to God and to hys soveraine Lord, then oon of theis newe obstynatte doctors, without humanyte or honnest conditions. Thies men, for the moost parte, that the Kinges Majestie hathe of late preferryd, be so sotted of theyr wyves and chyldren that they forgett bothe theyr poore neyghbores and all other thinges which to theyr callinges appertaynythe. And so will they doo, so long as his majestie shall suffer theym to have so great posessions to maynteyne theyr ydle lyves."

Jan. 6. Same to same. "I have nat had had any answer from

you whether ther shalbe a byschop of Duresme or nat, or wherapon that matter now stayth." (S.P.)

Jan 9. Same to same. Chelsey. "Herewith I do retorne unto you as well Mr. Morrison's letteres as also the Lord Wharton's, and do also send with the same soche letteres as I have recevyd from the saide Lord Wharton of the second and thyrde of this instant, with also oon lettere from poore Knoxe, by the which you may perceve what perplexite the poore solle remayneth in at this present; the which, in my poore opynyon, shold not do a mys to be remembred to the rest of my lordes, that some ordre might be taken by theyr wisdoms for his recompforte. And as I wold not wishe his abode shold be of gret contynewance in those partyes, but to come and to goo as shall pleas the Kinges Majestie, and my Lordes t'poynt hym, so do I think yt very expedient that his Highnes plesser shold be knowne aswell to the Lord Wharton, as to those of Newcastell, that his Highnes hath the poor man and his doinges in gracious favor, otherwys some hynderance in the matters of relligion may rise and growe amongest the people, being inclyned of nature to gret unconstancy and mutacions. And the rather do I think thys mete to be don, for that yt semyth to me that the L. Wharton him silff ys not all to gyther without suspycyon how the sayd Knokes doeinges hathe byn here taken. Wherfor I pray you that some thing may be don, wherby the Kinges Majesties plesser and my lordes may be indelayedly sartyfyed to the saide Lord Wharton of the Kinges Majesties good contentacion towardes the poore man and his procedinges, with comandement that no man shalbe so hardye to vexe him or troubell him for settinge fourthe the Kinges Majesties most godly procedinges, nether for that he hathe heretofore don, or hereafter by his Majesties comandement shall do, for that his Majestie myndethe to ymploy the man and his tallen from tyme to tyme, in those partyes, and ells where as shall seme good to his Highnes, for the edyffyeing of his people in the feare of God; and that some thinge might be wryttin to the Mayor for his gredy accusacion of the poore man, wherin he hathe (in my pore opynyon) utteryd his malycyous stomake towardes the Kinges procedinges yf he might see a tyme to serrve his purpos." (S.P.)

Jan 19. Same to same. "Requiering you to move my lordes to be meanes to the . . . . . place a grave and a lernyd man in the . . . . . Cee of Duresme, for that in my opynyo . . . . . then tyme, yf you would have the people h . . . . . ys have respect to theyr sowles." (S.P.)

Wednesday. Knox writes:—"My Lord of Westmoreland has written unto me this Wednesday, at six of the clock, at night, immediately thereafter to repair unto him, as I will answer at my peril. I could not obtain licence to remain the time of the sermon upon the morrow. Blessed be God who does ratify and confirm the truth of his word from time to time, as our weakness doth require!—Rejoice, sister, for the same word that forespeaketh trouble doth certify us of the glory consequent. As for myself, albeit the extremity

should now apprehend me, it is not come unlooked for. But alas! I fear that I be not ripe nor able to glorify Christ by my death; but what lacketh now, God shall perform in his own time. Be sure I will not forget you and your company so long as mortal man may remember any earthly creature. From Newcastell*."

March 1. Knox was in London.

Knox's sermons pleased Edward VI. The council resolved that he should preach in London and the southern counties during the following year, but allowed him to return for a short time to Newcastle.

March 23. Knox refers to the last letter "written unto you at such time as many thought I should never write after to man. Heinous were the delations laid against me, and many are the lies that are made to the council. But God one day shall destroy all lying tongues, and shall deliver his servants from calamity. I look but one day or other to fall in their hands; for more and more rageth the members of the devil against me. This assault of Satan has been to his confusion and to the glory of God.—I intend not to depart from Newcastle before Easter [April 2.] My daily labours must now increase, and therefore spare me so mikkle as ye may. My old malady troubles me sore, and nothing is more contrarious to my health than writing." [See Knox's letters from Newcastle to the Bowes family generally. They show that he was suffering when there from grievous bodily maladies.]

1553. March 25, 27, 29. A Bill for uniting Gateshead and the Salt Meadows to Newcastle read and passed. The Gatesiders stated to have "their chief and in manner whole living in the said town of Newcastle, where they daily commit manifold enormities and disorders" and escape unpunished by escaping to their county palatine.

March 29, 30. A Bill "for the dissolution of the Bishoprick of Durham and also for the new-erecting of the same Bishoprick, and one other at Newcastell" read three times in the Commons and passed, having been read and passed in the Lords on March 21, 22, and 29. The preamble stated "that the see being then void, the disposal of it was in the King, that the extent of it was too large and reached to so many distant shires that it could not be well governed by one bishop; and, since the King, out of his godly disposition, was desirous to have God's holy word preached in these parts, which, for lack of good preaching and learning, were grown wild and barbarous, his Majesty therefore intended to have two bishoprics for that diocese; one at Durham, which should be endowed with 2000 marks revenue, and another at Newcastle, which should have 1000 marks revenue; and also to found a Cathedral Church at Newcastle with a Deanery and Chapter, out of the lands of the Bishoprick."

Authority given for letters patent accordingly, with a proviso that

* Dated 1553 as usual. No day nor month. Henry Nevil Earl of Westmerland was a member of the Council for the North.

the Dean and Chapter of Durham were not to suffer. Fuller, after noting the spoil of chantries &c., proceeds :—"All this income rather stayed the stomach than satisfied the hunger of the King's exchequer. For the allaying whereof the parliament, now sitting, conferred on the crown the Bishoprick of Durham. This may be called the English Herbipolis or Wirtz-burge, it being true of both, *Dunelmia sola judicat Ense et Stola.* The Bishop whereof was a Palatine or secular Prince, and his seal in form resembleth Royalty in the Roundness thereof and is not Oval the badge of plain Episcopacy. Rich and entire the revenues of this See, such as alone would make a considerable addition to the Crown, remote the situation thereof, out of southern sight, and therefore, if dissolved, the sooner out of men's minds. Besides, Cuthbert Tunstall, the present Bishop of Durham, was in durance, and deprived for his obstinacy, so that so stubborn a Bishop gave the State the fairer quarrel with so rich a Bishoprick, now annexed to the King's revenue (yet the Duke of Northumberland either was, or was to be, possessor thereof). Well it was for this See, though dissolved, that the lands thereof were not dispersed by sale unto several persons, but preserved whole and entire as to the main, in the Crown. Had such a dissipation of the parts thereof been made, no less than a State miracle had been requisite for the recollection thereof. Whereas now, within two years after, Queen Mary restored Tunstall to this Bishoprick, and this Bishoprick to itself, re-settling all the lands on the same."

April. The Duke of Northumberland made steward of the lands of the Bishopric. His son and Lady Jane Grey were married next month in the Bishop's London residence.

On Knox's return to London he was again called before the Privy Council. The questions put to him are set forth in a letter from him of Apr. 14, preserved in abstract by Calderwood. They were, 1. Why he refused the benefice of Allhallows, London, to which he had been recommended by the Privy Council on 2 Feb. ; 2. Whether he thought that no Christian might serve in the ecclesiastical ministration according to the rites and laws of the realm ; 3. If kneeling at the Lord's Table was not indifferent ? He answered, 1. That his conscience witnessed that he might profit more out of London, and moreover the Duke of Northumberland commanded him to refuse the benefice : [Knox in his Exposition of Psalm vi. says that the foresight of trouble to come moved him to refuse, and that with displeasure of all men, even of those that best loved him, the high promotions which the King offered him.] 2. That without the reformation of many things in the ministry, no minister could discharge his conscience ; for no minister in England had authority to divide and separate the lepers from the sound, which was a chief point of his office ; yet did he not refuse such office as might appear to promote God's glory in utterance of Christ's gospel in a mean degree, where more he might edify by preaching of the word than hinder by sufferance of manifest iniquity, seeing that reformation of manners

did not appertain to all ministers: 3. That Christ's action was most perfect and sure to follow, and that it was done *sitting*.

On the last question great contention arose betwixt the lords and Knox. At last they said that he was not called of any evil mind, but they were sorry he was contrary to the common order. He answered that he was more sorry that a common order should be contrary to Christ's institution. With some gentle speeches he was dismissed and willed to advise with himself if he would communicate after that order.

At the commencement of June, Knox was sent as one of the itinerary preachers into Buckinghamshire. In his History of the Reformation he briefly sums up his English ministry thus. "The said Johne was first appointed preacher to Berwik, then to Neweastell; last he was called to London, and to the south parts of England, where he remained to the death of King Edward VI."

Some bishopric had been refused by Knox, on the grounds that the episcopal office was destitute of divine authority in itself, and its exercise in the English Church inconsistent with the ecclesiastical canons. It is supposed that the intended See of Newcastle is meant. Ridley was intended for Durham.

July 6. Edward VI. died. Lady Jane Grey reigned until the 19th.

Reign of Mary, 1553—1558.

Aug. 5. Tunstall released.

Sep. 1. Commission to enquire into his deprivation, with power of restoration.

1553. William Salkeld occurs Vicar of Neweastle.

During the close of 1553, Knox's marriage was solemnized with Margery Bowes, much to the dissatisfaction of her brother Sir Robert.

During the toleration of Protestant ministers under Mary, Knox laboured in Buckinghamshire and Kent until the end of October.

The parliament met on Oct. 5, and liberty was only given to observe Protestant forms to Dec. 20.

Nov. 27. Dec. 5. A Bill for the confirmation of the Bishoprick of Durham and Durham Place to Bishop Tonstall read in the Commons and thrown out.

An autograph original of the first portion of Knox's Exposition of Psalm vi. shows that it was not completed till 1553, and the concluding part appeared in 1554. It was then written in allusion to the impending storm of persecution.

1553-4. Jan. 6. Knox forwarded the first part of his Exposition of Psalm vi. to his mother-in-law. "My daily prayer is for the sore afflicted in those quarters. Sometime I have thought that impossible

it had been so to have removed my affection from the realm of Scotland, that any realm or nation could have been equal dear unto me. But . . . the troubles present and appearing to be in the realm of England are double more dolorous unto my heart, than ever were the troubles of Scotland. . . . I cannot express the pain which I think I might suffer to have the presence of you, and of others that the like troubled, but a few days. But God shall gather us at his good pleasure."

January. Letter from Knox, without place or date, written on a journey he undertook expressly to learn the estate of Mrs. Bowes, for his servant had been stayed, the letters which he bore seized. "That ye were no sooner advertised, want of a faithful messenger was the cause, for my coming to the country was so soon noised abroad, that with great difficulty could I be conveyed from a place to another. I knew no such danger as was suspected by my brethren. . . . I purposed (if so had been possible) to have spoken with my wife, which now I perceive is nothing apparent while [until] God offer some better occasion. My brethren, partly by admonition, and partly by tears, compels me to obey somewhat contrary to my own mind, for never can I die in a more honest quarrel. . . . I will obey . . . and will give place to the fury and rage of Satan for a time. . . . Ye will me to charge you in such things as I mister. . . . Of your good heart I am persuaded, but of your power and ability I greatly doubt. . . . Off London I departed with less money than ten groats, but God has since provided, and will provide."

Jan. 20. He landed at Dieppe.

In 1554 Knox, then an exile, looks back on his ministry. "Some complained in those days, that the preachers were undiscreet; some called them railers, and worse, because they spake against manifest iniquity . . . especially of those . . . placed in authority, as well in the Court, as in other offices . . . both in cities towns and villages. And among other, peradventure, my rude plainness displeased some, who did complain that rashly I did speak of men's faults, so that all . . . might . . . perceive of whom I meant. But . . . my conscience accusseth me, that I spake not so plainly as my duty was to have done: for I ought to have said to the wicked man expressedly by his name, 'Thou shalt die the death.' . . . The love of friends . . . allured me to make more residence in one place than another. . . . I thought I had not sinned, if I had not been idle; but this day I know it was my duty to have had consideration . . . how many hungry souls there were in other places. . . . Some time I spent in worldly business of particular friends; and . . . in taking recreation and pastime by exercise of the body."

By the end of February Knox had finished his exposition of Psalm vi. "Albeit that I have in the beginning of this battle appeared to play the faint-hearted and feeble soldier—the cause I remit to God—yet my prayer is that I may be restored to the battle. . . . For a few sermons by me to be made within England, my heart at

this hour could be content to suffer more than nature were able to sustain."

1554. April. May. A Bill (opposed by Newcastle) was introduced, and eventually passed by 201 against 120, repealing the acts of Edward VI. which had destroyed the See and annexed Gateshead to Newcastle. The London possessions were however excepted, and the Bishop granted a long lease of the Salt-Meadows to Newcastle. The repealed acts were stated to have been compassed "by the sinister labour, great malice, and corrupt means of certain ambitious persons then being in authority, rather for to enrich themselves and their friends with a great part of the possessions of the said Bishoprick than upon just occasion or godly zeal."

May 8. Appeared Knox's Godly Letter to the faithful in London, Newcastell, and Barwick, and all others within the realm of England that love the coming of our Lord Jesus." In July it was reprinted by Hugh Singleton at the fictitious address of "Rome, before the Castle of S. Angel, at the sign of S. Peter." The epistle is dated upon his departure from Dieppe, "whither God knoweth." Tunstall is remembered in a MS. copy. "Their false prophets were maintainers of idolatry, as Winchester, Duresme, Londone (I mean those members of the devil styled bishops of such places) are now in England *." The epistle is an invective against idolatry, an exhortation against dissembling in the crisis, and a prophecy of plagues in store for England.

May 10. An Epistle comforting his afflicted brethren in England was written.

May 30. Knox dates another "comfortable Epistle sent to the afflicted Church of Christ," assuring his friends in England that God's judgment would shortly fall upon the Papists. The ordinary course of the Deity in his judgments is stated to be, 1., to rebuke, by his messengers, such sins as before the world are not known to be sin; 2., to provoke to repentance; 3., to suffer the reprobate to declare their own impenitency; and 4., to pour manifest vengeance. Knox then shows that the Papists had been summoned by God's messengers, that they had been accused and convicted, that time for repentance had in vain been granted, and that extreme plagues were now approaching. "We have (he writes) heard them accused and convicted before their own faces of theft and murder, of blasphemy against God, of idolatry, and finally of all abominations. Which crimes being laid to their charge in their own presence, they were not able to deny; so potent, so plain, and evident was God's Word, whereby their secret botches and old festered sores were discovered and revealed." Then, after asserting that the plagues themselves would work no true repentance, he states that some of these plagues had been heard and seen. "For (says he) what a plague was it to the false Bishop of Duresme before his own face to be called murderer

* Works, iii. 180.

and thief, and of the same to be so convict, that neither could himself deny it, neither any of his proctors or divine doctors, being present with him, durst enterprise to speak one word in defence of his cause." It is difficult to gather the period of the event to which Knox alludes. The place of it appears in a marginal note :—"Tonstal convicted of murder and theft to his face at Barwicke." It is equally difficult to learn what really constituted the meaning of murder and theft.

July 20. After the departure of Knox, Mrs. Bowes has been "grievously tempted and sore assaulted" by her husband to conform to the new order of things. Knox urges continued resistance.

July 20. Knox's Faithful Admonition to the Professors of God's Truth in England appeared, containing unmeasured language against the Spanish marriage which was solemnized five days afterwards. The English congregation at Frankfort vindicated their expulsion of Knox in the following year by assuring Calvin that the "outrageous pamphlet of Knox's added much oil to the flame of persecution in England. For, before the publication of that, not one of our brethren had suffered death : but as soon as it came forth, we doubt not but that you are well aware of the number of excellent men who have perished in the flames ; to say nothing of how many other godly men besides have been exposed to the risk of all their property, and even life itself, upon the sole ground of either having had this book in their possession or having read it ; who were perhaps rescued from the sword at greater cost and danger of life than the others offered their necks to it."

In this work Knox returns to the attack of his old diocesan, alliteratively mentioning "wily Wynchester, *dreaming Duresme*, and bloody Bonner,"—"the poisoned Papists, wicked Wynchester, and *dreaming Duresme*, with the rest of their faction, who sometimes were so confounded that neither they durst nor could speak nor write in the defence of their heresies."—"If Steven Gardiner, Cuthbert Tunstal, and butcherly Bonnar, false bishops of Wynchester, Duresme, and of London, had for their false doctrine and traitorous acts suffered death, when they justly deserved the same, then would arrant Papists have alleged (as I and other have heard them do) that they were men reformable, that they were meet instruments for a commonwealth ; that they were not so obstinate and malicious as they were judged ; neither that they thirsted for the blood of any man. And of Lady Mary, who hath not heard that she was sober, merciful, and one that loved the commonwealth ? . . . Had she, . . . and such as now be of her pestilent counsel, been sent to hell before these days, then should not their iniquity and cruelty so manifestly have appeared."—"Who could have believed that glorious Gardener, and *treacherous Tunstal*, whom all Papists praised for the love they bare to their country, could have become so manifest traitors, that . . . against their solemn oaths that they should never consent . . . that a foreign stranger should reign over England, . . . they would adjudge the imperial crown . . . to appertain to a Spaniard by inheritance and lineal descent ?"

1557. William Bell, S.T.P., Rector of Gateshead, on the resignation of John Brown, who had enjoyed the living and weathered the changes of the times since 1532.

There was no Marian persecution in the North. "The Bishoprick of Durham (saith Fuller) had halcyon days of ease and quiet, under God and good Cuthbert Tonstall the Bishop thereof. A learned man, of a sweet disposition, rather devout to follow his own than cruel to persecute the conscience of others. Indeed, he, being present in London, at the examination of divers martyrs, would sometimes fly out in base and unbeseeming language, (as when he called Bishop Hooper beast for being married) yet his passion herein may the rather be pardoned, because politicly presumed to bark the more, that he might bite the less, as appeared by his courteous carriage in his own diocese. For I meet with the marginal note in Mr. Fox, which indeed justly deserved, even in the fairest letters, to be inserted in the body of his book:—'Note that Bishop Tonstall in Queen Mary's time was no bloody persecutor. For Mr. Russel, a preacher, was before him, and Dr. Hinmer his chancellor would have had him examined more particularly. The Bishop stayed him, saying, *Hitherto we have had a good report among our neighbours, I pray you bring not this man's blood upon my head.*' The diocese also of Carlile was not molested with any great troubles under Owen Oglethorp, the Bishop thereof, one qualified with a moderate temper. It argueth no less, because afterward he crowned Queen Elizabeth, an office which all other bishops then stiffly denied to perform. But, to speak plain English, though the peaceableness of these northern Bishopricks proceeded partly from the mildness of those that sat in the episcopal chairs thereof, yet it must be remembered that even want of matter for persecution to work on conduced much to the peace of those places; the beams of the Gospel being neither so bright nor so hot in these parts, where ignorance and superstition generally prevailed."

1557. Sep. 2. "The church-style" of St. Nicholas' "leading to the Clothe Markett" mentioned.

Reign of Elizabeth, 1558—1603.

1558. Dec. 19. Queen Elizabeth to Bishop Tunstall. "By the Quene. Right Reverend father in God, right trusty and wellbeloved, we grete you well: and late you wite that we have received your lettres, wherby yone do not only very well set furth the ductye and obedyence of a subject towardes his sovverayn, but also declare your good will to serve us. For the one, like as we do allowe yone; so, for the other, we gyve unto yone our right harty thankes. And whereas in your sayd lettre you ar desyrous to knowe our pleasur touching your cumming to the parliament and our coronation, having consyderation of your great age, the shortness of the tyme, the long waye,

and the [evill, *inserted and erased*] season of the yere, unmeete for a man of your yeres to traveill in, we do well suppose how moch we may be your good and gracious in licencyng you to tary at home which we do by thies our lettres: dispensing with you fully for th' attendaunce you shold gyve at our sayd parliament and coronation. And, for the doing of such services at our coronation as you ar bounde to do then as bishop of Duresme, we ar pleased you do name and appoint thre [of your brethren bishops to do *erased*] mete persons to supplye the same service for youe, every one of them to be authorized by you a like, to th' end we may take the choise of one of them as we shall think metest. Requiring you also to sende your proxey for your voyce to be gyven in our parliament p' such things as shall there treated and concluded uppon, in such sort as in that case hath ben acustumed. And thus our lettres Yeven &c." *In dorso:*— "Mynute. To the Bisshop of Duresme for his absence from the parliament and coronation, xix° Decembris, 1558." (S.P.)

1558. Robert Hart, curate of All Saints. Occurs also in 1562.

1559. William Byrche, Rector of Gateshead.

1559. Aug. 19. Bishop Tunstall to Cecil. "Right honorable, after my humble recommendacions to your mastership, it may like you t'understond that; where I have bene the last weeke at the Quenes Majesties lyinge at Hampton Courte, somewhat importune upon you to have brought me to the speache of her Majestie, and nowe she is departed thens, and by her jestes (as I am enformed) shuld go to Horseley, Guylford, Chobbham, and Windsoore, and in removinges I knowe the tyme not to be convenyent to make any sute unto her Majestie shall come to some staye; I beseeche your mastership to sende me worde, by this berer, where ye thinke beste for me to repayre to her Highnes, at some restinge place, wherin ye shall do me singular pleasure, and bynde me to be yoyrs, and to be redy in some parte to recompence it to my power (God willing) as occasion maye serve. And where I do understonde, out of my diocesse, of a warnyng for a visitacion to be had there, thies shall be t'advertise your mastership, that, albeit I wolde be as glad to serve the Quenes Highnes, and to set forwardes all her affayres to her contentacion, as any subjecte in her realme, yet, if the same visitacion shall procede to suche ende in my diocesse of Durham as I do playnly se to be set furthe here in London, as pullinge downe of altares, defacing of churches by takinge awaye of the crucifixes, I can not in my conscience consent to it, beinge pastor there, bicause I can not my self agree to be a sacramentary, nor to have any newe doctryne taught in my diocesse, wherof I thought mete t'advertise your mastership, humbly beseechinge the same not to thinke me thereunto moved, eyther for any frowardness, malice, or contempte, but onely bicause my conscience will not suffer me to receyve and allowe any doctrine in my diocesse other then catholike. As knoweth Almyghtye Jesu, who ever preserve your mastership to his pleasure and yoyrs. From London, the xixth of Auguste, 1559. Your masterships humble

most assured loving frende, CUTH. DURESME." [Only the signature in his own hand.] *In dorso:*—"To the Right honorable, and my veray lovinge frende, Sir William Cicill, Knight, chief secretarye unto the Quenes Highnes." *Another copy addressed:*—"To the right honorable and my veray lovinge frende Sir Thomas Parrye Knight Thresorer of the Quenes Highnes Household, and Master of the Wardes to her Moste . . . . Majestie." (S.P.)

Sep. 9. "Elizabetha, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regina, Fidei defensor, &c., Reverendis in Christo Patribus Cuthberto, Episcopo Dunelmensi, &c. Cum, vacante nuper sede Archiepiscopali Cantuar., per mortem naturalem Domini Reginaldi Pole, Cardin., ultimi et immediati Archiepiscopi, et pastoris ejusdem, ad humilem peticionem Decani et Capituli Ecclesiæ nostræ cathedralis et metropoliticæ Christi Cantuariensis, eisdem, per literas nostras patentes, licentiam concesserimus, alium sibi eligend. in Archiepiscopum, et pastorem sedis predictæ: ac iidem Decanus et Capitulum, vigore et obtentu licentiæ nostræ predictæ, dilectum nobis in Christo magistrum Matheum Parker sacræ theologiæ professorem sibi et ecclesiæ predicti elegerint in Archiepiscopum et pastorem, prout per literas suas patentes, sigillo eorum communi sigillatas, nobis inde directas, plenius liquet et apparet: Nos electionem illam acceptantes, eidem electioni Regium nostrum assensum adhibuimus pariter et favorem. Et hoc vobis tenore presencium significamus. Rogantes ac, in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tenemini, firmiter percipiendo, mandantes, quatenus prefatum magistrum Matheum Parker in Archiepiscopum et pastorem Ecclesiæ Cathedralis et Metropoliticæ Christi Cantuariensis predictæ, sic ut prefertur electum, electionem predictam confirmare, et eundem magistrum Matheum in Archiepiscopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ predictæ conservare. Ceteraque, omnia et singula, peragere, quæ vestro in hac parte incumbunt, officio pastorali, juxta formam statutorum in ea parte editorum et provisorum, velitis cum effectu. In cujus rei, &c." *Endorsed*, "Royall Assent for Canterbury." (S.P.)

This document was not acted on. On Dec. 6 there was another commission to consecrate Parker. (S.P.)

Nov. 6. Matthew Parker, Archbishop elect of Canterbury, to Cecill. Is to speak with the Queen again on the principal matter in hand. "God keep us from such a visitation as Knox has attempted in Scotland." (S.P.)

Nov. 18. Archbishop Parker to Cecill. "My Lord of Dur[esme] hath one of his executors here*, the other is in the North, wher also is his testament. This executor saith that his mynd was to be homly and playnly buryed†. Consider you wether yt wer not best to pre-

* The executors were "Dr. Hyndmer my Chancellor of Dureme, Nicholas Thornell, and Sir John Tunstall's sonne, of Houghton." The will was proved 30 Jan. 1559, by Nich. Thornell, Dr. Hyndmer being dead. See extracts from the will, 1 Sur. lxvii.

† He directed his "funeral to be without all pomp and vanity," if in London in

scribe som honest maner of his entyeryng, lest it might ellys be evyl judged that the order of his funeral wer at the cownsayls apoyntment, not knowen abrode that the handeling of yt wer only at his executors liberalytie. I have sealed up ij smal caskates wherin I thinke no grete substance eyther of moneye or of wrytinges. Ther is one roll of bokes which I purposed to delyver to the Quene, which is nothing ellys but King Henryes testament*, and a boke *contra comunicationem utriusque spec.*, and such mater. His bodye by reason of his soden departure cannot be long kept. Thus Jesus preserve youe. This xviijth of Novembre. Your beidman, M. C. To the right honorable Mr. Secretarye." *Endorsed* "18th Novembr. 1559." (S.P.)

1559-60. Jan. 10. The Duke of Norfolk writes at Newcastle to Cecil. "Forasmuch as I do find this town and country hereabout far out of order in matters of religion, and the altars standing still in the churches, contrary to the Queen's Majesty's proceedings, it shall be well done that you procure her Majesty's commands to be addressed to the Dean of Durham, and such others as shall be thought meet there, authorizing them to see these things reformed in such sort as shall answer to the advancement of God's true religion, and the confirmation of the Queen's Majesty's godly zeal thereto†."

Same day. "Cuth. Blownt of N. C. merchant—my awnt of Gateside callid Agnes Lawson, dwelling at Saint Edmonds‡ in Gateshead—my bro. Geo. Lawson." Vide 1565.

1561. Oct. The Newcastle corporation "paid to Peter Fayrbarne for the four boys that sing in the quire, 40*s*."

1562. A brawl in St. Andrew's churchyard. The grates of the church stile mentioned. William Brandling's foot slips into one of the holes of the grate §.

Sep. 8. "This shall be to will and commande you to delyver or cause to be delyvered without anye delaye foure trees of the meane

St. Paul's, near his old friend Thomas Linacre, physician. He was, however, buried in the chancel of Lambeth church, at the charge as is generally stated of Archbp. Parker, the writer of the letter in the text, in whose "free custody" he died.

* The celebrated document postponing the Scotch succession to that of the House of Suffolk? Bishop Tunstall was an executor of it.

† Sharp's Rebellion, 377.

‡ The ejected Prioress of the Nuns of Newcastle, living on their quondam possession of the Hospital of St. Edmund, *Bishop and Confessor*. It afterwards belonged to the Riddells, and was close to the chapel of the foundation, now termed Trinity Church. St. Edmund's Lands, known as such until last century, are now called Shipcote Estate.

This chapel has long been admired. When constituted a chapel of ease to Gateshead church, Mr. Ellison, the grantor, objected to a proposition to alter it. It is now the sanctuary of an ecclesiastical district. For such a purpose, in the event of any large congregation, it is quite unsuited, and its alteration has again been mooted.

The *other* hospital, that of St. Edmund, *King and Martyr*, is now King James's.

§ Dep., Sur. Soc., p. 75.

sortes towardes the reparacion of the almshouse standinge in the Churche yearde of Gatesyde. So fare you well. Written at Auckland the 8 daye of September Ao Dni 1562. Ja. Durisme*."

1563. Allhallows church still mentioned. A weaver handfasts a young couple and says, "Now have I done as much as their ghostly father could do†."

1564. July 19. "Discretus vir Lawrencius Doddisworthe," Minister, Rector of Gateshead, on the resignation of William Byrche.

1564. Dec. The Corporation "paid for making of an angel for the dial of Saint Nicholas' Church, 5*s*." In April, there was "given in reward to my Lord of Westmoreland's smith, which came to set the clock, at the commandment of Mr. Mayor, 5*s*."

1565. Mar. 14. Will of Agnes Lawson, late Prioress of Newcastle Nunnery. She lived at Gateshead, and bequeathed to the poor 40*s*. to be distributed at the discretion of the parson of Gateshead and her chaplain Sir Richard Ray ‡.

1567. November. The Corporation "paid for 4lb. of wax, made in candle for the lantern of Saint Nicholas Church, and for the working 3*s*." In December, 2lb. was similarly wrought and paid for.

c. 1568. A confession to be made by Alice Swan and others in St. Nicholas Church, after the minister upon Sunday after the sermon, for divining by turning the riddle and shears §.

1568. Aug. 25. Vicar William Salkeld buried in the chancel of St. Nicholas'.

Nov. 28. John Magbrey or Magrey, instituted to the vicarage. Strype (Q. Eliz. 136) says, "One Mackbray, a Scot, an eminent exile in Q. Mary's days, preached at St. Paul's Cross in 1559." And Dr. Jackson, on the Creed, x. 51, complains, that Mackbray, Knox, and Udale had sown their tares in Newcastle.

1569. Oct. Thomas Gower, Esq., "a man well given in religion" is at Newcastle, to assist the Mayor in seeing the town safely kept during the Rising of the North ‖.

Nov. 21. Captain John Carvell of Berwick garrison stays at Newcastle at the request of the Mayor and Town. "I find both the Mayor, Magistrates, and Commonalty so willing and ready in the Queen's Majesty our Sovereign's behalf, as it would do a man good to see them so firm and true, ready to spend their lives than to yield to any rebel, whatsoever they be ¶."

Nov. 26. Lord Hunsdon at York writes:—"Because Newcastell and Barwyk are not to be doubted, I have thought good to forbear going thither, being nothing to do there; and to remain here where service is to be done **."

* Auditor's Office, Durham.
† Depos., Sur. Soc., p. 79.
‡ Test. Dunelm. i. 232.
§ Depos., Sur. Soc., 117. See also p. 252.
‖ Sharp's Rebellion, 23, 57.
¶ Sharp's Rebellion, 58.
** Sharp, 77.

Dec. 15. The rebel earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland the day before their flight marched from Durham towards Newcastle. Sir John Forster, who had lately come to the town with 1000 horsemen, and Sir Henry Percy issued forth with some ordnance. The parties met at Chester Dean, which presented such difficulties to both that some skirmishes only took place and they returned *.

Dec. 16. The earls fled to Hexham. Forster and his 1000 horse pursue them †.

1570. A hand-fasting in the parlour of the Vicar's house in the presence of George Grey, priest [curate of St. John's], John Walles the clerk of St. John's, &c. The parties had been enjoined penance for incontinency. Thomas Kingston officiates. The clerk observes the man looking down, and says, "Why lookest thou down? If thou mean not to do it indeed, but does to avoid the penance, it is not well ‡."

Feb. 1. John Wylkinson, merchant, desired to be buried in St. John's church, on the north side of the same church, nigh where the organs doth stand. "I will have the divine service at the day of my burial, according to the laws and custom of this realm."

1571. June 4. Will of Lawrence Dodsworth §, Rector of Gateshead.

"In the name of God, Amen. The fourthe daye of June, in the yeare of our Lorde God, 1571. I Lawrence Doddisworthe, clarke, beinge craised in my bodye, but of perfecte memorie, I prayse God for the same, doe make this my last Will and Testamente in maner folowinge. First of all, I commend my soule to Almightie God, my onlie Saviour and Redemer, and my sinfull bodie to be buried within my chauncell or churche yeard as my executors shall thinke good. Secondlie, I make it manifest, both heare and before God, that I doe utterlie renounce all the Pope's false and usurpeth p'mise [primacy], and all his detestable inormities, besichinge God to deliver his churche from all his arrors and false doctryne, for he is the verie antichriste, ennimye and adversarie to the glorious gospell of oure

* Hollinshed.

† Only the day before, Sadler had written that "all Clevelande, Allertonshire, Rychmondshire, and the Bishopricke, are all wholly gone unto them, such is their affection to the cause of religion; by means whereof they are grown to the force of great numbers, but yet confused, without order, armour, or weapon." The action of Newcastle was very similar to its course during the Pilgrimage of Grace. Religious sentiment in large towns is overcome by secular considerations. Birtley (an estate of the Nevils) was of course involved in the Rising, but the Gatesiders knew better. "In Gateshed there are a great number of substantial honest men, faithful and true subjects, as did appear in the late rebellion, some merchants, some drapers, and other honest artificers, whom the town of Newcastell doth envy, because they dwell so nigh unto them." Some of the parties involved in the Rising were connected with Newcastle—William Dacre of St. Bees, gent. is stated to be son of Richard Dacre of NC. gent. "Young Gray, the schoolmaster's son of Newcastle, is another." (Sharp, 272, 273.)

‡ Depos., Sur. Soc., p. 102. Other betrothals, at pp. 227, 281.

§ See p. 35.

Saviour Jesus Christe. God at his good pleasure illuminate the eyes of the wourlde, that it maye disscerne and knowe him, as he is indeid, the verie mistere of inniquitie the man of the sinne and he that exalteth himselfe againste God. Thirdlie, I exort all men to embrase and receyve the blessed gospell, whearin the maye be moste certaynlie assured of ther salvacion by the deathe of Jesus Christe, and that freilie, without man's merits or deservinge of what soever kynde they be. He is the alone and omnisufficient Savioure, which with his onelie onse offereinge, haithe perfectlie purged all our sinnes, and fullie haithe reconsiled us to the favoure of God His father and oures by Hym, and still continueth oure onlie Advocate, so that we neide no other Mediator neither of expiation nor yet of intercession. Finallie, I will that my executors shall trulie paye all my debts which I am owinge to anye maner of person, at the tyme of my deathe, which debts I shall cause trulie to be noted in a sedull or in a booke. Item, I geve to the poore mans boxe xs. and one boule of rye. I would a geven more, but, my debts beinge great, I must seike first to se them discharged. Item, I will and bequeste unto my lovinge wyfe my whole farmhoulde at Hannibie Graunge during her lyfe naturall, the lease whearof is in the custodie of my dere beloved freinde, Mr. Robert Place, freind and kynsman of Dinsdaill, with other wrytings concerninge the same, and other matters, upon condicion that she therwith bringe upp my small children moste cheifelie in the feare of God ; and she to put them furthe to prentise or servises as she cann or maye ; and, yf anye of them be disobediente or sturbarne to ther mother, they to have no benefite by this my devise and will. Also, I will that, upon hir deathe, my said farmehoulde shall whollie come to my sonne Christopher Doddisworthe ; and, yf he be not levinge, nor no sonne of his lawfull begotten, then the said farmehoulde to come to my sonne Edwarde Doddisworthe and his eldeste sonne lawfullie begotten ; failinge therof then to come to his next brethren one after another, during my interest. Item, I geve unto my sonne Edward Doddisworthe, after the deathe of his mother, to have ij beastes gaytes, tenn sheipe, and one horse, to be pastured and fedd with the best duringe all suche tyme that my sonne Christopher Doddisworthe shalbe tennant ther, without payinge any rente for the same. And also to have a bed rome ther, to come and goe, at his pleasure. Item, I will that my mother shall have after the expiration of my father's lease iij kyen gaite, and tenne sheipe, to goe yearlie upon my said farmehoulde duringe hir lyfe and wedoeheade, she payinge yearlie unto my wyfe or to my sonne Christofer or other my assignes, being tennements their, xx *s.* by yeare. Also, I will that my mother shall have the new chamber which she laytlie buylded duringe hir lyfe and wedoheade. The resydewe of all my goods, which I fear wilbe little, my debts beinge paid, I geve them whollie to my lovinge wyfe Katherine Doddisworthe, whome I make my sole executrix to se this my will trulie performed, as my great truste is in hir. And thee Lorde God, my heavenlie Father, geve hir

comforthe grace . . . godlie to bringe up my children in his feare, whome I committ to Godds providence, trustinge that He will with ther mothers helpe, as is mene, provide for them. My dere and lovinge flocke I comitt to the great Shiphard Jesus Christe, whome I desyre to stir up unto them a lawfull and godlie pasture. Fare well, once agayne, my deare and lovinge flocke in the Lorde, to whose onlie providence I comitte you, my selfe, and all myne. I require my lovinge and worshopfull frinds, Mr. John Doddisworthe of Watlese my brother in lawe, and Mr. Frauncis Bainbridge, esquier, and Mr. Robert Place, gentleman, my sonne in lawe William Bytheman, and my trustie freinde Thomas Potts, to be my supervisors of this my last will and testamente, as my speciall truste is in you. Theise under written being witnesses of this my will, Thomas Thompson, John Salsburie, Thomas Potts, per me Johannem Hutcheson clericum,—Per me Laurentium Dodisworthe, testatorem. Proved 1 Dec. 1576 by Katherene Doddisworthe his wife.

Oct. 5. William Hodgeson, preacher, Rector of Gateshead, p. m. Dodsworth.

1571. Nov. 5. Will of John Heworthe of Gateshead, quarryman. His wife dead of the plague, and he seized with the same. "Paid to the parson making the will, and writing it over thrice, 6*s.* 8*d.* *."

1572. Oct. 26. In pursuance of the 46th of the Queen's Injunctions, four parishioners of Gateshead are appointed by the Ordinary to see that all the parishioners duly resort to their church upon all Sundays and holy days; they to be sworn to execute their office of overseers, not diminishing the authority of the churchwardens, but giving them their aid †.

Temp. Eliz., before 1574. "A not of the presentmentes for the Constables of Gaitshead ‡. For profaining the sabothe, Mistresse Ane Ridell §. For bruing without lycence: Jane Readshawe, Isabell Watson, Mongo Simpson. For barratters or disordered persons: Lionell Swinborne. For roges and vacabonds, whiped: Georg Rockbye and Ellenor Ree. For the malsters and baggers: Thomas Arrowsmythe and Annas Bowes, Rychard Bell, John Harrison, and Willm Cacheside. Forestailling the markett: Will'm Renneck, Allie Collson, Will'm Hudson, Gregori Doyte, Raph Parkyne and Raph Bankes, Robert Smyth. For bloudes and frayes: Barthram Spence, a bloud and fray; Lionell Swinborne, 3 bloudes upon the constables."

1575. George Graye occurs as curate of St. John's.

1575-6. Mar. 12. "The town of Gatessyde is a corporate town, an ancient borough, the Key of the County Palatine, the people religious,

* Test. Dunelm., Sur. Soc., i. 355.
† Barnes Proc. 141.
‡ To the Quarter Sessions.
§ Formerly Lawson, wife of Mr. William Ridell.

godly, and good Protestants, and, besides, men of good wealth, and very civil of behaviour. The town of Newcastell are all Papists, save Anderson, and yet is he so knit in such sort with the Papists that *aiunt, aiit; negant, negat.* I understand that the town of Newcastell, enflamed with ambition and malice, seek in a sort to join Gatessyde to the Newcastell*."

1576. Dec. George Gray, clerk, occ. as curate of all Hallows'.

1577. Oct. 1. Bishop Barnes's Injunctions, full of interest. See them in Barnes Proc., Sur. Soc., p. 10, or in Richardson's Imprints †.

1577-1587. Bishop Barnes's list of livings and patrons, with their valuations in the King's Book. The reputed value about the middle of the 17th century inserted, and printed by Sur. Soc. in brackets. "Master of th' Ospitall of St. Edmondes in Gatesyde x^{l}: Busshop of Durham. R. Gateside (with the Hospitall 100^{l}): Do. Vic. St. Nicholas in Newcastle 1^{l} (100^{l}): Bushoppe of Carliell. Hospitall of Westspytle xxx^{l}: Mair and Burgess of Newcastle. Hospitall of Marie Magdaleyne xv^{l}: Do. Master of Bridgehouse x^{l}: Do. Hospitall of the Masondewe vij^{l}: Lord Lomeleye. Churches and chappells without incumbents, and served by stipendiarie preestes: Parish Churches, Allhallowes, St. Johns, St. Andrews, Walsende, Cramlington: Chappells, North Gosforthe, Sowthgosforthe ‡."

1577-8. Feb. 1. Chancellor's Visitation. The names of the vicar, curates, schoolmasters, parish clerks, and churchwardens given. St. Nicholas' church had the vicar John Magbrey, excused, and Thomas Kay, an unlicensed curate, who appeared. Allhallows' chapel had Cuthbert Ewbanke, curate, excused, and William Browne, assistant, sick. St. John's chapel had an unlicensed curate, George Gray, who appeared. St. Andrew's chapel had a curate, Bartram Cowghram, who appeared and had his license revoked. William Hodgeson the rector of Gateshead also appeared. The clergy, as a proof of their "progress in learning and studying of the scriptures" to give in July an account of the several chapters of St. Matthew's gospel. The tax was to be in writing, and in Latin, in the diocese generally, but the clergy of the deanery of Newcastle were permitted to render it in English *if they did not know Latin*, and either in writing or memoriter §.

1578. Apr. 8. Macbray resigned the vicarage in Durham-Galilee before the Bishop sitting in person. He soon became repossessed of Newcastle.

* Letter of Recorder Fleetwood, Arch. Æliana, 8vo, ii. 224, where see all that is known of this renewed attempt to join Gateshead to Newcastle.

† As to vestments, the surplice is, of course, the only one mentioned. Canon Raine in his excellent tract on the subject conveniently collected the evidences that for three centuries the older apparel has not been used, and could not be, save in the cathedral. He has been able to treat the subject with sufficient and becoming gravity.

‡ Barnes Proc. 8.

§ Barnes Proc., Sur. Soc.

1578. July 15—22. Chancellor's Visitations. Kay of St. Nicholas,' Ewbanke of all Saints', and Cowgherham (now called Bartholomew) of St. Andrew's, had not completed their tasks and were postponed to Michaelmas. Gray of St. John's had done nothing, and was pronounced contumacious. The vicarage was vacant. No account is given of the performance by the Rector of Gateshead. He was "probably excused on account of proficiency in learning." The Gospel of St. Mark to be the January task on the terms of the Newcastle Deanery.

1578. Sep. 30. Deputation of sermons and division of churches by Bishop Barnes to himself and 29 others, the preachers of the diocese, to be preached from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, "of their benevolent good wills in assisting him in his great cure and parish, over and besides their ordinary quarterly and monthly sermons in their own peculiar cures and churches and besides others elsewhere by them voluntarily to be preached." The Bishop undertook 24 sermons, none of them at Newcastle. The Archdeacon of Northumberland would preach twice in St. Nicholas'. Single sermons there to be preached by Mr. Richard Fawcett, Rector of Boldon, Mr. Farnisyde, Rector of Whickham (who also was to preach at Gateshead). *Mr. Bernard Gilpinge*, Rector of Houghton, Mr. Bonney, Rector of Ryton, and Mr Hodestone, Rector of Gateshead. The Vicar of Newcastle, Mr. John Magbraye, would preach 9 sermons, at Bishop Auckland, Morpeth, Tynemouth, Gateshead, Benton, Earsdon, Newburn, Norton, and Newcastle (the last in the general chapter after Christmas). The Rector of Gateshead would preach 12, at Bishop Auckland, Ryton, Whickham, Chester, Jarrow, St. Hilda's (South Shields), Tynemouth, St. Giles' in Durham, and the four Newcastle churches. Doctor Pilkington, Rector of Whitburn, to preach at Gateshead and All Hallows.' Mr. Adam Hallydaye, Rector of Bishop Wearmouth, to preach at St. John's, Mr. Garfoorthe, Rector of Washington, at Gateshead *.

1578-9. Jan. 19—29. Chancellor's Visitations. The clergy of Newcastle as before. Mr. Wm. Hodgeson, Rector of Gateshead. The Master of the Hospital of Gateshead dead. The Gospel of St. Luke

* Barnes Proc., Sur. Soc. See at p. 21 of that volume a curious extract from Dr. Jackson's Inordinate Liberty of Prophesying. Without more conformity of doctrine he had small hope that "in such plenty of preachers, as now there are, this work of the Lord should prosper half so well as it did in those times and in those dioceses wherein there were scarce ten able preachers besides the prebendaries." He remembers, with joy of heart, the examinations of the licensed readers, how they had profited in their learning. "Such as had profited well were licensed to preach once a month, or once a quarter, having certain books appointed, from whose doctrine they should not swerve." The Homilies "were weekly read upon severe penalty. But since the liberty of prophesying was taken up, which came but lately into the northern parts (unless it were in the towns of Newcastle and Barwick, wherein Knox, Mackbray, and Udal had sown their tares), all things have gone so cross and backward in our Church, that I cannot call the history of these forty years or more to mind, or express my observations upon it, but with a bleeding heart."

to be the July task in Latin, for those who knew that language, in English for others.

1579. Dr. Ellison's MSS. notice an old pew-book belonging to the church of St. Nicholas' so dated, containing references to a still older one.

July. The Gospel of St. John enjoined as a task.

1579. Aug. 2. Gateshead. Janet Foggard, "being a young woman unmarried, will not sit in the stall where she is appointed, but in a stall letten to another *."

1579. Died, George Gray, of St. John's.

1580. Humphrey Sicklemore occurs there.

Aug. 29. Gateshead. Anthony Haidon and his wife "did not receive the communion." Suspended until they shall certify "that they are in charity †."

1580 and 1586. Thomas Maislete occurs as curate of St. Andrew's.

1581. "Mr. William Hodgson of Gatesyde, parson and preacher," occurs in St. Nicholas' register.

1581. Feb. Mr. Hugh Broughton, preacher, occurs in St. Nicholas' register. "See his life by John Lightfoot."

1582. St. John's. Thomas Maslet occurs.

1582. May 3. Will of John Hudson of NC. merchant. "I do give unto my son John Hudson this house that I dwell in. And the rest of my houses to be disposed at the discretion of Jhaine my wife whom I make my full executor of all my will; and during her life she to have all the houses for her maintenance; and all my other goods whatsoever she to have it to dispose it to the pleasure of our Lord God, and to the commodity of herself and such children of ours as hath had no portions." "Whatsoever my aunt Surtys oweth me, upon condition that she forgive me, I do forgive her heartfully, that she be not troubled by my wife. And thus our Lord God send us a joyful resurrection in the favour of our Lord God. Amen." See the will more fully in Test. Dunelm. Sur. Soc., ii. 102.

1582. Nov. 10.. Oswald Chaitor (a linen weaver) made parish clerk (ædituus) of St. John's, "ad legendum, cantandum, respondendum, et in divinis officiis deserviendum, in dicta capella Sancti Johannis villæ Novi-Castri." He died in 1623, aged 68.

1583. St. John's. Lancelot Graye occurs.

1583. Mar. 4. Died Bernard Gilpin. In Carleton's Life of him, it is stated that "after that age began to grow upon him, there was in the town of Newcastle one Genison, who had received to home a son of his own brother's lately returned from the parts beyond the seas. This Genison was much aggrieved for that his brother's son was, as he understood, made a Jesuit. Whereupon he sent the young man to Mr. Gilpin, intreating him to have a care of him, and to

* Barnes Proc. 124. † Barnes Proc.

dissuade him if he could possibly from his wicked and dangerous opinions. After that Mr. Gilpin had often conferred with him, he found the young fellow most insolently proud, and armed with boldness and impudence, corrupting the holy Scriptures with certain new and unheard of expositions. Whereupon Mr. Gilpin wrote to his uncle Mr. Genison, that he was a most audacious young fellow, and came not to him to be instructed, but to teach him rather. The young fellow, saith he, thinking I know not how a great deal too well of himself, had an hope to draw me at these years, to acknowledge certain absurdities. I see that the Jesuits have found out certain new expositions of Scripture never heard of heretofore. They cast away all respect, and set upon me with impudency. They dare prove the invocation of saints from Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. This fellow doth obstinately affirm that the Church of Rome hath not erred in any one thing. Their most horrible errors touching indulgences, falsified miracles, falsified reliques, pilgrimages, worshipping of images, and the rest of the same sort, all these this wonderful man findeth out in the Gospel. And he standeth upon it, stiffly, that all these things are good and holy. I desire not to have any more to do with such a monstrous kind of men, with such fierce natures, who open their mouths against heaven, for what is it to open their mouths against heaven, if this be not, so violently and disgracefully to handle the holy Scriptures? They have devised and daily do devise horrible strange expositions such as were never heard of before in the church of Rome. I therefore desire to rid mine hands of this fellow as of a scabbed sheep, for fear he might infect my whole flock *."

1584. "King James having, before that time, assumed in his own person the government of the kingdom [of Scotland], debates arose for many years betwixt His Majesty and the ministers upon that account, the King still pressing episcopal government, and they on the other part contending for the Presbyterian way. So that at length the controversy rose to that height, that some of the ministers chose rather to hazard a war than to suffer the discipline to be borne down. Whereupon in the year 1584, the parliament, then sitting at Edinburgh, having made, and published at the Market Cross, an act which incroached upon it; Mr. Walter Ballingall and Mr. James Lowson, miuisters of Edinburgh, and Mr. Robert Pont, minister of St. Andrew's, who was also a senator, after some protestations emitted by them, went to Berwick, and from thence to Newcastle, and there joined the banished lords, making one common cause of it, whereof the sequel was, that, the year following, the banished lords and those ministers with them, (except Mr. Lowson, who died in England) entered into the kingdom &c." Hence the treaty of 5 Nov. 1585, and establishment by law of Presbyterian government in the Church, 1592. (Guthrie.)

* An interesting and suggestive story. Plainly there was a great difference between Gilpin's uncle, Bishop Tunstal, and the sufferers in Elizabeth's time.

1584. Nov. 16. Vicar Magbrey buried at St. Nicholas'.

1585. Aug. "Mr. Richard [identical with William?] Hodgson, parson of Gatesyde, preacher," occurs in St. Nicholas' register.

Aug. 10. Richard Holdsworth instituted to the vicarage. Lloyd calls him "an eminent preacher."

Aug. 31. Edward Barber to Walsyngham. Examination taken by Barber in the Gatehouse of Allan Eglambie, who states that he is loyal though a Catholic. Examination by Barber of Robert Hethfield, of Newcastle, merchant, who seemeth very sorrowful, and on his knees promises amendment and reformation in matters of religion. He has been confronted with his acquaintance George Errington in the Tower. Suspicions of John Carre the postmaster of Newcastle. (S.P.)

Jan. Thomas Key the curate of St. Nicholas' died.

1585-6. Edward Cleton, occ. curate of All Hallows'.

1585-6. Martin Liddall, clerk, at St. John's.

1586. Apr. 6. Ch. Taylour writes from Bradfield to Mr. Houldesworth, preacher of God's holy Word at Newcastle. Satan laboureth by all means to hinder the happy growth of the Gospel, Specifies the substance of the positions advanced by one Mr. Hooker, an Oxford man, in a sermon in the Inner Temple which were impugned by Mr. Travers, reader of a lecture there. (S.P.)

1587. Ap. 26. H to Walsyngham. Secret advertisements of Papists of the North. Has brought Mr. Wharton, a kinsman of Lord Wharton, to London, who is a great practiser in the designs of the Papists. This man, John Taylour of Newcastle, John Gastell, and others, are the men who carry on correspondence between the Papists in England and those beyond seas. All the Papists are of opinion that the course taken by the Queen against Mr. Davison is to convey herself in a cloud. (S.P.)

June. Clement Colmore, LL.D., Rector of Gateshead.

1587. June 13. Buried, at St. Nicholas', "a poore wench which dyed in the church poorch."

1588. Mr. John Udale, a puritan minister, preached a year in Newcastle (probably in St. Nicholas' church, as Brand thinks, placing his visit c. 1589.) The Barnes Memoirs (vide p. 127) say that he, a nonconformist, when in danger of his life, hid himself amongst good people in Newcastle. But Stowell states that he was sent by Lord Huntingdon, president of the north, to preach there in the year when the plague was raging. It raged from May 1588 to at least the end of 1589. In Udal's confession of faith the first article was his belief that the Church of England was "a part of the true visible church, the word and sacraments being truly dispensed; for which reason *I have communicated with it* several years at Kingston, and *a year at Newcastle upon Tyne* and still desire to be a preacher in the same church." (Neale i. 516.) He was sent for from Newcastle to London, tried for being an author of one of the books of "Martin Marprelate," the argument being that "as the bishops

were the Queen's servants, to speak or write against them was to defame the Queen herself." "His trial (says Hallam) like most other political trials of the age, disgraces the name of English justice," and he was sentenced to death. The execution was deferred; he begged to be an exile; but the ships of the Turkey merchants went to their factories without him, and he died in prison.

1588. 9th Sunday after Trinity. Bp. Matthew preached before the Earl of Huntingdon at NC., on 2 Chron. xx. 20, when the Spaniards were expected to invade us.

1589. Robert Askewe occurs as curate of St. Andrew's. Edmund Robinson, curate at St. John's, died of the plague, as did the children of the Vicar.

1590. March. Mr. Bowland, curate of St. John's.

Aug. 22. Mr. John Murra, minister of St. John's.

1590. Dec. 2. The church-stile of Gateshead mentioned *.

1590. Dr. Richard Holdsworth, son of the Vicar of Newcastle, born there, according to Walker and Wood.

1591. Henry Patteson, curate of St. John's.

1591. Oct. The corporation paid to the churchwardens of St. Andrew's church "to the maintenance of it granted by Mr. Mayor, his brethren and four and twenty likewise, 40*s.*" and to the churchwardens of All Hallows' "for to make a new pew for Mr. Mayor and his brethren to sit in, 26*s.* 8*d.*"

1592. Aug. The Corporation paid "to a Frenchman which did take forth the seminary priest's bowels after he was hanged 20*s.*: for coals which made the fire at the execution of the seminary priest 6*d.*, and for a wright's axe which headed the seminary, 4*s.* 6*d.*: for a hand axe and a cutting knife, which did rip and quarter the seminary priest, 14*d.*, and for a horse which trailed him from the off the sled to the gallows, 12*d.*: for four iron stanchels, with hooks on them for the hanging of the seminarie's four quarters of four gates, 3*s.* 8*d.*: for one iron wedge, for riving wood to make the fire on the Moor, 18*d.*, and for a shovel to the fire, 2*s.*: to a mason for two days' work, setting the stanchels of the gates fast, 10*d.* a day, 20*d.*: for carrying the four quarters of the seminary priest from gate to gate, and other charges, 2*s.*: for fire and coals for melting the lead to set the iron stanchels of the gate fast, 8*d.*"

Richardson supposes that these entries really relate to the execution of "Joseph Lampton of the ancient family of Lampton of South Biddick, co. Durham," whatever that may mean†, who is generally stated to have suffered on July 27, 1593. He was educated at Rheims, whence he went to the English College at Rome in 1589. Being ordained a priest he was sent to England, when he was immediately apprehended, tried and condemned. He suffered in the flower of his age and in sight of his relatives and friends.

* Test. Dunelm. ii. 186.

† Vide Biddick Waterville, and Lambton, in Surtees' Durham.

Instead of finding the Frenchman who was entitled to a reward we have the statement that a felon attempted to rip him up, but his heart failed him, and he chose rather to die than to go on with the operation; and that a butcher from a neighbouring village was then prevailed upon by the sheriff to execute the sentence. The reader will perhaps be struck with the fact of a Frenchman acting in the execution, whether or not of Lampton.

1592. The Corporation paid "for 20lb. of sugar in two loaves, 18*d.* a pound, 6 pottles of sack, 10 pottles of claret wine, 9 pottles of white wine, and 1 pottle of Rhenish wine sent in a present to my Lord of Durham, as he came travelling to this town, 58*s.* 4*d.*, and "to Augustus Spencer, a scholar, travelling to Durham to speak with my Lord of Durham, for maintaining, commanded by Mr. Mayor, 10*s.*"

1593. May. The Corporation "paid for a hogshead of claret wine to serve to the churches against Easter for their communements, viz. Saint Nicholas' church, 12 gallons; All Hallows' church, 20 gallons; Saint John's church, 15 gallons; Saint Andrew' church, 10 gallons; 57 gallons in all, 7*l.*, and for four gallons to the churches, over and besides the hogshead, to the four churches, the sum of 10*s.* 8*d.*"

1593. Aug. The Corporation "paid for charges disbursed, for the burial of Elisabeth Johnson, the curate 4*d.*, the clerk 4*d.*, the bells for ringing 8*d.*, the grave maker 2*d.*, bread and cakes 18*d.*, drink 16*d.*, for a kerchief and a 'rale' to wind her 2*s.*, the bellman 2*d.*, a pair of hose before 'it' died, 6*d.*, the woman that kept 'itt' for her pains 12*d.*"

Sep. The Corporation "paid to Mr. George Selby's two men for their pains taken in apprehending Edward Waterson for a seminary priest*, who was lately executed 20*s.*, and more for watching Robert Chamber, who was taken by a commission for my Lord Warden, 2*s.*"

Oct. The Corporation paid "to William Jackson for taking pains, being clerk to the commission, for the recusant and seminary priests granted by Mr. Mayor and the twenty four yearly this three years, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*: for a Papist which stood of the pillory for abusing our Majesty by slanderous words, 4*d.*"

Oct. The Corporation "paid for two band ropes, one to the common bell, and another to the 8 o'clock bell 3*s.* 4*d.* a piece, 6*s.* 8*d.*"

* We shall find William Waterson in Jan. 1593-4. Edward Waterson is stated to have been executed on 7 Jan. 1593. The impression left is that the two were identical. The accounts may well have fallen into arrear or been posted some months after.

Edward Waterson was a Londoner. Commeree took him to Turkey, where he refused a tempting offer to renounce Christianity. When at Rome, on his road homeward, he joined the Papal Church, and then entered the English College at Rheims, where he lived for some years before his fatal mission to England.

Nov. The Corporation "paid to the clerk of Saint Nichol' church for ringing their bells the 17 day of November, for joy of our Majesty's reign, 2*s.* 6*d.*: for ringing All Hallows' bells likewise, 20*d.*; for ringing Saint John' church bells likewise, 16*d.*; for ringing Saint Andro' church bells likewise, 16*d.*"

1593-4. Jan. The Corporation "paid to William Sever, sergeant, which headed William Watterson *, the seminary priest, for his pains, 20*s.*: to two labourers for making a room for the making of the fire, 12*d.*; for an apron to the leech 6*d.*; for a spade 6*d.*; for one pound of tow, 4*d.*; for coals 6*d.*; for two 'girdes to a water sea' 2*d.*; for a boy going of an errand, 2*d.*; three labourers for carrying home of the gear 3*d.*; for a horse which drew the sled to the gallows and back again, 18*d.*; one labourer for hanging up the three quarters and head of the priest, 9*d.*; for two halters 2*d.*; for carrying the gear a-field 12*d.*; for John Partus' pains taken, 12*d.*; Wm. Sever for his arles [earnest-money] for quartering the priest, 12*d.*; Sandrs. Cheisman's man for putting the pinnacle for hanging the priest's head of the head, 6*s.*: for straw, candle, drink, and string, which bound the seminary's arms before he was executed, 9*d.*: for a cat-band and a staple for the door that the priest burnt in prison, 6*d.*: for drink which John Letherington, the prisoner, had before he executed the priest, 2*d.*"

1593-4. Jan. 31. Eure to Burghley. "May it please your Lordship, give me leave to become an humble suter to your Lordship in the behalfe of a gentlewoman, a kinswoman of myne, dwelling in Bishopricke in the Countie Palatine of Durham, wiffe to Mr. Nicholas Tempeste, who formerly, for her Recusancy onlye, was taken bound to appear before the Lords of her Majesties most honorable Privie Counsell when she should be called upon; And nowe, of late,

* Challoner in his notice of Edward Waterson's execution has some events, miraculous to the writer, but, apparently, not to the observers, or they would, one might have supposed, have prevented the carrying out of the sentence. All circumstances considered however, I think it right to give them. I presume that the execution, like that of Lampton, was on the Town Moor in the parish of St. Andrew's. "He received the sentence of death with joy, and suffered with constancy. The Rev. Archdeacon Trollop relates, from the testimony of virtuous Catholics, who were eye-witnesses, and related it to him, 'that whilst this blessed martyr was drawn upon the hurdle to his execution, upon a sudden the hurdle stood still; and the officers, with all their whipping and striving, could not make the horses to move it: and, fresh horses passing by, they took them and put them to the hurdle; yet they could not (though they broke the tresses) any way move him or the hurdle; who, seeing their attempts to be frustrate, were forced to take the martyr from the hurdle, and to lead him on foot to the place of execution; saying, it would be a note to the Papists, which had happened that day.' Dr. Champney adds that, being upon this occasion, taken off the hurdle, he walked cheerfully towards the gallows, not as to a punishment, but as to a crown. And that, coming to the place, and recommending himself by a short prayer to God, as he was offering to go up the ladder, it was violently agitated of itself without any visible hand, till the confessor made the sign of the cross, and then the ladder stood still; and he, ascending, was shortly after turned off, and, according to sentence, cut down, bowelled, and quartered."

being called on by the Lord Busshopp of Durham, before whome shee with my advice presented herself, and, for Recusancy onlye, was committed to the common jaole at Durham where shee still remaineth. My humble suite to your Lordship is you would vouchsafe her that favor as to addresse your Lordship's Letter, together with the Lords of her Majesties moste honorable Privie Counsell, to the said Lord Busshopp, advising him to grant her present release of this her imprisonment, upon Nicholas Tempeste, hir husband, his bonde to your Lordship for her appearance when shee shall by your Lordship bee called upon. The which I the more bouldlie and humblie doe entreate, for that I know hir husband is trulie religious, frequenting divine service, sermons, and communicateth, accompanying me therin att Newcastle the last Coronation day of our Sovereigne, likewise his children, which are manie, are brought upp in the like profession of religion which he professeth, his servents likewise so affected, and laboureth his wief with all his possible means to the same purpose, to my knowledge; nether dothe he pursuade childe or friende to her religion, neither dothe she entertaine seminarie or offensive person to the State, onlie blinded in her devotion, a sickley woman in bodie, having many young children. These be the motives that move me to present her humble suite to your Lordship, presuming your honorable favoure therein, and the rather for his uncle's sake, who, in his lieftime, honoured your Lordship in all service and dutie, for which my bouldnes I humbley crave pardon, and do pray for your Lordship honorable good healthe, and so take my leave. Hexham, the xxxi of Januarie 1593. Your Lordship humble and assured to command, Ra. Eure. To The Right Honorable my veri good Lord the Lord Burghley, Highe Treasorer of England, and one of her Majesties most honorable Prive Councell *."

1593-4. Feb. The Corporation paid "for hay to a horse and traces for drawing the seminary priest to the gallows to be executed, 12*d.*;" and "to Mr. James Bamford, preacher, for his quarter, 10*l.*"

1594. May. The Corporation paid "for a chest of glass for mending the glass windows in Saint Nichol's church so far as the steeple reacheth, 32*s.* 9*d.*†"

1594. July 25. John Ingram (formerly a Protestant gentleman of Warwickshire) executed, according to Challoner, at "Gateshide-head," on the evidence of deeds. I can safely say that this was the south end of the inhabited town, and not Gateshead Fell. Ingram, having embraced the mediæval faith, was ejected from the college at

* J. B. Taylor's MSS.

† "The first objection raised by the Corporation, or by any one on their behalf, to the prescriptive liability of the Mayor and Burgesses to repair any part of the steeple of St. Nicholas', was made on the 29th of June, 1829, and, notwithstanding such objection, the Corporation commenced and finished, or promised to finish, such repairs as were required, except that portion of the foundations supposed to have been injured by the Churchwardens allowing graves to be dug too near." Report in 1862, by Geo. Thirkeld Gibson, Vestry Clerk, which see.

Oxford for recusancy. After studying both at Douay and Rome, he was made priest and sent to England. Being apprehended on the borders of Scotland he was sent to the Tower of London, and tortured. He would not reveal the names of his entertainers, and was sent back to the North for trial.

August. The Corporation of Newcastle paid for "John Engram, four nights, 4*d.*; his bedding 8*d.*: lying in Newgate till he was tried upon: for charges at the execution of the seminary priest in Gatesyde, John Engram, 2*s.* 6*d.*: for bringing his quarters off the gibbets, 18*d.*, and for a pannier which brought his quarters to the town, 4*d.*"

1594. Oct. The Corporation paid "to the clerk of St. Nichol's Church for knelling on guild-day, 5*s.*: to the under clerk of St. Nichol's Church tolling the 6 a'clock bell for scholars in the morning, 3*s.* 4*d.*: to Will. Bellingham, in consideration of his pains, being clerk to the commission for recusants and seminary priests, yearly granted, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*"

1595. March. The Corporation paid "for three gallons and three quarts of claret wine extraordinary, to serve the communicants at St. Nichol's Church upon Easter day, which the hogshead would not draw to, 7*s.* 6*d.*"

1595. John Hutton, Rector of Gateshead.

May. Mr. Cuthbert Ewbancke was curate of St. Nicholas'.

July. The Corporation paid "for three stall-rooms which was bought of the churchwardens of St. Nicholas' Church for Mr. Ogle, schoolmaster, 6*s.*: for the charge of burying Dorothy Ogle, which died in the Newiate; for a sheet to wind her in, 2*s.* 6*d.*; for winding her, 4*d.*; for bearing her to the church, 4*d.*; for bread and drink when they came to the church, 4*d.*, and for making the grave, 2*d.*; and to Sir Thomas Maslett for his pains taken, 4*s.* 8*d.*"

August. The Corporation paid for "three yards of tawney velvet for to be cushions for St. Nichol's Church, to serve Mr. Mayor and his brethren, 3*l.* 6*s.*: to Mr. Morehouse, preacher, 10*l.*"

Oct. The Corporation paid "for the charges of a priest suspected, which Mr. Sanderson cause tak, in Newgate for seven meals meat, his bed three nights and for pots of ale besides; for the charge of Bartram Gofton carrying the same priest suspected to Durham to be examined, for his own charge and his horses, with horse hire two days:" "and given to the same suspected priest in reward, 3*s.* 4*d.*:" "given in reward to a Polonian physician lying in Newgate suspect upon religion, commanded by Mr. Mayor, 40*s.*"

1595-6. March. The Corporation paid to Richard Holdesworth, preacher, for his quarter, 10*l.*: to Mr. James Baineforde, preacher, for his quarter, 10*l.*

1596. Thomas Edgar occ. curate of All Hallows'.

Sep. 5. Vicar Holdsworth buried in St. Nicholas' Church. Dr. William Morton succeeded him. Dr. Richard Holdsworth was bred at Newcastle, under Mr. William Pearson an exact preacher in the

same place [vide 1604] to whom he was committed the youngest of his dying father's sons at seven years of age *.

1596-7. Jan. 13. Will of William Grenwell of Newcastle, merchant and alderman. "I make my living friends, Mr. William Murton, vicar of this town, and Mr. George Farnabie, merchant and alderman, supervisors, and I give to either of them two angels, for a token. More I give unto Mr. John Morehouse, preacher, 20*s.*" (Test. Dunelm. ii. 266).

1596-7. Feb. The Corporation paid for "four pottles sack and two quart, for three pottles of white wine, and four pottles and a quart of claret wine, for a present to the Bishop of Dorum, 17*s.* 6*d.*: for 11*lb.* of sugar which went with the wine 18*d.* per pound, 16*s.* 6*d.*"

1597. June. The Corporation gave in reward to a scholar of Cambridge, being a kinsman of Mr. Richard Holdesworthe, preacher, commanded, 4*l.*"

1597. Nov. 4. Henry Riddle of NC., merchant, by his nuncupative will, desires to be buried in the great church at Elvinge, and gives to Mr. Murton of NC., preacher, three angels, and to Mr. Smathwhaite of NC., preacher, one french crown. Mentions Charles Horsley of NC. his father's prentice, Elizabeth Liddle, (Thomas Liddle's daughter,) whom he meant to be his wife, his host and hostess Esender of Elvinge, the younge frowe, the three maids, the nurse, the foreman &c.

1598. May. The Corporation paid "Mr. Pearson, preacher of God's word, his quarterage."

Oct. 27. St. John's. Clement Cockson, Curate before this date.

1598. "The fifth stall let to Francis Burrows, schoolmaster of the Hye School." Pew Book of St. Nicholas', Brand, i. 88.

1599. Nov. 24. Commission for the suppression of schism. The Mayor and Henry Anderson and Henry Chapman, aldermen, and William Morton, preacher, all of Newcastle, and John Hutton, parson of Gateshead, among the commissioners. (Fœdera, xvi. 386.)

* He came very young to St. Johns Camb. (Lloyd) and at his living of St. Peter's Poor, in London was much followed as a preacher, especially by the Puritans. Once as he was preaching at Mercer's Chapel, *on the acclamation made to Herod*, the auditory several times *hummed* him in such a manner that he could not be heard, and he was forced to call out to them more than once, *I pray remember the text.* (Walker.) "Here the church rung not with the preacher's raving, but which the hearers groans." He used "not a furious thundering," but "a zealous and hearty eloquence which was" a pleasant song even to hypocrites (Lloyd). Another time when he saw great multitudes throng to hear him preach, he dismissed them with the Prayers and an Homily, thus endeavouring to persuade the giddy people of those times not to have men's persons in admiration, and not to prefer private performances of individuals to public offices of the church. He suffered greatly during the civil wars. The Committee of Safety in imprisoning him said that "if he was permitted to preach he would undo all that they had done." His fastings and grief for the murder of his royal master contracted disorders which ended his life in the August after it. In his last sickness his friends endeavoured to comfort him by the thought that he was to be taken from the evil to come. "No! no!" he replied with vehemence, "I foresee from the good to come." (Walker.) See further in Wood's Fasti Oxon. i. 207.

In concluding the 16th. century, let me refer to Brand's second volume, pp. 370-2, for evidence that strange Corpus Christi plays continued to be acted by the companies of Newcastle into the reign of Elizabeth. In 1561, we have linen "for God's coat" purchased, and in 1568, the Slaters performed the Offering of Isaac, but, from the new ordinaries dated 1578 to 1589, the words obliging the tradesmen to play lead to the inference that the exhibitions were "on the decline, and never acted but by a special command of the magistrates."

1600. Aug. 31. "Toby, son of John Barker, merchant, baptized at St. Nicholas'. Lord Toby, Bishop of Durham, Mr. James Banford, preacher of God's word, sponsors." (See 1593-4.) "Newcastle, famous for thy mocking and misusing of Christ's messengers, and ill entertainment of his servants, ever since our Reformation; witness that famous Knox, great Reformer of Scotland, his sermons preached there: witness learned Udall, thy faithful monitor, whose innocent blood cries yet from the ground, whom, for writing against the prelates, thou prosecuted, as a traitor, to bonds, imprisonment, and sentence of death, under which he died before execution: witness reverend *Balmford*, whom in like manner thou expulsed; though thou couldst not touch his life, thou pricked his sides (as well as Christ's) in his hearers, with the reproach of *Balmfordian faction and schism*." (Fenwick's Christ Ruling in the midst of his enemies, 1643.)

See Sharp's Hartlepool, 98, for the pew arrangements in that town for 1600.

1601. Jan. Vicar Morton occurs in his register as archdeacon of *Northumberland*.

1602. April 11. Bishop Toby Matthew was godfather for Toby, son of Vicar Morton, baptized at St. Nicholas'.

1603. Raphe Atkinson of NC., merchant adventurer, mentions the waste, at the Head of the Syde, boundering upon St. Nicholas' Churchyard; and leaves to Mr. Wm. Moorton, preacher, one rose noble for a token, to Mr. William Pearson, preacher, the same, and to the poor people of NC. 6*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. to be distributed, half *before* his death, and the rest after.

In the list of the old salaries paid by the Corporation in Elizabeth's time, copied 1669, occurs "Under-clerk of St. Nicholas', for ringing 4, 6, 8 o'clock bell, 3*l*. 18*s*. 8*d*."

Reign of James I. 1603—1625.

1603. April 9. Saturday. James I. arrived from Scotland to take possession of the crown of England. "Upon Sunday, being the 10th of April, his Majesty went to the Church [St. Nicholas'], before whom the Bishop of Durham [Toby Matthew] preached, [from 2

Chron. xv. 1, 2.]. And that day, as it is his most Christianlike custom, being spent in devotion, he rested till Monday.—He released all prisoners except those that lay for treason, murder, and papistry*."

Nov. 18. Inventory of Henry Lawe of NC., merchant. One Bible, 12*d*. A book called Mr. Smith's Sermons, 12*d*.

Nov. 19. William Morton, B.D., vicar of Newcastle, collated Archdeacon of Durham. He is so called in St. Nicholas' Register in 1604.

1604. May and Nov. William Pierson occurs as curate and lecturer at St. Nicholas'.

May 27. John Knaisdayle, minister, buried at All Saints'. A Dissenter?

1605. John Wood occ. curate of All Saints'. So in 1610.

1605. A List of recusants indicted at Newcastle occurs in S. P. xvi. 123.

1606. Jan. Six followers of Thomas Percy, of the Gunpowder Plot, executed at the gaol delivery at Newcastle. (S.P.)

1606. "It appears that Pierson, lecturer of this church, about the year 1606, was paid quarterly a salary out of the town of Newcastle, and likewise for several years after during his continuance. The salaries were not one and the same, but added and increased as the town thought fit. Upon this first settlement they had those salaries out of the town for preaching in the forenoon, and the parish did contribute for their preaching in the afternoons. Some time after the town of NC. made an addition to the former salaries, and gave them an allowance for preaching both forenoon and afternoon; upon which the lectureships continued ever since, with an alteration still of salaries, more or less as there was occasion, and at the will and pleasure of the patrons. And when any vacancy happened in any of the churches of the town, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of Newcastle from time to time have chosen another in such room and stead; and the Bishop of Durham for the time being did always hitherto allow and approve of, by licence, such person so chosen, being duly qualified.—Note, the lecturers of St. Nicholas' and All Saints' have this further advantage in it, which makes it the more valuable, that this preferment does no-ways disqualify or incapacitate them from holding other livings with the cure of souls†."—(From a MS. of Dr. Hunter, written soon after the civil wars.)

1608. "Three yards 10 inches of the highest part [of St. Nicholas' steeple] was taken down and new builded, with sundry reparations and new fanes‡."

1609. 20 Aug. "THE PRESENTMENT OF THE CHURCHWARDENS

* Nichols' Progresses, i. 69, from The True Narrative, &c.

† Brand adds a quære, "Is it not the same with the lecturers of St. John's and St. Andrew's?"

‡ "Dr. Ellison's MSS." Brand, i. 262.

OF THE PARISH OF GAITSHEAD.—1. We knowe no recusantes who are confined in our parish*. 2. We have onelie one gentlewoman, Mrs. Ryddle [formerly Conyers] the wyfe of Mr. Thomas Ryddle Esquire, who refuseth to come to church and to communicate with us; but we must neades testifie this, that hir husband, together with his children and servantes, doo dewlie and verie orderlie and religiouslie, resort everie Sabaoth day to the church, ther to heare the word of God read and preached. 3. We have no recusantes who refuse to have their children baptized accordinge to the statute. 4. 5. We have no recusantes who have reformed them selves or who keep anie popish scolmasters, popish servantes or anie scolmasters not lycensed in ther houses to our knowledge.—P' ME, JOHANNE' HUTTON, rectore' de Gaitsheade. THOMS .... WILLIAM POTES. JOHN C CHAMBER, his marke. GORGES N NEICKELLSONNE*.

1611-1612. Feb. 20. Will of John Hutton, parson of Gateshead. To be bur. par. Gateshead. My wife Florence (which she gave me for a token) £5 in gould, and two gownes, two kirtles, two petticotes and a velvet hatt (which I bought for my wife *Besse* [*Elizabeth* substituted], the syde saddle &c. which I bought last at London. Sister Margaret Blackburne one litle peece of east countrey plate. My sonn Henrie Farniside. James Farniside a (new) Master of Arts hood. Edward Miller, my sister's daughter's son. Jacob Farniside, Edwyne Nicholson, William Cooke, my wives children, and everie one of there wyves, a French crowne a peece for a token. Thomas Cuthbert, notarie publique, a French crowne. Rem. wife Florence, and James Cole of NC., yeoman. Jaine wife of Nicholas Cole and Elizabeth wife of William Rand, either of them, a booke, th' one called *Learne to lyve*, and th' other *Learne to dye*.—JOHN HUTTON.—March 23. Inventory of the goods of the same Hutton, by Thomas Suerties, esq., Tho. Cole, yeo., and Cuthbert Gray. *In the Hall.* Iron chymney, poor, pair of tonges, paire of short rackes, litle reckoncrooke, 2 [*blank*] and a crosse barr. Wayneskott table, short forme. Foure buffett stooles. Long settell bedd. Wayneskott chaire. 2 turned work chaires. Long table, old forme, longsettell forme. Cobbord. Livery cubart. 2 litle wroughte stooles. Paire of playing tables 2*s*. One knave for a basing, 12*d*. 6 thrumed quishons. 5 litle greene quishons. Oulde carpitt of tapstree worke. Ould greene carpaitt cloth. Ould dresser cloth. 2 hand skrenes and 2 brushes. 2 old painted quishons and a freing. 8 glasses, 2 judgs, and a wood frayme. Pair of garding sheares. Spicel, spice box and a standish 10*s*. French rapper staff and pattell staff. Hanging brasse candlestick. Clock with furniture belonging unto it. 9 pounds of harden yearne. Two-handed sword and 2 halberts. Sute of armor, 2 steale capes and a buckler. 11 pictures and skutchons in fraymes 11*s*. Paire of virginalls 26*s*. 8*d*. *In the Buttery.* 3 pye plates and a custard coffin. 7 old banckating

* This document confirms the assertion of Sir Wm. Fleetwood about the state of religion at Gateshead. See under 1575-6.

dishes and 2 old sawsers. 6 newe pottingers. 14 newe banckating dishes. 12 flower potts. 1 possett cupp and a cawdell cupp. 3 aqua-vita botles. Perry pann, graite and wood pye print. Dozen chese trenchers. 2 old cloth baskets. 3 howse shelves. Gantree, &c. *In the Kitching.* Tapp stone. Appell iron. Paire of snuffers. Water soa [bucket]. Wodd bracke with a tong 2*s.* &c. *West Parlor.* Litle chymney. Paire of belles. Still and pann for it. Hurle bedd. 6 tapstree work quishons. 2 mappes. *East Parlor.* Caff bed. Straking sheetes. 2 long stracking table clothes. 5 streakin towells. 2 hatt casses. Old sword. *The Chamber.* Velvett quishon. 3 mapps. 5 courtings, paire of renalance and 3 courting rods. Locking glasse. *The Garrett.* Stuphe gowne, faced with velvett 5*l.* Old stuphe gowne and old carsey gowne 40*s.* Corner cap and a hood 20*s.* Litle hood 6*s.* 8*d.* Velvett capp and cersenit tippitt 10*s.* 2 hatts with syp bands 16*s.* Ryding clock 20*s.* Taffetie cott 13*s.* 4*d.* Cearesay cott and britches 33*s.* 4*d.* Cearesey cott and 3 old cotes 20*s.* 3 paire of britches 20*s.* 2 stuphe dubletts 13*s.* 4*d.* Read waystcoote 3*s.* 4*d.* 2 paire of Jarsey stokings 10*s.* 2 paire of carsey stokings 5*s.* Leather girdell 6*d.* Muf, 2 paire of gloves, paire of mittons 4*s.* 5 rust bands 16*s.* 8*d.* 4 lynn sheets 26*s.* 8*d.* 4 paire of handcuffes 3*s.* 4*d.* 2 wroughte nighte cappes 6*s.* 8*d.* 2 night kurtchers 2*s.* 4 handkurtchers 3*s.* 3 paire lyne hose 2*s.* 2 ymbro-dered quishons 16*s.* 17 paire of lynn sheetes 8*l.* 2*s.* &c. *In a litle chamber.* A daugh sheete 12*d.*, &c. *In the corne lofts.* A greate skreane 12*d.* *In a litle roome.* 5 litle drye tubbs. 5 old mugs. A plat water pott for a gardin. Paire of litle scales and weights. Iron hammer. 2 heckles. Taffetie gowne, hearesay gowne, 2 kirtells, 2 petticotes, velvett hatt, ryding sadle with furniture belonging to a woman, 18*l.* *The Studdie.* 4 guilded cupps and a cover weighing 22 ounces duble guilt att 5*s.* 8*d.* per ounce. Rumer cupp weighing 3 oz. and ¾ att 5*s.* per oz. is 18*s.* 9*d.* Salte weying 10 oz. att 5*s.* Dozen sponnes of silver, 17¼ oz. at 5*s.* Beaker 8½oz. at 5*s.* 3 white cupps 24½oz. at 5*s.* Guilded picture 4*d.* Brushe and a rubber 2*s.* A voyding baskett 3*s.* 2 handstaves 2*s.* 2 linkes 6*d.* Paire of pincers and other iron implements and 2 peeces of lead. A Pock mantua 2*s.* Capeaise 15*d.* Standish 18*d.* Paire seasers and hinging lock 4*d.* A bowe, 6 arrowes, 3 shearing hookes, pece of a bras candlestick, batle axe, and a litle staf 2*s.* Glase botle in the parlor 4*d.* *Goods oute of the house.* 36 firr sparrs and a horse heck. 5 firr buntings. 12 toother of sclates. 2 leaders. 3 swin trowes. Bookes in the studie 50*l.* Debtes 10*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.* In money and gould 30*l.* In his purse 16*s.*"

May 25. Thomas (alias James) Hooke, A. M. Rector of Gates-head. He occurs also 2 Aug. 1613.

May 27. The churchwardens of Chester le Street met "for seek-ing for workmen to make a fit seat in a convenient place for bride-grooms, brides, and *sike wyves* to sit in." Cf. p. 259, and see Whitaker's Whalley, p. 228.

Oct. 1. Mr. Alexander Leighton, preacher of God's Word, occurs

in St. Nicholas' register. He also occurs in All Saints' register, in 1610 according to Brand's date and 1620 according to his order, i. 375. He is supposed to have been a dissenter.

1613-4. 11 Jac., Jan. 25. "A great and an admirabl funerall for old Mr. Selbie att Newcastle. Ther wer assembled in the church 1000 at leest in myn opinion, for the church cold unith conteyn all without thronge. Emongest other ghests most kindlie Sir George Selby invited me. My Lord Bushop [James], notwithstandinge a great stormy daie, rode to Newcastle, the 24 of this, to the sollemnitie of the funeralls of old Mr. Willm. Selby." (Diary of Tho. Chaytor of Butterby.)

1614. "Mr. Shaw was, about 1614, lecturer of St. John's and had a salary quarterly paid him out of the town, and the like for several years after, during his continuance."

1614. Mr. Thomas Nutton, preacher of God's Word, occurs in St. Nicholas' register.

1614. April 19. Durham Sessions. Presentments of Recusants for not repairing to their parish churches for three months, whereby they incurred fines of 20*l.* for each offence under the Act of Uniformity, 1 Eliz.: Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Riddell, Gateside, esq.; Katherine, wife of William Kennett, Saltwelside, gent.*—Nov. 17. Grant to Robert Gray of Newcastle, a seminary priest, who is now converted and has taken the oaths, of pardon for going beyond the sea, there becoming a Romanist, and returning to England. (S.P.)

1615. Aug. 16. Bishop James writes to Archbishop Abbot, apprehending danger from the King's lenity towards priests. Mentions the flocking of priests, even in a walled town like Newcastle, where, a few years ago, there was not one recusant. (S.P.)

1616. Mar. 19. Wm. Morton writes from Newcastle to Winwood. Roger Wodrington in religion and his brother Sir Henry in matters of justice are the roots of all the evil in those parts. (S.P.)

April. Mr. William Auder, minister, occurs in All Saints' Church register. I venture to alter Brand's *n* into a *u* here and in 1641, in deference to the occurrence of Alder in 1633 and in Fenwick's Christ Ruling. Alder is supposed to have been a dissenter at this period. See 1633.

May 7. Wm. Morton writes both to Winwood and Abbot. Is glad of the restraint of Roger Wodrington. Has been a minister 34 years, has been prevented by long sickness from coming to town to tell what he knows of him. Will come if required. (S.P.)—Sep. 24. Zeth Beridge (alias Wm. Morton) writes from Durham to Winwood. Details of the condition of the people, government and religion and of the state of the town of Newcastle. Popery flourishes, and the river is in danger of being blocked up. Names and characters of the principal men. Throughout the Bishopric of Durham popery prevails, so that at the ports, Hartlepool, Sunderland, Tyne-

* Private print by Sir Cuth. Sharpe.

mouth, &c., the recusants can import and export as they will. Gives the names and characters of the principal ladies amongst them, also of the prebendaries of Durham. Many of the clergy very base. The chief reason why law is badly administered is the covetousness of the Bishop and his bad officers. The royalties should be taken from the Bishop who is a king in the country. (S.P.)

1617. Samuel Barber occ. curate of All Saints'. So in 1633.

1617. April 23. Wednesday. James I. came to Newcastle on his way to Scotland, "the daie admired faire." (Chaytor.) The festival of St. George, celebrated by Lord Sheffield, lord president of the Council of the North (then sitting in the Guildhall), and K.G., in St. George's porch, St. Nicholas' church.—May 4. Sunday. The King and his nobles dined with the Mayor, when it pleased the King to be served by the Mayor and aldermen.—May 5. The King left Newcastle.

1617. May 9. Wm. Morton to Winwood. Not more than twelve preaching ministers in Northumberland. The people follow their masters, who are papists or atheists. (S.P.)

July 5. Saturday. Thomas Chaytor, Esq. of Butterby, met Neile the new Bishop of Durham six miles beyond Newcastle. "He staied att Newcastle till the 8., by reason he would not be present att the funeralls, which stode with great reason, being successour. Soft fier makes sweat malt." 8. "The funeralles of William, lait Bushop of Durhm, many in morninge habits: well performed. I mett the Bushop in Chester Denn, not accompaned with many. 9. Quarter sessions att Durham. The Bushop elect kept house in the Deanrie, few or none of the gentlemen of the countrie cam to him, nor did he invyte any or att least very few to his table *."

Nov. Dr. Robert Jennison occurs, as a surety, in St. Nicholas' Register.

c. 1617-19. Rothwell at Barnard-Castle had "so many judicious and experimental Christians that they came from London, York, Richmond, Newcastle, and many other places, to see the order of his congregation." He afterwards had "a vertigo capitis," having as far as 40 fits a day, accompanied "with mischievous temptations," at which time he had advice of "divers learned physicians in Durham and Newcastle;" but being confident that the disease could only be removed by fasting and prayer, a day was fixed for his friends to assemble. Master Clarke, his biographer, was there,

* Chaytor's Diary. Bishop James "departed this lyff att Awkland on Munday 12 May att 3 in the morning and was buried in the cathedrall church att Durhm after 10 of the clock att night privatly. The obsequies intended to be afterwards." The day before he had been much pained with stone and strangury, and it was thought that day he could not live three days. There is much detail of interest at this period, but it belongs to Durham. At Durham city Bishop James was unpopular, owing to municipal matters, and the Steward of the Halmotes wrote on May 19 that there were riots in Durham after he was interred, but that they were quieted by the report that Neile was to succeed.

"the devil was not permitted to hinder;" and Mr. Rothwell never had a fit from that day. "Nevertheless that sickness did so weaken his brain that ever after he was inclining to some infirmities which love must cover."

1618. A gallery was ordered, by the Masters and Mariners (Trinity House) of Newcastle, to be built in All Saints' church at the sole expense of the fraternity, and to be called the Trinity Gallery. This gallery, afterwards called the Sailors' Gallery, was about the middle of the North Aisle, and had an inscription at the bottom of its front, notifying its erection this year. There was an ancient porch behind it, as to which see Bourne, p. 93.

1619. June. Mr. STEVEN JERROM, preacher, occurs in St. Nicholas' Register.

1619. "Origens Repentance: after he had sacrificed to the Jdols of the Heathen. Gathered from Svidas, Nicephorus, Osiander, and the Greeke and Latine Coppies in Origens Workes; Illustrated and applied to the case of euery poore penitent, who in remorse of soule, shall haue recourse to the Throne of Grace. Diuided into three Sections: Containing 1 Origens fearefull fall. 2 His behauiour in it. 3 His worthy and sound Conuersion. Together with Origens Life and Death, and other materiall obseruations. Written by Stephen Ierom, Master of Arts, and Preacher of the Towne of Newcastle; first for his owne exercise, and now published for the good of others.—Printed at London by Iohn Beale, for Roger Iackson, and are to be sold at his Shop neere Fleet-Conduit. 1619." "A small 4to tract of pp. 64, of the highest rarity. Canon Raine's copy is before me. The body of the work is "diuided into three Sections, each Section containing a Century of Stanzaes." The preface is signed, "From my House in Newcastle, May 12. A constant friend to Sion, and a well willer to all that loue the truth, in the Truth. S. I." There is a ring of the genuine metal in one passage. "History is the mistresse of life, the mother and mid-wife of truth, the conserver of actions, the register of antiquitie, the monument of fame, the nurse of memory, the life of the dead, the treasure of the living, the square and rule in the circumstance of all honorable designes and imployments, the dead counseller, as Alphonsus called it, counselling better than the living: the looking-glasse of time, in which we may behold the actions, affections, words and workes of the living and of the dead: the interpreter of all nations, all natures, whereby wee may freely converse in the courts of emperours and kings: in the pallaces of dukes and nobles: in the campes of the martiall: in the universities, schooles, studies, cloisters, and cells, of the greatest schollers in divinitie or humanitie: yea in the shops of the famous artisans, to heare see and censure what ever they have said or done blame-worthy, or fame-worthy, in their places and functions: and this hath been the reason, why the famousest men that ever were for artes or armes have been so swallowed up with delight in histories and historians." The vindication of poetry must not be omitted.

"Who ever speakes against poetry, in it selfe and owne nature, is either witlesse or wicked, wanting either a sound braine or good heart, in so much that I may say, like other parts of learning, it hath no enemies, but either the ignorant or malicious. I know indeed it is abused; not the use of it, but the abuse, is to be taxed, as it is made fuell to the fire of lust, a baud or pander to uncleannesse, a baite to sinne, the bellowes to blow up these lustfull sparkes in our corrupted nature; as it is abused and abased by the poets, poetasters, rimers, sonnetters, amorettoes, balladers, and terntonists, of our time: chiefly those comœdians, that sell their vaine and froathie wittes, such as sell their tongues, voyces, actions, and personated gestures to the sinfull times; players, the pest and plague of a well ordered common-wealth, the corrupters and poysoners of men, of mindes, of manners, able to effeminate even a Roman spirit, even masculine vertue it selfe." "I say of poetrie, because many vaine vicious men abuse it—may it not therefore be moderately used (as a man lawfully his marriage) for the forming and framing the diviner issues of his soule, and the mentall conceptions of his understanding? Yea, indeed, the more that the world abuseth this, the more are they to be applauded and approved, that seeke to refine it, and bring it to the true use." "Since some nine or ten yeares agoe I left the university, converting and turning the streame of my studies from philosophie and poetrie to the theorie and preaching practise of divinitie—have I very seldomely and sleightly used this veine, either in Latine or English; except of late, that I was awakened to answere in verse, a dotterel's rime doggerill, in a namelesse shamelesse loose lewde libell.

"A confused chaos or a lumpe of sinne,
Pandoraes box, diseas'd without, within;
A bastard brat, a baggage beldam's taile,
The fume of smoake, tobaccho, wine and aile:
A messe, a masse of malice, sincke of evill,
A false-tun'd black-bird, feathered from the divell:
A hellish brand inflam'd from Cainish ire,
His pen the taper, and his paper fire.
A silly sottish song from rural straines,
Or blood impostun'd, burst from Popish vaines:
Which veine, veines cut, I aim'd to cure, not kill;
And shewed the world his wounds, his flouds of ill;
Which dragon-like on innocencie casting,
His gall did burst, and all his venome wasting:
His fooles bolts shot from bow of poysoned hate
From me rebounds, on his self-guiltie pate."

The reader will not desire to see more of Jerome's verses. There is a note to "Cainish," partly cut away in this copy: ". . take Cainish . . . *ine* or *Canis*, it . . . *Doeg*, or Cyn- . . . ogge." Jerome mentions final sin as not incident to the elect, but does not go into much controverted matter.

Aug. 14. Henry Tunstall, preacher of God's word, buried at All Saints'. A dissenter?

Mar. 22. Will of Wm. Morton, Archdeacon of Durham, and vicar of Newcastle upon Tyne. Brother Mr. . . Pusey of Lechester my foote-cloothe and the . . . . of the kings, queens, and princes now hanging . . . . . Sister Mrs. Elizabeth . . . . . my three pictures of faith, hope, and charit . . . . . Brother Tho. Horton and his wife of Soddington co. Lecester my five pictures of the five senses. Brother Mr. Samuel Caldwell my picture of Cleopatra. Nephew Billers of Lecester the pictures of Bacchus and Venus. Mrs. Purfre . . . . . what in my will I have sett hir my sylver tosting . . . . . My servaunt Glassop all the apparell that I dayly & usually w . . . . my gowne dublett & cassock, stokins, hatt, shirt. shoes . . . Mr. John Sho . . . , Abraham Robinson, my curats, to either of them a . . . . gowne to be distributed att the discretion of the over . . . . . will or executors. Nephew Robert Selby of Newcastle, merchaunt adventurer . . . . . his works bound in two volumes. Daniel Pusey a . . . . pictures that are unbequeathed. Daughter Alice Morton, to whom I have bequeathed 400*l.* in my sealed will, in part of the said legacy 100*l.* now ready bagged upp, the which 100*l.* . . . . . Mr. Rowland Pusey have the . . . . . said daughter Alice Morton . . . . . hir educacion. Robert Bartram merchant oweth to me 4*l.* I have ordained in my sealed will my nephew Mr. Wm. Billers joynt executor with my brother Mr. Rowland Pusey, I will that instead of Wm. Billers my son in law Mr. Rd. Bent be joyned executor with my brother Pusey together with my cosen Mr. Thomas Gilbert. *Memorandum* . . I . . race out whatsoever may appertaine to Mrs. Purfrey either in this codicell or els . . . in my will. *Memorandum* . . . . confess to the glory of God that I hartily humble myself for triumphing before I . . . had cause to triumph and in the beginning of my will suug my own song . . . I doe hartily repent of my pride envy and selfe-conceite and doe hartily forgive all the world and pray all the world to forgive *."

1620. July. Died "William Morton, Archdeacon of Durham, Vicar. His funerall was wortheleye effected the 26th July. Mr. Jenneson did preach." (Sharp.)

July 18. Joseph Browne, A.M. Rector of Gateshead. He was ejected at the time of the civil troubles.

Sep. 23. Henry Power (called Pool by Bourne) inducted vicar of NC.—About this time Christopher Forster became curate of St. Nicholas', and as such was a supporter of Alvey in 1636.—In 1620 the gallery in St. Nicholas', commonly called the School-Gallery, being chiefly for the use of the boys of the Grammar School, was built. It had the arms of the merchant adventurers on its front, and stood in the north aisle of the nave, reaching from St. George's-porch to within a short distance of the north entrance.

1621. July 20. The Ordinary of the Butchers of Newcastle enjoins that none should kill after 9 o'clock on Saturday night, nor

* The original is much confused and dilapidated.

keep open shop after 8 o'clock on Sunday morning; that no brother should buy or seek any licence to kill flesh in Newcastle during Lent, without the general consent of the fellowship.

c. 1622. John Fenwick, a merchant of Newcastle who will frequently appear in the sequel through his singular production, "Christ Ruling in the midst of His enemies," in 1643 writes: "I have suffered under an unlimited power of prelacy reaching me into Germany above twenty years ago, when I had spent some seven years in that then flourishing country;" and that by "practices of Dr. William Loe and his accomplices, by letters from King James and Archbishop Abbot, I was driven from my employments and means of preferments there." (Christ Ruling, &c.)

1622. Dec. 26. All Saints'. At a vestry a motion was made by the Churchwardens to the Right Worshipful Sir Peter Ridall, knt., and the rest of the Four-and-Twenty, that "whereas Mr. Doctor Jenison now present lecturer whose pains and labours in this parish is extraordinary amongst us, for better encouragement of his said pains we whose names be here under written are content willingly to pay quarterly those several sums undermentioned for his stipend." A subscription of 10*l.* 5*s.* follows.

1623. May 18. Sec. Conway to the Mayor of Newcastle. To admit Mr. Coniers to the place of schoolmaster there, now void. (S.P.) —June 10. Mayor of Newcastle to Sec. Conway. Is sorry that his letter and that of other privy councillors, though read at a common council at Newcastle, failed to secure the election of Mr. Coniers for schoolmaster. Encloses certificate of the votes given by each member of the common council for the election of a schoolmaster. (S.P.)

June. William Swan, preacher, occurs in All Saints' Register. Qu. a dissenter.

June 16. Commissioners of Passage write from Dover to Lord Zouch. A young man lately landed had a trunk directed to Sir Tho. Ruddle of Newcastle, in which were found beads, letters, pictures, and certain Jesuitical prohibited books, and MSS. He has escaped. Send up his papers and ask directions. (S.P.)

Sep. 3. Vicar Power buried in St. Nicholas'.

1623. Nov. 27. Thomas Jackson, D.D., instituted Vicar of Newcastle, "a factor for Heaven, in the place where he was designed a merchant, a town full of men and opinions, wherein he endeavoured to rectify their errors, and unite their affections." Here "he was much followed and admired for his excellent way of preaching, which was then Puritanical." Bp. Neile, during Jackson's incumbency at Newcastle, "took him off from his precise way, and made him his chaplain." I cannot be permitted to enlarge on the well-known history and writings of this celebrated man. When he went out at NC., he usually gave what money he had to the poor, who at length flocked so much to him that his servant took care that he had not too much in his pocket. Dr. Henderson, the town's physician, his neighbour and friend, having made a purchase,

was one day sitting in a sad mood, and fetched a sigh. To a question by Jackson, he replied, "I have a payment to make, and want money." Jackson bade his friend be of a good cheer for he would furnish him. Calling for his servant, he mentioned the physician's need, and asked what money he had. The man stepped back silent. The Doctor bid him speak. At length came the answer, "Forty shillings." The Vicar bade him fetch it, for Master Henderson should have it all. Upon this the physician's sadness gave way to laughter, and on the simple-minded clergyman's inquiry of the cause, he said his need was of 400*l* or 500*l*. Jackson answered that he thought forty shillings to be a great sum, and that he should have it, and more also if he had had it himself.

About this time YELDERD ALVEY was appointed lecturer of St. Nicholas', and so continued for about seven years before he became vicar.

REIGN OF CHARLES I., 1625—1648-9.

1625. Vicar Jackson presented by Bp. Neile to the charming rectory of Winston, which he held with Newcastle.

"God calls men to humiliation . . . by works of his power, by thunder storms and rain, by which he brought his people of old to confess their sin in asking them a king . . . so by a great rain to prepare the people to repentance, when Ezra had assembled them. God would so have prepared us of this nation, as may be remembered, by sending very fearful thunder and rain (July 16, being Saturday, 1625) a little before the first day (July 20) of that solemn humiliation enjoined some eleven years ago*.—In 1625, the plague is said to have reappeared in NC., and Richardson quotes the Register of St. John's as stating that Low Friar Chare was a peculiarly fatal locality during this visitation. The work of Dr. Jennison, "Newcastle's Call," published during the plague of 1636 is usually quoted as evidence for this attack of 1625, but the passage by itself would have been too general. "The plague is begun, and renewed, after such havock as it hath formerly (Ann. 1625, in margin), not many years ago, made amongst us, especially in the mother city, but never the like with us to that it is like to do now."

Nov. 19. The Mayor of Newcastle to Mr. Wm. Smith. "Sir, I received your letter dated yesterday, whereby I understand my Lord of Durham desires to be satisfied concerning the danger of Sir Robert Hodgson [of Hebburn]† and Mrs. Lawson's [of St. Anthony's]

* Jennison's Call, 1637, p. 195.

† Husband of Frances, a coheiress of Ingleby and Nevil, granddaughter of the attainted Earl of Westmorland. Their interesting tombstone (for which see Surtees) having been taken out of the chancel of Jarrow church and placed in the south-east corner of the nave; a considerable portion of it has been covered by one

houses, and of the recourse of each other by boats over the river.—I and the aldermen my bretheren, hearing of such report, made inquiry touching the same, and could find no matter thereof but idle reporte, other than their keeping of boats for crossing the river.—Your loving brother Tho. Lyddell *, Newcastle, this 19th of November, 1625." (J. B. Taylor's MSS.)

c. 1625. Mr. Henry Morse, alias Cuthbert Claxton, a Jesuit, chaplain to Mrs. Dorothy Lawson at St. Anthony's, apprehended and imprisoned in Newgate at Newcastle. Another of the same order, was dispatched to succeed him, but before he set foot on shore was found by the searchers and committed to the same gaol. See the interesting Life of Mrs. Lawson by her next chaplain, printed at Newcastle in 1851, which shortly afterwards mentions "her departed father, Mr. John Robinson, a designed martyr then in Newgate, and Mr. Henry Morse in the same prison, afterwards a real witness of the true faith by shedding his blood at London." (See 1643.) Mrs. Lawson furnished the two prisoners "with church stuff, washed their linen, provided with all necessaries for clothes and victuals, and though Mr. Morse was known to belong to her, nevertheless, preferring his convenience before her own safety, she adventured to visit him in the gaol, and suited the magistrate he might enjoy the liberty of the town for his health."

1625. Dec. 22. "A note of armes, &c. taken away from recusants convicted and justly suspected.—Chester ward.—Item from Sir Thomas Riddell, knt., whose wife and eldest sonne are recusants, one corslett and pike." (J. B. Taylor's MSS.)

1626. Complaints had been made that inferior officers had oppressed Recusants without advantage to the king, who now commands that all monies due for Recusancy in ten northern counties since 10 Jac. shall, in addition to a voluntary contribution from those interested in the coal-trade, maintain six ships to defend the Eastern coast from the constant attacks of foreign enemies. The Archbishop of York and others empowered to compound with Recusants for leases of their lands for not more than 41 years. (Rushworth.)

Philip Doncaster occurs at St. John's.

April 4. One of the officers of the customs at Newcastle has found in a ship of Hamburgh (the Flying Hart) a bag full of popish books. (S.P.)

April 15. The parcel of books was brought from Calais by Anthony Vandenhaudt (servant to Sir Richard Hodgson of Hebburn) whom the Mayor and Aldermen have committed to prison. A man (Thomas Shepherd, born at Broome, co. Suff.) supposed to be a

of the stone pulpits which are now the vogue. Much of the old pulpit, of late and curious Perpendicular character, and portions of a richly carved screen mentioned by Hutchinson (evidently the work of Prior Castell's days) were purchased by me at the sale of some effects of Mr. Rippon of Waterville. In Scott's engraving of what he calls the pulpit these ancient pieces of church-furniture are united.

* His heart was not in the work. See his letter on Oct. 21, 1626.

seminary priest, and a boy (John Clopton, son of Rob. Clopton late of Idberry co. Oxon.) have been found disguised as mariners abord the Seahorse, bound for Calais, and are in gaol. (S.P.)

May 2. The Fortune of Enckhuysen arrived from Calais on April 30, with three passengers and many books, relics, and faculties of priests. The passengers and master (Yoskin Johnson) have been committed. (S.P.)

May 3. Sir Wm. Belasys, Sheriff of Durham, to the Bishop. "Right Honble., Your Lordshipp's letter of the 20th of Aprill, together with the Lords of the Councells direction, and examinations thereto belonging, I received the 29th of the same at Durham, wheare Sir John Calverley and Dr. Cradocke weare bothe at the same tyme, to whome I did presently imparte them, and forthwith, before wee parted, wee tooke order to send for Sr. Robert Hodshon, and also writt to Mr. Maior of Newcastle, entreating him to send us such directions as might best further the service, as also to intreate his companie (if his occations would permitt him) att Durham, or some other convenient place, (the sicnesse being dangerously disperst, and dayly increasing in Newcastle,): and likewise that, if that Anthonie mentioned in the examinations were in Newcastle, wee might have him alsoe, and that our meeting might bee upon Monday after. In ansquer of which from Mr. Maior, wee received a letter testifying his redinesse to doe what was desyred, and sent us the said Anthonie, and three other examinations taken since the first, one of them being the Master of the shipp's, the other twoe of the companie of the same shipp, in which there is little more than in the first, save some circumstances to confirme that the bookes did belonge, or at least the care of convaeance thereof, to the foresaid Anthonie. But upon Monday, being mett at Durham, wee received an other letter from Mr. Maior, excusing his not coming at that tyme, being detained about the examination of fower other men taken the night before, 3 of them coming from beyond the seaes, whoe had with them more books, relicques, and diverse letters, and as he supposed they weere likely to be preistes. And as it fell out he saved a journey, for Sir Robert Hodshon was from home, so wee missed him; but Mr. Comyn, who went thro' his house, found a stranger theire, whome he brought to Durham with him, and, being there questioned by us, called himselfe Roger Reedman, borne (as he sayes) in Yorkshire, and had spent most of his tyme in service, and that he was now traveling to Newcastle, to a brother of his, a seafaring man, with intention to goe with him to London, and further confesseth himself to be a Roman-catholic, and denied to take the Othe of Alleagance, whearupon he was by Mr. Dr. Cradocke and Mr. Burgoine committ to the Goale. This is all for the present wee could doe, tell the parties canne be together, for which wee have done what wee thonght fittest for this countrie, and have likewise written to Sr. Raiph Delavale into Northumberland for the apprehending of one John Danne (a servant of Sr. Robert Hodgson)

whoe, as wee weare informed, is removed to the further syde of the river of Tyne, and I thinke will prove the cheife agent, not onely in this, but alsoe in the other matter of Shepherde (whoe was lately apprehended at Newcastle), for Mr. Maior writt a letter before to Dr. Cradocke aboute the taking both of him and Mr. Berry the phisition (of which I doubt not but your Lordshipp hathe beene informed) so I doe but touche it. Dr. Cradocke shewed Sr. John Calverley and mee what your Lordshipp writt concerning armes, to which wee have written as fully as wee could to your Lordshipp. And as for leviing money for paiment of theise soldiers sent downe by his Majestie, and Captaine Hilton and Joseph Ward, wee thinke it will be best donne together. I shall not be wanting for my parte, neither doe I assure you will anye of those your Lordshipp names (although Sir John Calverley hath taken one of his ould fittes upon Monday last) to doe what your Lordshipp requires." (J. B. Taylor's MSS.)

May 20. Vandenhaudt details his past doings, especially in connection with Thomas Fairfax son of Sir Thomas Fairfax, disliked by his father on account of his recusancy. Denies all acquaintance with three other persons who came with him from Calais bringing the parcel. (S.P.)

June 20. Bishop Neile writes that Sir Wm. Bellasys, High Sheriff of Durham, has made search for the parties and taken examinations. Sir Robert Hodgson and other suspected persons cannot be found. The residence of them and Mrs. Lawson on the Tyne is very inconvenient. Vandenhaudt (a Brabanter, now in Durham gaol,) has a guilty knowledge of the whole circumstances. (S.P.) See much of the letter printed in Surtees, ii. 75, from a draft. "The said Anthony, coming to the ship for the fardell of books, after that the officers had seized upon it, being told thereof, smote his breast in great passion, saying that then he might go and hang himself."

Oct. 21. Thomas Lyddell writes from Ravenshelme to his brother Sir Henry Anderson. Letters have been intercepted. Mentions their contents. The mariners went to the Lord Admiral for pay, and forced (their way) to speak to him. He promised them pay the next day, on which there was a proclamation that no mariners should come near the court. The city stands to appoint their own commanders in their ships, which with much ado is agreed to, but my Lord says he will appoint a general, but this they do not agree to, so their ships lie still. The intercepted letters will apprise the lords what these people think of their government. All things are uncertain. Sometimes they (the Roman Catholics) are persecuted, and again they are eased of a sudden. (S.P.)

1626-7. Gateshead, Easter to Easter. The continuous accounts of the churchwardens commence. "Receaved for Holly Bred from Thomas Parkene 7*s.**" This is 18*s.* in the year after and for some

* The reason of his having to make the payment does not appear. In other places the duty of finding the sacramental element was sometimes taken by the parishioners

time subsequent. "Recaved for stalls letten by by the church-wardens," for various stalls at 8*d.* each, amounting to 2*s.* 8*d.*

1627. Yelderd Alvey collated to the vicarage of Eglingham, which, after 1630, he retained with that of Newcastle.

June 11. Certificate from the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, that William Steward, confined in their gaol on suspicion that he was a priest, had taken the oath of allegiance, and denied himself to be a priest. (S.P.)

Ambrose Barnes born in the latter end of the year. (p. 30.)

1627-8. Gateshead. Among the "stalls lettne" some of the pews taken were those of relations, others had been occupied by strangers. 8*d.* each was paid as before. The Gallery occurs. "Ambrose Moss for a blew marble belonging to the church that we sould him, 1*l.* 2*s.*" "Paid in all this yeare for wine to the comunion, 4*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* The clerke for washing the church cloathes 3*s.* 4*d.*; more for the monthlie comunions for holie bread 2*s.* 8*d.*" [18*s.* was received from Thomas Perkin for holie bread.]

1628. Oct. 28. "Mr. Robert Slingsbie, preacher," supposed to have been a dissenter, buried at St. Nicholas'.

1628-9. Gateshead. "Lettine to Mr. Nycollas White and Mathew White thos stalls roum which belonged to Mr. Robert White, 4*s.* 4*d.* Lettine to Mr. Thomas Riddell Mr. Gorge Riddell and Mr. Roberte Riddell the stall that joyneth to the southe end of Mr. Nycholas White's stall, 2*s.* 8*d.*"—"Disborsid—Mr. Ogell the preicher, 10*s.*—Christofo Thorpe for making a new cofinge and mending two ould ones, 5*s.*"

1628-9. About March, Laud presented to the King certain considerations for the better settling of church government, and in them we find some curious particulars as to Lecturers. "That a special care be had over the lecturers in every diocese, which by reason of their pay are the people's creatures, and blow the bellows of their sedition. That the afternoon sermons in all parishes may be turned into catechising, by questions and answers, according to an order set out by King James. If this cannot be, then that every bishop ordain that every lecturer do read divine service in his surplice before the lecture. That where a lecture is set up in a market-town, it be read by a combination of grave and orthodox divines near adjoining. That if an Incorporation do maintain a lecturer, that he be not suffered to preach till he take upon him cure of souls within that incorporation. That the Bishop do countenance and encourage the grave orthodox divines of his clergy, and gain them in the several quarters of his diocese, to be present at such lecturers' sermons as are near them, that so the Bishop may have knowledge." On Dec. 30, these suggestions were effected by some Regal Instructions with these additions. The afternoon sermons were to be changed into

in turns. See the interesting case of St. Oswald's, Durham, Depositions, Sur. Soc. pp. 277—281, and the rubric after the Order of the Communion in the first Prayer-book of Edward VI.

Catechising where there was not some great cause apparent to break this order. The Lecturers in market towns were to preach in Gowns and not in Clokes as too many did. In other respects the suggestions as to Lecturers were adopted. (Rushworth.)

1629. April. Vicar Jackson was a high commissioner at Durham.

April 27. The Mayor and Aldermen of Newcastle send to the Council a schedule of the names of all recusants in that town and county. Had caused them to be indicted at the last Easter Sessions, to the end they might proceed to their conviction. (S.P.)

1629-30. Gateshead. "Disburst—Setting a post in the vestre, 1*s.* 6*d.* To the preacher of Jarrar 10*s.*"

March 25. "*Skis-Thursday* being our Lady-Day * in Lent" mentioned in the Shipwrights' books.

Ap. 10. The Mayor of Newcastle tells the Council that on receipt of their letter for the delivery of Francis Berry, a prisoner in the gaol there, he called one Thomas Berry whom he supposed to be the man. Having tendered to him the oath of allegiance he obstinately refused to take it, so that he remains still in gaol. (S.P.)

Circa 1630. "An Inventory of all goods and ymplements belonging to the church of All Saints. Inprimis. One great Bible with 3 communion bookes. One great booke of the Acts and Monuments of the Church chained in the quire. One booke called the Defence of the Apologie of the Church of England made by that worthy instrument of God's glory, Mr. Dr. Jewell, chained in the quire. One other booke of the Defence of the Apologie lying in the vestry. One booke of homilies and one postill booke conteining the exposition of the gospells. One booke of Canons and Constitutions of the Church and one booke of Articles which conteines the fundamentall points of Christian religion which is now wanting. One comunion table, one table in the vestry, nine long forms in the church for men to sitt on, one forme in the vestry and one deske for the comunion potts. One frame in the church to sett corps on when there is a funerall sermon. One carpett of broad green and another of tapestrie worke for the comunion table. One carpett of broad greene for the table in the vestry. One lynen cloth for the comunion table, two long towells and two surples. Foure silver cups for the comunion, whereof one is gilt. Two silver boules for the comunion table. Foure flagon potts for the comunion table, two greater two lesser, with two saucers, also one little flagon. Fifteene velvett cushions, twelve redd cushions with the churches name sowed on them, and nine old cushions to serve att the font. One cloth of imboydered worke for the pulpitt, and two coffin clothes of velvett for corps. One whole houre glasse, one half houre glasse, foure masers cups, foure tinn boxes, three yron floores for candles, one brush for the churches clothes, one little box with two

* In 1630 Thursday before Easter-Day was March 25, Lady-Day. Is the name Kiss-Thursday, in allusion to the betrayal by Judas? Thus we have, in Jamieson, Skist for Kist, a chest.

cast of counters in it, and one standish for penn and inke. One great chist in the vestry for books and writings, one little coffer with evidence of the church, and one coffer for the register booke. One new booke for the accompts of the churche treasure, one stall booke, one box for the churches treasure and another for the poores treasure. One iron gavelock and one sweatree with two rollers for taking and laying down lair-stones, five coffins for corps (two for the elder sort, one for the middle sort, and two for the younger sort,) one hack and four showels for making graves. Foure locks and keys for the foure dores, one lock and key for the vestry dore, fyve bells in the steeple, twelve water bucketts, two long sparrs for trying dropps of raine in the leades, one long ladder, one soe for carrying water, one barrow for carrying stones or flaggs. One branch candellstick of brasse containing 12 lights, given by Mr. Samuel Cocke, master and mariner of this parish, to the use of church, in the yeare of our Lord God 1632, which now accordingly hanges by in the body of the church. A GOOD BENEFACTOR."

["The last item (says Sopwith) has evidently been added at a subsequent period to the rest of the inventory. The names of Henry Rowcastle and Thomas Clark, churchwardens in 1630, are signed.

"In this year, the wall at the east end of the church was either built, or very considerably repaired, and the inside of the church walls whitened, the Trinity Gallery repaired, and the roof covered with new lead."]

1630? Petition of Zacharias Vander Steen, of the Province of 'Luycke' [Liège] to the Council. Coming into this realm in a French bottom, in 1626, with some passengers who were suspected for priests, he was apprehended at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and was left in the custody of the Mayor, and subsequently committed to the common gaol, where he has lain three years and more, having neither friends, means, nor the language to gain any help by. Prays warrant of discharge, that he may repair to his own country. (S.P.)

1630-31. Gateshead. "The first staule in the South portch letten.—Letten a seate in the staule att the north curch dore.—The cesse concerning the church.—Cesses for the church and the staires." —"Bestowed in wine of Mr. Pescott for one sermonn 2*s.* 6*d.*—December. Mr. Ogle the preacher for his sermons 12*s.*—Paid unto Tho. Parking for holy bread and for weshing of the lining clothes 8*s.* d*d.*" [he paid 18*s.* for hollie bread as before.]

1631. Nov. 28. Bishop Howson writes from Oxford (which he had reached on the 26th, after 13 days' travel) to Bishop Laud. Received at Darlington, on the 14th, letters from the King, requiring him to give restitution to Mr. ALVEY into Dr. Jackson's vicarage at Newcastle *, which was done before those letters came. (S.P. 203.

* Dr. Jackson resigned the vicarage, being by means of Laud and Neile made President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He was not aware of the vacancy until he received the letters announcing this appointment, which in after times was

90.) [The Bishop was then troubled with Cosin and Lindsell, who had been complaining of him. Has suffered more than ever was offered to a Bishop of Durham. Hopes his remarks at the visitation will effect a moderate reformation in them.]

1631. Dec. 26. A subscription set on foot for the better encouragement of Dr. Jennison at All Saints'.

In speaking of Jennison, Brand refers us to Prynne's Canterbury's Doom, p. 381-2.

1631. All Saints'. "Given to a poor preacher 1*s.* 2*d.* Paid for horse hire and charges of one to pay the poor preachers money at Durham 5*s.*" The organ seems to have been procured by free contributions this year. (See Sopwith, p. 41.)

1631-2. Gateshead. A new gallery, and a great number of stall-rooms let in it. Building the gallery in the church 12*l.*"

1632. April 2. Death of Mrs. Dorothy Lawson, of St. Anthony's. "Her private exequies were celebrated that night about eleven o'clock, where shee died, with the presence of hundred Catholics, who spiritually depended of her. Her eldest son (whose life, like a phœnix born of her ashes, deserves also to appear in public), sparing no cost, caused her to be honourably interred in the church of All Saints', at Newcastle. Her son contrived the funerall in a proportion correspondent to her quality, and his love and honour to so dear a mother. The next day after her death, all the gentry thereabouts were invited, and a dinner was prepared for them. The poor of that and the bordering parishes were served that day with meat: the next with money. Divers boats full of people came in the afternoon from Newcastle, all plentifully entertained with a banquet; and when their civil respects were ended, we carried the corpse in the evening to Newcastle, in her own boat, accompanied with at least twenty other boats and barges, and above twice as many horse, planting them on both sides of the shore, till their arrival at the city. They found the streets shining with tapers, as light as if it had been noon. The magistrates and aldermen, with the whole glory of the town, which for state is second only to London, attended at the landing place to wait on the coffin, which they received covered with a fine black velvet cloth and a white satin cross, and carried it but to the

one branch of the charges against Laud. The Archbishop answered "that he thought Dr. Jackson learned, honest and orthodox." It was replied "that though learned and honest, he was an Arminian." "As preferments were heaped upon him without his suit or knowledge, so there was nothing in his power to give which he was not ready and willing to part withal to the deserving and indigent man. His vicarage of St. Nicholas, in Newcastle, he gave to Master [YELDARD] ALVEY, of Trinity College, upon no other relation but out of the good opinion he conceived of his merits." (Lloyd.) Alvey occurs in Prynne's Hidden Works of Darkness as "the Arminian and superstitious Vicar of Newcastle." John Fenwick, in 1643, asserted that, in ecclesiastical matters, he suffered in his native country, "by molestations of the prelates, their excommunications, sometimes in four several places upon one day, and many other molestations of Dr. Jackson and Mr. Alvey, his successor in the vicarage of Newcastle."

church-door—where, with a ceremony of such civility as astonished all, (none, out of love of her, and fearing of them, daring to oppose it,) they delivered it to the Catholics only, who, with another priest (for I was not worthy of the honour), laid it with Catholic ceremonies in the grave. In the interim, a gentleman was appointed to conduct the ladies and magistrates to a sumptuous banquet in the finest house in the town, where they expected, enlarging themselves in discourses upon her praises, till all was ended in the church. Then her son waited on them, and, with more tears than courtship (unless it be a point of courtship for ceremony at such a time to swim in tears), rendered many thanks for their noble civilities."

May 3. William Bell, alias Urwen, for incest, was by the High Commission Court enjoined public penance at the Market Cross at Newcastle four market days and four Sundays, viz. twice in St. Nicholas' and twice in All Hallows', lineis vestibus. Was drunk when he performed his last penance in church.

May 30. The Mayor and others of Newcastle inform the Council that Walter Stile, master of a ship of Newport, Isle of Wight, having brought in thither from Calais three passengers with books &c., they wrote him to bring the three before them. Stile came with a cloak, bag, and a little trunk containing 18 or 20 popish books, Latin and English, relics, beads, and letters to gentlemen in divers counties. These they have, and they have bound Stile to answer at the assizes for suffering the passengers to go at liberty before presenting them to the writers. (S.P.)

May 30. Ordered by the High Commission Court, that William Hall the younger of St. Andrews, and Elizabeth Hall, widow, for incest, should penitently, in their linen apparel, bare head and foot, with a white rod in their hand, acknowledge their offence, once in each of the churches of St. Nicholas, All Saints, and St. Andrew, once at the Market Cross, and once in Durham Cathedral, and pay a fine.

Dec. 10. "William, son of John Askew, recusant," buried at St. Andrew's. (Sharp.)

1632-3. St. John's. John Shaw occurs. He died in 1637.

1632-3. Gateshead. The North Gallery—the New Gallery.

1633. June 3. Monday. Charles I. proceeded from Durham, and arriving in the evening at Newcastle, stayed there until Wednesday. Bishops Laud (London) and White (Ely) were with him.

1633. July. William Alder, preacher, occurs in All Saints' register. Cf. 1616. In 1641 we shall find him minister of All Saints' Church. Between 1633 and 1641, he was probably compelled to leave the town, as was Jennison the incumbent of that church. Fenwick, in his address to persecuting Newcastle, calls to witness '*Alder*, Jennison, Murton, all godly ministers, expulsed by thee."

1633. All Saints'. "Charges for two churchwardens and five

joiners riding to Branspeth * with Mr. Chancellor, 1*l.* 5*s.*—Given to a poor Bohemian minister, 6*s.*"

1633-4. Gateshead. "Mending the seat in the churchyeard 8*d.* —Pulling downe the middle stalles, 1*s.* 8*d.*—Mending the church stile and tiles unto it, 1*s.* 6*d.*" [the lich gate].

1634. The three Norwich soldiers took "a view of the 4 churches in the town" and remark not.

1634. May 14. Robert Brandling Esq. of Alnwick Abbey, for adulteries and contempt of jurisdiction and of ecclesiastical persons and officers, was by the High Commission ordered to make public submission in penitential manner in Alnwick church and St. Nicholas in Newcastle on several Sundays.

June 7. The date of a stone over the door of the chapel of Trinity House.

Aug. 31. Thomas Stephenson occurs as lecturer at St. Nicholas'.

Feb. 10. Bishop Morton to Mr. Richard Baddeley at London. "Our great business in this country is provision for a ship, and the sages of Newcastle have so advanced the matter for exoneration of themselves and burdening their neighbours, that they are become odious that way, so that we of the Church, who thought we might plead immunity, I doubt shall be found chargeable, notwithstanding that the sheriffs are all propitious unto us." (J. B. Taylor's MSS.)

1634-5. Gateshead. June 24. "A forty weekes assessment shal-be levied for the building of the stalls in Gateshead church †. Sep. 23. Another assessment of 40 weeks towards the building of the foresaid stalls. Whereas we the parson and churchwardens of Gateshead had a commission from Mr. Thomas Burwell, M. A. Vicar Generall and principall officiall &c. 17 Dec. 1634, whereby we were authorized to setle and place in the seates newly erected in the parish church of Gateshead all and each parishioner and inhabitant according to our discretions and there severall quallities and to admonish them to pay such proportionable sesmentes as should be in our discretions holden reasonable, we do order them to pay unto us such sommes of money as is assessed by us upon every severall seat as followeth :—

* Probably to see the character of the church-fittings there. Cosin was then the rector. There was much activity in his days, both before and after the civil troubles, in church alterations. Thirty years after this time, in 1663, we find a messenger from Darlington to Branspeth and Ferryhill to inquire for "workmen to make a font cover." Robert Bamlet and Bryan Heavysides came over, but "because of their dearness" the Darlington officials could not agree with them. A font cover of fair style was however obtained. However much we may question the propriety of many works of the 17th century, the age and impressiveness of the church-fittings of the period endeared them to members of the Church of England who had been familiar with them from their childhood. Brancepeth church was unequalled in the completeness of such fittings. Some of those from Merington came to Gateshead to compose a bedstead, and those at Billingham went to adorn an improved residence of a member of the Society of Friends. But much old work, it is feared, met with no such conservation.

† The carved work of these stalls remains throughout the nave.

North, 1, 2, 3, [Men] 4, 5. Sir Alexander Hall for 4 roumes paid 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* 6. Mr. Francis Liddell his wife 6*s.* 8*d.* 7. Mr. Francis Liddell 6*s.* 8*d.* 8. Mrs. Anne Cole, Susan Peareth, Ellinor Mallett. 9. Mris Cole. 10. Sir Thomas Riddell and his family. 11. Sir Thomas Riddell, Mr. Ralphe Cole. 12. [Blank]. 13. Roger Peareth, Wm. Mallett, John Harrison. 14 to 24 [Men]. [In 1639 No. 23. on the north side was set, "wherein none had bene formerlie placed since the newe pewes were built."] 25. [Blank]. 26 to 38. [Women]. 39. [Blank]. 40 to 52. [Women]. 53 to 56. [Men]. *South*. 1, 2, 3. [Men]. 4. Mr. Nichs. Calvert, Mr. John Cole, Mr. Cha. Tempest, Mr. Roger Liddell. 5. [Men]. 6. Mr. Hen. Midford &c. 7. Mris. Ann Cookson. 8. Mris. Midford, Mris. Liddell, Mris. Tempest. 9. [Women]. 10. Mris. Browne. 11. The Curates Pew. 12. Clerke. 13 to 24. [Men]. 25. [Blank]. 26 to 52. [Women]. 53. Tho. Pearson, beadman, and Edw. Sympson. 54. [Women]. 55 to 57. [Blank]. 58 to 62. [Men]. *The Gallery.* [All men, three seats, one of 12, another of 8, the third of 4].—Received of Lord Bushippe of Durham 40*s.* which he gave to the parish.—Paid for "12 yards of lineing cloth for a sirpcloth of the makeing 2*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* For altering the old sirpcloth for the clarke 2*s* 6*d.* A new servise booke 9*s.* Binding the old servise book for the clarke 2*s.* 6*d.*"

1635. Some new pews or seats * built in St. Nicholas'. The choir and south side of All Saints' church repaired. (Sopwith.)

April or May. Cosin preached in St. Nicholas'. The day after, Peter Pearson, and Richard Hodgson, popish recusants of Newcastle, drank their morning draughts at widow Alice Coward's, with Edward Man, merchant, and Thomas Hallman, gent., who had been at the sermon. Pearson asked Man how he liked it. Man answered that he liked it very well and that Dr. Cosins taught very substantially in his opinion, so as no sober mind could take just exception at any thing he delivered. Pearson immediately replied "Howsoever, my Lord of Canterbury and he are both ours." Hodgson then said "Did you observe Dr. Cosins his gesture in time of divine service?" Man answered that he did a little. Hodgson asked "Do you know how they catch apes?" Man replied "Not well." Hodgson then said "They first put on one part and then another part of their habit till they had put on all, and so they catch them." Proceedings ensued in the High Commission Court. Man conceived that the two recusants meant that the Protestants were inclining to their popish religion. Pearson denied that he ever spoke the words, or if they did that they had such a meaning, and Hodgson that he ever named or spoke of the Archbishop or Dr. Cosins. Pearson was fined, and Hodgson mulcted in costs, the evidence being faulty as to him.

May 28. The High Commission Court ordered Arthur Lee to confer with Mr. Alvey in points of religion. Before July 30 he had

* From Waters's view of the nave (preserved in the Castle) the fittings seem to have much resembled those of Gateshead.

departed from his residence, on Oct. 2 had no certain place of abode, and before Mar. 9, 1636 had fled from Newcastle.

1635. June 20. Saturday. Sir William Brereton dines with Bishop Morton at Auckland. "I demanded from him, 'Whether bowing at the altar were enjoined and commanded by any canon, or left free and arbitrary?' He answered, 'It was left free and arbitrary; it was not bowing to the altar now in use, but towards the east, as Daniel prayed *; and it was not to be accounted an altar, but the communion table.' A certain person seeing some sit above the communion table in St. Nichol: church in Newcastle, said, 'It was not fit that any should sit above God himself†.'" Proceeding

* 1645. Apr. 25. "I wanted not my fears of opposition to sundry things we [the Scottish Presbyterians] had brought down. For bowing in the pulpit, whether by custom, or because of the late consequent abuse of it by the prelatical party to bow to the east and the altar, it was universally, by all sorts of men, so unanimously disused, that we were not able to make them alter. I think they would have taken our difference here in good enough part; but the conveniency of uniformity in this point, and our willingness to have that matter of debate removed out of our church, made us the more condescending to their desire of our coming to them here." (Baillie, ii. 259).

† From the transactions of 1639, *post*, it is obvious that this gallery "obstructs the chancel" and is "over the quire." The communion table would be set "where the altar stood," "saving when the communion of the sacrament was to be distributed," when it would be "placed in good sort within the church or chancel, as thereby the minister might be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently and in more number communicate with the said minister." The rubric still agrees with this canon. "The table *at the communion time*—shall stand in the body of the church or in the chancel, where morning and evening prayer are appointed to be said," and this is consistent with its proper position, east and west, whereby the administrant may stand at the north *side* of the table, and not at its end. I need not enter into the history of the modern usages at the communion, the railing off of the table, and such matters. The only questions arising are these. Was the gallery above the ordinary or the sacramental place of the table? If the answer be in favour of the latter, did the parishioners of St. Nicholas' communicate in the chancel or the nave? If in favour of the former, where did the high altar of St. Nicholas' stand. I. II. As the sitters in the gallery would not be there during Communion time, and as Bishop Morton's opinions were very moderate, I think that the words "above God" are not to be strained; and as the congregation, with the exception of a few "big-wigs," worshipped in the nave, it seems probable that the communion would take place in that part of the church. Now, neither a gallery in, or at the east end of, the nave, would obstruct or be above the chancel. Let me observe that, although the gallery must have come down (see 1639), the screen between the nave and chancel on which the organ stood, was, until the 18th century, in keeping with the style of the 17th century pews. III. Up to the same period the communion-table stood one bay from the eastern end, leaving a vacancy at the east side, Bourne's "Middle Porch," in which were placed the noble monuments [oh, Newcastle! and oh! all thy magnates of this day when the next comes!] of Selby and of Carr. In most churches, this post of honour, easternmost of GOD'S altar or table, would have been the *Virgin's*, the Lady Chapel. The rood on Carr's shrine was injured by Puritans. *All the tomb,* EXCEPT THIS ROOD, *has been destroyed by orthodox folk.* But there it is, in the south aisle of the nave, with the name of *George Carr*, at its base, and an intimation that OUR LADY *priest is bound to say at the lavatory* [*piscina*] *every day*, something or other, at its top. And there still are Bourne's "ruins of a large image of our Saviour upon the Cross." All things considered, therefore, we may well conclude that the gallery was overthwart the

himself to NC. Sir William found therein "five churches [including Gateshead ?] : and St. Nichol. church, which is the fairest, is as neat pewed, and formed with as much uniformity, as any I have found in England, and it is as neatly kept and trimmed."

Sep. The Corporation paid "for rowing and steering the barge, and for ten wherries that accompanied the Bishop of Duresme down to Sheles, 39*s*., and for the charges of a dinner for the Bishop, Mayor, Aldermen, and their attendants, at Sheles, the same time, 15*l*. 1*s*. 4*d*." The Bishop on Sep. 7 wrote that he had examined some Hollanders at Gateshead. (See the letter, S.P.)

Dec. 2. Letters missive from the High Commission Court against Samuel Rawling, Barnes's master, for divers misdemeanours. No further proceedings.

Dec. 5. George Tonge, son of Sir George Tonge, knt., married at St. Nicholas' church to Barbara daughter of Mr. James Carr. A wedding dinner at Mr. Carr's house: present, Vicar Alvey, Sir George Tonge, Mr. Robert Carr, Mr. John Blakiston, mercer (afterwards a regicide), and Susanna his wife, Mr. Robert Harle, Mr. Ball, Christopher Copperthwaite, gent., Francis Liddell, gent., Lindley Wren, esq., Ninian Shafto, gent., Henry Maddison, gent., and George Fenwick, merchant. After dinner Mr. Alvey and Mrs. Blakiston were sitting apart from the company, in the room where they had dined, at the table side, and continued a pretty space in a serious discourse. Maddison, Fenwick, and Blakiston were standing together. Blakiston went to his wife, took her by the hand, and said: —"Wife, what discourse is this you have with Mr. Alvey ? If you doubt of any thing, I would have you be satisfied with your husband at home, and, if he cannot, then may you go to your minister to be resolved." Alvey, in very angry manner, replied : "What, man, art thou comen to outface me ? thou art but a priest's son more than I am." Blakiston (whose father was a Prebendary of the 7th stall at Durham) mildly answered that he was not, but only came to advise his wife not to meddle with any thing which concerned Mr. Alvey and him : and that he would not make any comparisons with him, but would give him all the respect that was fitting to his place and calling. Upon some other passages Blakiston said:—"You have ever borne spite or malice to me since you came to the town." Alvey passionately replied, instantly, "Go, I will have nothing to do with ye, for thou art a man hath no religion nor grace in thy heart, if you say so." Blakiston mildly and temperately desired the vicar to let him know what religion was, and indeed then told him that he had so much religion as he could discern of errors which fell from him, or words to that effect. The two were reasoning together in more foreward than ordinary manner. After some other passages

chancel, but not immediately against the window commemorating Roger Thornton, the great benefactor of Newcastle, which was, in our time, thought to be a meet object of destruction, after the Scots had spared it. The day may come for an attempt to restore it.

they departed. Upon their parting, Blakiston, much transported with passion, as Robert Carr conceived, and upon what occasion he knew not, said to Alvey: "I will maintain that in your last sermon at All Hallows' you delivered seven errors." One of the company said to Mr. Alvey, "Vindicate your credit now." He seemed much miscontented, and, taking Lindley Wrenn by the hand, desired him to remember the passages, and spoke thus: "Mr. Blakiston, you will justify this." Blakiston replied, "Yea, if need be, I will justify 17 (or 70) since you came to the town," rather 70, as Wrenn thought. Robert Carr observed to Blakiston, that he would not have spoken so disgracefully of Mr. Alvey unless the devil were in his tongue. Fenwick did not conceive that any words spoken by Blakiston were injurious or defamatory, but did not speak to the concluding words, by which Wrenn thought Mr. Alvey was much abused in regard of his function and calling. I hope that the above is a fair summary of the evidences printed in Acts of High Commission, p. 155.

About two years before May, 1638, but clearly before March, 1636, Blakiston was at St. Nicholas' church on a lecture day, and was standing and leaning in his pew, and did not kneel at the reading of such prayers as is enjoined according to the curate, or, according to Edward Mann, a mercer who was placed in a seat near, was behaving himself reverently by bowing his body and bending his knees, having his hat before his face * and resting his arm upon the pew, without any offence to the congregation. Mann saw others sitting near who did not behave so reverently, of whom he believed Alvey took no notice at all. The vicar ceased in the reading of prayers, and sent the beadle to Blakiston, to say that Mr. Alvey sent him to bid him kneel. Blakiston made some answer and the beadle returned. Immediately Alvey spoke to Christopher Forster the curate, to send John Willys, the parish clerk, to Blakiston, to wish him to conform himself by kneeling. The clerk did so, and returning to Forster, told him that Blakiston said that he knew his duty or what he had to do as well as his master. Many of the congregation stood up and gazed at them. Forster considered that the minister was hindered for the time in celebrating divine service, Mann and Mrs. Elizabeth Loraine that the congregation was disturbed by Mr. Alvey without just cause, by his so sending to Blakiston and hindering him in his devotions. Blakiston, on leaving the church wished Elizabeth, the wife of Henry Dawson, merchant, to take notice of the circumstance.

1635-6. Gateshead. Mr. Linlott Pagett booked in Mr. Calvert's seat in number 4, south side. Paid "for writeing the modwell of the stalles, 2*s.* 4*d.* Dailles, joyners worke, sneckes and bandes for the finishing of the seates in the church, 2*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.*"

1635-6. Mar. 6. John Blakiston appeared before the High Commission Court, at the instance of Yelderd Alvey. He was

* With the exception of holding the hat, Blakiston's posture was common enough in our days, with those who could not kneel and did not like to sit.

charged with his offences at Tonge's marriage dinner and his non-conformity, as to which, the occurrence already noticed is made the most of. Living in St. Nicholas' parish, he had not for four or five years received the Holy Communion in St. Nicholas' Church. It was alleged in evidence that when he came "at any time to any part of divine service," he did not demean himself in the manner prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, not kneeling when those prayers were said wherein he was appointed to kneel, nor standing when the Creed was read. Alvey had endeavoured to bring him and others to conform to lawful ceremonies. He oftener repaired to All Hallows' church [where Dr. Jennison preached] than to St. Nicholas'. Yet Alvey was a good, orthodox, able, painful, preacher of sound doctrine, and was so esteemed by all his auditors of good and sound judgment. Blakiston's friends in reply say nothing about Alvey's preaching or character, but believe Blakiston, who is a very religious man, to be conformable to the doctrine, discipline, rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. They come mostly to the beginning of prayers and always stay to the ending, but not to observe any man's gesture or behaviour, or when he comes or goes away, but are at their own devotions and join with the congregation in such religious duties or offices as are handled. John Lodge's seat, indeed, is distant from Blakiston's, "over against him on the other side, and divers people usually stand in the allies or bench before the seats between them." Howbeit, some have seen his decent, reverent, religious, and Christian behaviour. The bowing of his body and bending of his knees at the reading of the confession, collects, and other public prayers have been observed. He has been seen standing at the reading of the Creed. His gesture or deportment of his body at the reading of the Gospel and Litany, and at the name of Jesus, and his bowing thereat, have not been observed. "The whole town of Newcastle, and some other places adjoining are accounted all one parish, and not certainly distinguished." Witness Fenwick liveth "in a street called the Close, reputed by some to be of the parish of St. Nicholas, within the said town," and repairs "unto some of the churches or chapels in Newcastle." Mann lives "in the chapelry of All Saints, in the parish of St. Nicholas," and repairs mostly "to the said chapel, and sometimes to the church." Elizabeth Dawson lives "in St. Nicholas' parish, as the same is accounted," and sometimes repaireth to St. Nicholas' church, and at other times to some other churches, as occasion serveth." Elizabeth Lorraine, since her removal into the chapelry of St. John's, doth not so often repair to St. Nicholas' church as formerly she did. Blakiston's house "is not accounted to be of the chapelry" of All Hallows'. It is "within the parish of St. Nicholas', as the same is accounted to be." He is much from home as a merchant. When at home he duly and constantly frequents St. Nicholas' and other churches in the town. He comes to them sometimes sooner and sometines later "as others did and still do."

The sentence not given until 1639.

1636. Mar. 26. List of clergymen assessed to the ship money in Newcastle. (S.P.)

1636. The Trinity House (on April 25) "paid about the procuring of my Lord Bishop of Durham his warrant for sermons, to be preached in the Trinity Chapel for ever, 1*l.* 10*s.*"

March 28. "Given to Mr. Yeldard Alvey, Vicar of Newcastle, for a present from the house, in wine and wheat, in regard he made the first sermon in the chapel, 2*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* Paid for a dinner for the Vicar, the Doctor, and rest of the clergy, that day the Vicar preached in the chapel, being the first sermon, 28 March, 1636, 3*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*"

Dec. 17. Robert Bonner, A.B., licenced to St. Andrew's *. See 1669.

Mr. Hinde considers that, owing to the frequent visitations of the plague, the population of Newcastle in 1636 probably did not exceed that in 1548, 10,000. If so, upwards of half was cut off in this disastrous year, in which the deaths were 5,037. (Arch. Æl. 8vo., iii. 64.)

All Saints'. "Given distressed ministers at several times, 13*s.* 4*d.*"

1636? Gateshead. Ship money. (S.P. vol. 317. 96.)

1636-7. Gateshead. "Two new pinacells for the steple."

1637. "Newcastles Call, To her Neighbour and Sister Townes and Cities throughout the land, to take warning by her Sins and Sorrowes. Lest this overflowing scourge of Pestilence reach even unto them also. As also a Direction, how to discover such sins as are the procurers of God's judgments by divers methods. By R. Jenison, D^r. of D. Whereunto is added, the number of them that dyed weekely in Newcastle and Garth-side, from May 6. to December 31. 1636.—London, Printed for Robert Milbourne, at the signe of the Vnicorne neere to Fleet Bridge, 1637." "Newcastle vpon Tine wisheth al health and safetie, bodily and spiritually, especially to her neighbour townes and cities, and generally, to all throughout the whole monarchy of Great Britaine: By an unworthy orator and spokesman of hers, R. I." 24mo., pp. 252, title, 13 pp. of preface (signed "Yours and the Churches servant, R. I.," dated Newcastle the 2. of Ianuary, 1636."), and 3 leaves of contents.

July 28. St. John's. Order of Common-Council for settling Mr. Robert Urthwart at St. John's with a salary of 20*l.*

On Jan. 15. 1637 a tenement at the north end of an orchard adjoining the east side of the Tuthill-stairs is described as "now or late in the tenure of Yeldred Alva." It had probably been his residence prefore his promotion to the vicarage.

1637-8. Gateshead. Francis Collison and Mrs. Gascoigne "bookt in stalles." So Mr. Edward Bulmer and his wife. Paid "mending the seat in the church-yard, 4*s.* For whittenig dressing the church, 1*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* To a poore schollar, 1*s.* To a preacher, 2*s.*"

* Brand i. 192, from Bp. Morton's Register.

1637-8. Fenwick present at the taking of the covenant at Edinburgh on the Sabbath-day. "I observed some ancient and white-haired men to water their cheeks and wipe off the tears with one hand, while they held up the other hand in token of assent to the covenant, as their custom was."

1638. March 26. The Trinity House "paid for wine when the Lord Bishop of Durham came to see the chapel, 2*s.* 6*d.*"

April 23. The Trinity House paid "for four gallons of sack and two loaves of sugar containing 7lb. 7oz. weight, sent to Mr. Doctor Jenison after he preached in the chapel, 1*l.* 14*s.*"

c. May 6. John Fenwick rode into Scotland and bought of the Earl of Winton, a Papist, a bark's lading of wheat. (Christ Ruling &c.)

July 10. George Rotherford acknowledged to the High Commission his clandestine marriage and private baptisms, and was ordered conferences with his vicar, Alvey, who was to endeavour his conformity. In Aug., Alvey certified that he had been with him, and at the church, and he hoped he would continue thereat. He was thereupon ordered to repair to prayers at the Bishop's chapel, and undergo a submission in the church. The next court he appeared not, and in 1639 his bond was forfeited.

Aug. 8. Ordinary of the Shipwrights of NC. prohibiting them from working on Sundays and holidays observed by the Church.

Dec. 11. Among the Scotch ministers, in course of deposition, was Mr. Francis Hervie, "for his erecting of ane altar with railes at his own hand," and Mr. Thomas Forrester at Melrose, who "made his altar and rayles himself, stood within and reached the elements to these who kneeled without; he avowed Christ's presence there, but whether sacramentally, or by way of consubstantiation, he wist not, but thought it a curiosity to dispute it;—he made a waggon of the old communion table to lead his peats in." "This monster was justly deposed." (Of course there were other articles. Laing's Baillie, i. 166.)

(About Dec. 15. Alderman Robert Anderson and another gentleman (living in 1643,) "a sufferer under the marquis of Newcastle") warn Fenwick that his enemies had evidence about the Scots that would undo him. "All this year in England, men's ears and mouths were exceedingly taken up in listening after and speaking of news and discourses of the Scots' affairs." (Christ Ruling, &c.)

Dec. 25. "A time of much profaneness and excess in Newcastle." John Fenwick, a merchant, accustomed to trade with the Scottish nation, rode into Northumberland, and thence, about Dec. 26, into Scotland, and bought another bark's lading of wheat of a Papist, the Earl of Winton, as in divers years before. Coming home to Newcastle, he was pursued as a Covenanter, and Sir Alexander Davison and Sir John Marloe issued his warrant to the constables who strove to apprehend him because of his correspondence, which in course of his trading he could not avoid. Being informed of a plot for his life, he returned to Scotland. (Christ Ruling, &c. 1643.)

All Saints'. "To John Swadell for numbering the stalls, 10*s.*—Given to needful ministers and other distressed travellers, 2*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*—Given to needful householders within our parish out of the overplus of the communion money, 3*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*"

1638-9. Gateshead. "The joyners to drinke that seald the church 4*d.* Building two pewes in the low end of the church, one to pay the poore in and another for the bookes to lye in, 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Two joyned stooles to sett dead corps on, 5*s.*" "A table of the stalles or pewes in Gateshead church containeing the numbers sett or marked on everie stall, the names of the men or woomen as they are now placed in the same, and the rates that everie man or wooman is to pay when they first enter."

1638-9. About Jan. 8. Fenwick returns to Newcastle. Before he got home, a warrant sent out by Mr. Alexander Davison and Mr. John Marley to apprehend him. The constable had watched his house three days before he came, but he coming home late, about 10 p.m., they missed him.

The next morning Fenwick, by advice of his friends, flies for his life to Scotland. The Royalists persecute his wife, who finally escapes to her husband. (See the details in Christ Ruling, &c.)

1638-9. Jan. 19. Secretary Windebancke to Sir Jacob Ashley. John Fenwicke, merchant, and Betleston, tanner, both of Newcastle, are stated to have been in Scotland and subscribed to the covenant, and carried thither the names of others who will do the like. Sir Jacob, if not at Newcastle, is to repair thither, advise with Mr. Marley and call to his assistance Sir. Wm. Bellasys. If he finds the charge true, he is to commit the offenders to prison and examine them as to the others. "The greatest danger we conceive of these northern parts is Newcastle." "Upon the safety of that depends much the security of those parts which are furnished with fuel from thence." (Christ Ruling &c.)

1638-9. 14 Car. Jan. 22. Bulmer Ile, merchant, desires burial in St. Nicholas', "within the south porch *lately buylte*, under my owne blew stone theare, the which stone I bought from a quarry att the Heughe, co. Northumberland." (Arch. Æl. 8vo., iv. 33.)

Jan. 24. Alexander Davison, Sir Wm. Bellasis, and Master John Marlay report, sending examinations. Betelston has been committed. (Christ Ruling, &c)

1638-9. Feb. 2. Secretary Windebancke to Alexander Davison and others. Thanks for their communication of Jan. 24. The confederacy in Newcastle with the ill affected party in Scotland may grow dangerous, if not speedily prevented. Fenwick to be arrested on his return from Scotland and sent to some prison out of the town. Betelston also to be sent beyond the danger of conversation with his confederates. Others to be similarly used. "You are likewise to take some speedy course for the preventing of these clandestine meetings at undue hours, at Henry Dawson's house, under pretext of devotion. And, if Master Mourton the preacher there be ill affected to the

church government, you must make diligent inquiry from whence he hath his maintenance. And, if you find he lives by contribution of refractory persons, you must either prevent his preaching in private, and those supplies which he receives from them, or else not suffer him to remain in your town." (Christ Ruling, &c.)

1639. Mar. 28. The long proceedings against Blakiston having been concluded, he was sentenced by the High Commission, (his defence being only some cause to mitigate the punishment.) He is to make an acknowledgment to Alvey for charging him with the seven errors, and of his nonconformity and nonreception of the Communion at his parish church. He shall be declared excommunicate ipso facto in his parish church, shall pay the King 100*l.* and is condemned in costs. He is committed until he enter bond to perform the submission.

Mar. 29. Blakiston's counsel, in regard of his occasions, &c., in presence of Mr. Alvey, obtain time for performance of the submission until the first Sunday in July.

1639. May 5. Bp. Morton preached on Rom. 13. 1. before the King with great applause, and was commanded to print his sermon. "A Sermon preached before the King's most excellent Majestie, in the Cathedral Church of Durham, upon Sunday being the fifth day of May, 1639, by the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas Lord Bishop of Duresme. Published by His Majesty's special command. Imprinted at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by Robert Barker, printer to the King's Most Excellent Majestie, and by the assignees of John Bill, 1639." Small 4to. pp. 42. Barker also printed here the Earl Marshal's Laws for the Army Royal, which "inculcate a severity of discipline, and an attention to moral and religious duties, which we have not been in the habit of connecting with the army of Charles I., and an oath is appended, to be taken by every soldier, pledging himself to their observance." (Hinde. Arch. Æliana, vi. 226.) Charles is stated by Rushworth to have found Newcastle seeming "as one man against the Scots in case of an invasion." He addressed letters from NC. up to May 22.

1639. Bishop Morton writes to Mr. Alvey. "It was required of the churchwardens of St. Nicholas', according as his Majesty hath commanded, that the gallery which obstructs the chancel should be removed: which being not done, the churchwardens of All-Hallows', who were afterwards commanded the like, presumed that theirs might likewise stand.—Call upon the churchwardens of St. Nicholas', that they, without any further delay, perform his Majesty's command; and if they shall neglect to do it, let me understand that I may question them accordingly: and as soon as they begin, require the same performance of the churchwardens of All-Hallows' for their gallery: for without further questioning both must be down." (Dr. Ellison's MSS.)

The All Saints' officers sent John Hall and Wm. Robson to Auckland, "to intreat the Bishop for the standing of the gallery."

Their expenses stand in the parish accounts after those for ringing the bells on King Charles's march against the Covenanters in May. The mission was unsuccessful, and a payment succeeds "to the joiners for taking down the gallery over the quire, by the Chancellor's special directions." It is to be presumed that the destruction of the gallery in St. Nicholas' had preceded the works in All Saints', pursuant to the Bishop's orders.

1639. Works at All Saints'. A new vane. New lead added to the windows. "Charles Robson, plaisterer, for plaistering and whitening the whole church about, 9*l.*—Richard Wallis the painter for marbling all the pillars and colouring the bowes [arches] about, 4*l.* 8*s.*—For Wm. Robinson's horse-hire when he went to Auckland to petition my Lord about the communion table, 4*s.* Mr. Dabbs for writing the petition, 2*s.*"

1639. July 23. Blakiston appears before the High Commission. Taxation of costs and performance of submission again respited in prox. and he to bring a certificate from Mr. Alvey. [Qu. if ever done.]

Oct. 9. By a letter, signed by Secretary Windebancke, the King orders Dr. Wiseheart to be appointed lecturer of All Saints' upon Sundays, in place of Dr. Jennison, who was suspended for his nonconformity. Oct. 19*. The order carried out by the Common Council.

Oct. Fenwick's wife returns to Newcastle, great with child, and was again much molested on the approach of the Scotch army.

Some light on this period is thrown by the charges and more formal articles preferred in 1642 against Sir Nicholas Cole and others. They were communicated by Thomas Davidson to J. T. Brockett, from whose MSS. I select the passages (marked with the numbers of the charges and articles) bearing on religion, reluctantly discarding the rest. The paper of charges referred to commences in this abrupt manner:—". . . . . Puritans, Covenanters, factious fellowes, have caused them to come before them, examined them upon articles to their thoughts why they dislike the innovacions, viz. Dr. Jenyson, Mr. Morton, Hump. Blunt, Giles Bittlestou †, Ra. Fowler, whom they threatned and caused to putt in bond to appeare

* "Dr. Gladstone and Dr. Wiseheart had been driven away by persecution" of the Presbyterians from St. Andrew's, in Scotland. (Guthrie.)

Jennison was of *the* family of Jennison, but in after years was of a very different party from malignant John of Walworth, the *caput familiæ*. Our doctor married a dau. of Dr. Favour, a York divine, and *at present* sunk into shade and departed to Dantzic, where he gathered around him a "poor flock." He enumerates among the sins which brought the sword on England, that of "pulling down and taking away many lectures and afternoon sermons" ("God's Sabbath turned to play-day, masks and plays instead of afternoon sermons, and that even at court,") and of "silencing or driving away such ministers as were most faithful painful and constant in preaching, yea, even in that regard." (Jennison's Return of the Sword, 1648.)

† The tanner, doubtless. See 1638, Jan. 19.

att counsell board." The next charge corresponds to Article 1. which reads :—"Sir John Marlay, Sir Alexander Davison and others have compelled divers inhabitants in the said towne to enter in bonds with sureties in greate summes of money, (which bonds are yet in force), to appeare and answer at the Councell Table for going to heare sermons, as namely Mr. Thomas Ledgerd, Mr. Lyonell Lingwood and others; cast some into prison, as namely Robert Sharpe with others, for doeing the same; and have used speeches, that they would roote out all the Puritans out of the said towne, and divers other speeches to that effecte and against religion." Charge 6 is that Marley, Davison and others "by letters informed Secretary Windebanck and the late Archbishop of Yorke against Dr. Jennyson as a puritannicall and factious man and procured the Dr.'s banishment, being one who had preached constantlie thrice in the weeke for 23 yeares in the towne." Article 2 states, to much the same effect that, by their means "a reverend preacher Docter Jenison who had preached in Newcastle twice or thrice a weeke, for the space of twentie and three yeares together, was suspended and put out of towne withoute any just cause." "Marley procured himself to be made an alderman, the rest of the aldermen consenting, by a mandate from the King. [Other mandates follow.] Cole, Marley, Davison, Tho. Liddall, Cock, Liddall, jun., and other aldermen, procured a mandate [9 Oct. 1639.] to place George Wisheard, a fugitive and an incendiarie, to be Lecturer in the towne [at All Saints'], and thereby violentlie forst him uppon them against the mindes of the parishioners." (Charges 17, 18, 19, 20.) "Which is not onely against the previledges and charters but hath proved exceedeing burthensome and inconvenient to the said towne. (Art. 10.) See 1640 for further extracts.

Dec. 9. Thomas Stephenson resigned his lectureship at St. Nicholas'. John Bewick A.M. was appointed by the Common Council to succeed him.

Robert Bonner licensed curate of All Saints' this year. He was afterwards sequestered and imprisoned for his loyalty.

1639-40. Gateshead, May. Ringing the bells when his Majestie came to the towne, 2*s*. Sep. Ringing the bells when the Kinge came from Barwick, 1*s*. April 25. Ringing the bells when the Bushopp came to the towne, 1*s*. 6*d*.

1640. "Sir John Marlay, Sir Alexander Davison, Sir Thomas Riddell senior, Mr. Thomas Liddell, Mr. Raiph Cole, Mr. Raiph Cocke and others, refused a petition sent to them [to the Maior and Comon Counsell] by the townesmen [some of the freemen], that their burgesses for the last parliament* might have instructions to stand for the orthodox faith, and to oppose innovations, and to stand for the liberty of the subjecte [good lawes of the kingdome]. They

* The parliament of 13 Apr. 1640, in which NC. was represented by Sir Peter Riddell and Thomas Liddell, Esq. The Long Parliament met on 3 Nov. 1640.

[sent for those petitioners and] said it was as ill as the covenant of Scotland, and that the petitioners deserved to loose their eares, and informed the state against them for that act, [and complayned against them for it to the Secretary of State or Lorde of the counsell, and threatned them with the loss of their eares.]" (Art. 4, and Charge 7, the variations of the latter being in brackets.)—"Marley, Davison and others caused houses to be searcht and cubberts and cheste to be broken open, vizt. of Billetson, Lingwood, and tooke from them bookes, letters, manuyscripts." (Charge 3). "Marley, Davison, Sir Thomas Riddall jun. and others upon a pretended commission they had from the King did, about two yeares since, [i. e. 1640, two yeares before 1642] call before them sundry men and weomen and examined them what thought they had of the Scotts, whether they would fight against them, and whether they thought them to bee traytors and rebells, and comanded them to make quick answere whether they would fight against Scotland under Roger Witherington an arch-papist and tooke diverse bonds to appeare at Counsell Table touching the Scotch business." (Charge 5.) "Marley, Davison [Sir Nicholas Cole] and others were great incendiaries to exasperate the State against the Scotts, and all men in Newcastle that profess religion as being of the Scotch faction and have traduced diverse of the towne to the King and the Lords as disloyall subjects, and have countenanced and allowed Papists in the towne [have not executed the lawe upon them when they have been indicted] and [have often openly] comended them as [the King's] good [and best] subjects [fitter to live in the towne then Puritans] and better to be trusted then Puritans, whom they threatned to exterpate out of the towne." (Charge 5 and Article 5.) "Marley, Davison, and other aldermen have compelled diverse to worke and muster upon the Soboth daies to fill upp trenches neere the towne, vizt. Coosens, Blackdell and others, conceaveing that to bee the best waie to discover Puritans, but, when they sawe all men's redines for defence, they were disappoynted of their aymes." (Charge 14.) "Marley, Davison, Liddall, Ra. Cole, Cock and other Aldermen, about two years since, injoyned the ministers in the towne to preach against the Scotts of informacion and to defame their undertaking as rebellious, and they disperst themselves by coopels in every church to see it done; and, for fear of them, it was done." (Charge 15.)

Aug. 29. Battle of Newburne. "Surely Vicar Alvey too would have given his vicarage for a horse, when he for haste leapt on horseback behind a countryman without a cushion, his faith and qualifications failing him, he might well fear to fall from grace by the Scots coming. We leave him in his flight to the grace of Canterbury, and the new dubbed knights and others to the Court's grace for full twelve months, until the Scots were gone home again." (Fenwick's Christ Ruling &c.) "All the priests and black-coats fled as fast as they could, but meanly mounted, when Vicar Alvey himself in great haste got on horseback behind a countryman as

before. The next bout if the Scots come again he may perhaps learn to foot it, after my friend Windebancke, into France, and to dance and sing 'Alas, poor vicar, whither wilt thou go.'" Alvey's own account is that he was forced by "the rebels," "upon some threatening speeches given out by them, that they would deal more rigorously with me than others, suddenly to desert all, and to provide for the safety of myself, wife and seven children, by a speedy flight in the night time." "The night and the near wood, and, most of all, our good will to the English nation, hindered our pursuit of the victory. That night we stood in our arms," (Baillie, i. 257) "our general thinking our enemies had not been out of that field." (Ib. 259.)

Aug. 30. Saturday. "The army coming after forenoon sermon on the Sabbath-day towards Newcastle, being in great want of victuals, pitched on the south side of the town. His Excellency General Lesley, accompanied with the lords and divers gentlemen, rode into Newcastle about noon, where they were met, upon the bridge, by the Mayor and some few aldermen who were not so nimble at flight, as Sir Marloe, Sir Daveson, and Sir Ridles, and others that were conscious of their guilt of their good service against the Scots, for which they got the honour of knighthood at Newcastle and Barwicke." "After dinner I had the honour to usher his excellence and the lords to the great church, where Mr. Alexander Henderson preached, and Mr. Andrew Cant at All-hallows' [they preached "to a great confluence of people," *Baillie*], where the organs, and sackbuts, and cornets, were struck breathless with the fright of their vicars, and others of their best friends' flight, on Friday at night before [and] after Newburne fight, in token of mourning that they should never meet again. For, not long after, the breath of the Scots covenant in the Scottish soldiers did blow them down both root and branch, with their altars and railing, service-book and fonts, and all such fopperies, as the honest Scots lads found without a warrant or salvo-guard from their King Jesus, who sent them out." (Fenwick's Christ Ruling &c.) "So upon Sunday, Aug. 30, the Scotch army entered Newcastle, where they found an opportunity of enlarging Mr. Colville, [Mr. William Covill, a Scotch minister], who had been sent by them to France with letters to the French King and Cardinal Richlieu, and in his return happened to be catched at Berwick, and from thence was sent prisoner to Newcastle. That day Mr. Henderson preached in the great church of Newcastle, and, after sermon, the general and noblemen were feasted by the Mayor." (Guthrie.) "Fifteen lords and Douglas came and dined with the Mayor, drank a health to the King, and had three sermons that day by their own divines." (Rushworth.) This is probably quite consistent with Fenwick's account of the sermon being after *his* dinner and doubtless a general lunch. The three sermons would include the morning's discourse at Newburn. A royalist alderman of Newcastle complains that in his sermon Mr. Henderson "forgot so much

of his text and the duty of his calling, that he fell to a strange extravagant way of applauding their victorious success and debasing the English, making that the whole subject of his discourse."

When some of the inhabitants made complaint of their treatment by the Scots they were answered with a question whether they were not papists. They replying that they were not, then answer was made if they were not papists, they were of such religion as the King and bishops would have them. (Nalson.)

Sept. "The report of this [the entry into Newcastle] in all our pulpits did make our people sound humble and hearty thanks to the name of our God, in the confidence of whose help this work was begun, and on whose strength it does yet rely: Not well knowing what to do next: yet this is no new thing to us; for many a time from the beginning we have been at a nonplus; but God helped us ever."—"If the English will now be beasts and dastardly cowards, they must lie without any man's pity under their slavish servitude for ever. We put little doubt but we shall get for ourselves fair enough conditions." (Baillie.)

"The town of Newcastle was put to the contribution of 200*l.* sterling a day, the county of Northumberland to 300*l.*, the Bishoprick to 350*l.* Commissions were given to lift the rents of prelates and papists, who had fled and avowed themselves our enemies. Thus for some days we lived at ease and peace, waiting with some fear, what the 24th day [when the peers were to meet at York] might bring forth." (Baillie, i. 261.) After the meeting "we found much cousining and knavery among that people. Some of the gentlemen who undertook to contribute, did fail of their assurances; we were forced to send out for their cattle to cause them to be true: those who had the collection of the money did exact double to that they gave to us, the heaviest burden was laid by them, (abusing our ignorance,) on the back of Protestants our friends. Some of the English, under our 'blew capes' became robbers every where. The most of the churchmen having removed all that they had considerable, left their houses with some trash open, which their servants and neighbours spoiled; at once libels full of outrages, done or feigned by the English themselves, are presented to the King against us. The Mayor and aldermen of Newcastle pretends unability to pay their 200*l.* a day: we were forced to put a guard about their town-house, till we got new assurances from them. According to our declarations, we took nothing for nought, only we borrowed, on good security, so much money a day as was necessary for our being, to be repaid truly before our departure." (Baillie, i. 262.) The Bishop and the Newcastle royalists drew up a narrative of grievances. Two of the answers of the Scots were that "the Bishops, deans, prebends, parsons rifled their own houses themselves, left their doors open, and fled from them; so that if there were more justice in the land, they may be accused before the Chief Justice, for the pillaging their own houses, and accusing others. The parson of Ryc[ton] and of Whick-

ham first rifled their own houses, and then fled, leaving nothing but a few playbooks and pamphlets, and one old cloak, with an old woman, being the only living Christian in the town, the rest being fled." (Richardson's tracts.)

"When the Scots sought to deface the ancient monuments, and said they were papistry, and superstition, they began with the 'spoon' of the church of S. John, and broke it all to pieces. It had been given by one John Bertram. For there was written about it; 'For the Honour of God and S. John, John Bertram gave this font stone.' Cuthbert Maxwell, a mason, observing the barbarity of the Scots, came in haste to S. Nicholas', and saved the spoon of that font in its vestry, and also that of All-Hallows'. He lived, after the King returned, to set them up again." (Milbank MS. per Bourne, 24.) We have in the accounts of All Saints' for the year the following items. "For an half hour glass, 8*d*.—For taking down the cover of the font, and laying in the vault and making a cover for the stone, 2*s*."

Oct. 15. The Council of War request Robert Baillie to attend the Committee with all convenient speed at Newcastle, and bring with him a number of copies of his treatise ("Autokatacrisis; the Canterburian's Self-Conviction") "with the warrands thereof and all such papers and proofs which may serve for that purpose."

Oct. 16. Vicar Alvey, at York, writes to Archbishop Laud. "I am for the present outed of all my spiritual promotions, to the yearly value of 300*l*., and have most of my movable goods seized upon by the rebels.—How they would have dealt with me they have since made evident by their harsh dealing with two of my curates, whom I left to officiate for me in my absence; who have not only been interrupted in reading divine service, but threatened to be pistolled if they would not desist from the execution of their office. And whereas I had lately purchased 60*l*. per annum in Northumberland, and hoped to have been supplied that way in these calamitous times, till I might with safety return, they have, since I presented my petition to his Majesty, seized upon that also, and commanded my servant to be accountable to them for it."

Oct. 31. Saturday. Baillie addresses his wife from Newcastle.—Nov. 4. Wednesday. "The committee sent for me [Baillie] and told me of their desire I should go to London with the Commissioners. I made sundry difficulties, which partly they answered, and partly took to their consideration till this day." (Nov. 5. Baillie, i. 268.)

Nov. 5. Thursday. "At our presbytery, after sermon, both our noblemen and ministers in one voice thought meet, that not only Mr. A. Henderson, but also Mr. R. Blair, Mr. George Gillespie, and I, should all three, for divers ends, go to London: Mr. Robert Blair to satisfy the minds of manie in England, who loves the way of New England better than that of presbyteries used in our church; I, for the convincing of that prevalent faction, against which I have written; Mr. Gillespie, for the crying down of the English ceremonies, for which he has written; and all four to preach by turns to our com-

missioners in their houses, which is the custom of divers noblemen at court, and was our practice all the time of the conference at Rippon. We mind to Durham, God willing, tomorrow, and other twelve miles on Saturday to Darntoun, there to stay all Sunday, where we hope to hear, before we cross the Tyse on Mononday, how things are like to frame in the English parliament. We have the King's hand for our safe conduct; we have sent for the Great Seal of England also, which we expect ere we leave Darntoun. Six of us, Mess. Johnstoun, Hendersoun, Smith, Wedderburn, Blair, and I, go journey every one of us with an attender on horse." (Baillie to his wife, from Newcastle.) Nov. 6. "Friday." "This night I am in Durham." Baillies "boy Jamie," earnest to go with him, failed him when he was to loup on. Baillie gives him a dollar to carry him home and goes manless. "As I enter in Durham, one of my old scholars, a preacher to Colonel Ramsay's regiment of horse, meets with me before I light, will have me to his chamber, gives me his chamber, stable servant, a cup of sack, and all courtesy, gets me a religious youth, a trooper, ready with a good horse to go with me tomorrow to London." "The morrow we mind but an other post to Darntoun, and there stay till the Great Seal come to us." Nov. 7. Saturday. "We went to Darntoun."—Nov. 8. Sunday. "Mr. Alexander Henderson and Mr. Robert Blair did preach to us. At supper, the post with the Great Seal of England for our safe conduct came."—Nov. 16. Monday. "We came that twenty mile to London before sun-rising, all well, horse and men, as we could wish; divers merchants and their servants with us, on little nags; the way extremely foul and deep, the journies long and continued, sundry of us unaccustomed with travel, we took it for God's singular goodness that all of us were so preserved; none in the company held better out than I and my man, and our little noble nags. From Kill-winning to London I did not so much as stumble: this is the fruit of your prayers. I was also all the way full of courage, and comforted with the sense of God's presence with my spirit. We were by the way great expences; their inns are all like palaces; no marvel they extors their guests: for three meals, coarse enough, we would pay, together with our horses, 16*l.* or 17*l.* sterling. Some three dish of creevishes, like little partans, 42*s.* sterling." (Baillie.)

1640. Dec. 29. Alexander Balfour, at Newcastle, writes:—"Some course is a taken that there may be one Confession of Faith, one Direction for worship, one Catechism, one form of Government for God's House in both kingdoms: and there is great hopes of it. God Almighty further it, for our peace shall never be sure till then." (Baillie, ii. 473.)

Feb. 9. At St. Andrew's "Thomas Karr and Joan Lanton, marred the 9 day, one of the Skotes army, and wold pay nothing to the church." (Sharp.)

1640-1. Gateshead. "Mr. Jackson, curate," occurs. "Lett to Mr. Claudus Hambleton a seat wherein Mr. John Cole was placed."

"12 swalls for formes for the church, 10*s*. Charcole for the use of the church, 2*s*. 9*d*. To a distressed minister with the consent of Mr. Parson, 2*s*."

1641. Death, at Newcastle, of Patrick Lindesay, the deposed Archbishop of Glasgow. (Laing's Baillie, i. 164.)

Mr. Auder occurs as minister of St. Andrew's. "Witness Alder, Jennison, Murton, all godly ministers, expulsed by thee (Newcastle)."

All Saints' Vestry. "A letter signed by the Mayor and all the aldermen at present within the Town, for the calling home of Doctor Jenison our ancient pastor was read and approved of every person here present who also have testified their willingness and great desire to have him again return unto us, by signing the said letter and are willing to confirm him in his former place here and continue their benevolence as heretofore."

All Saints'. "Given to Mr. James Jamison a Scotch preacher for his extraordinary pains upon the fast, 2*l*.—For an hour and half an hour glass, 1*s*. 4*d*."

Ap. 24. House of Commons. The petition of the Burgesses and other inhabitants of Newcastle upon Tyne, whose names are underwritten, was read, and some of the articles likewise fixed to the petition against Alvey and Wisheard were read, and avowed by Tho. Milbourne and Mr. Blakiston, a member of this House; but nothing done in it at this time, it being said there were many of Newcastle in town, that could perfectly affirm it.—Same day, post meridiem. Ordered that Yeldered Alvey and Wm. Wisheard be forthwith sent for, as delinquents, to answer a petition and articles exhibited here against them, which have been avowed, some of them, by a member of this House.—May 20. Yeldard Alvey, clerk, who is under the serjeant's custody, by warrant from this House, shall be bailed, upon giving good security to appear at all such times as this House shall require, to answer such things as shall be objected against him.

June 3. The parishioners of All Saints' address Mr. William Morton, stating that they unanimously desire the assistance of the minister whereof they had formerly had good experience to their much comfort. Intreat him to accept their request and repair unto them as soon as conveniently he might.

Aug. 9. Monday. The Assembly considers the complaint of the Presbytery of Newcastle, that "there was a great neglect in many presbyteries to supply the army with ministers. It was provided for." (Baillie.)

Aug. "They [the Royalists] no sooner returned to Newcastle, but, the first Sabbath day after the Scots were gone, Vicar Alvey appears in public again, new dressed up in his ponticificality, with surplice and service book, whereof the churches had been purged by the Scots lads, and therefore now become innovations, and very offensive to many, who could digest such things before. But my wife, being less used to have her food so drest, growing stomach-sick, set

some other weak stomachs on working, who fell upon the Vicar's new dressing (the surplice and service-book), which set the malignant, superstitious people in such a fire, as men and women fell upon my wife like wild beasts, tore her clothes, and gave her at least an hundred blows, and had slain her, if the Mayor [Sir Nicholas Cole] had not stept out of his pew to rescue her. He and his officers both well beaten for their pains, such was the people's madness after their idols, as God wonderfully preserved her life, and brought her to me to London. Some men carried away pieces of her clothes, and made as much of them, as if they were holy relics. This was a bold affront, the Parliament then sitting." (Christ Ruling, &c.)

Sep. 10. All Saints'. At a Meeting held in the vestry at 7 in the morning, the Four-and-Twenty and ancient of the parish "having heard the letter formerly writ unto Mr. William Morton for the supply of this parish with a minister until Dr. Jenison return, do with full consent confirm what was done concerning Mr. Morton, and with one consent have absolutely refused to admit of Dr. George Wiseheart to be a preacher in this parish."

Dec. 16. Mr. Speaker to write to the Mayor of Newcastle to have an especial care in the disarming of recusants and enjoining them to depart. The Lord Keeper to issue commission to the Mayor, enabling him to tender the oath of supremacy to papists and suspected persons.

Jan. 14. Francis Gray, of St. Andrews, buried. He had occurred about 1622. See 1636.—Mar. 7. John Clarke, A.M., and free burgess of Newcastle upon Tyne, was on the petition and recommendation of the parishioners, appointed by the common council to succeed Mr. Gray at St. Andrews, with a salary of 40*l.* per annum. He was afterwards sequestered and plundered.

1641-2. Gateshead. "Writeing the names of those that took the protestation, 5*s.* To a poore widdow, a minister's wife who had a passe, 1*s.* Patrick Watt * for two sermons, which was thought fitt to be done, 5*s.*"

1642. The east wall of All Saints' churchyard having shrunk, in consequence of one Richard Elbrough having removed some earth near it, it was repaired and rebuilt. The expense amounted to near 50*l.*, of which Mr. E. by an order of the vestry was to pay 10*l.* (Sopwith.)

1642. All Saints'. Paid two masons and six labourers for bringing the font stones to a small place, where they formerly stood, and placing them right, 6*s.* 6*d.*

1642. May 28. A Committee of the House of Commons about Newcastle business. Sir Thomas Riddle and Sir John Marley justify themselves by producing the instructions of 19 Jan. and 2 Feb. 1638-9.

* "Mr. Patricke Watt, the Lecturer at St. Hildes," occurs in the will of Henry Hilton, of South Shields, in 1637.

July. "Upon notice of a time then set for the sitting of the Assembly of Divines, I undertook a long and tedious as also hazardous voyage: but arriving and finding that then the King's consent to their assembling was expected and relied upon, and it very unlikely to be got; upon leave obtained, I hastned to return unto my poor flock at Dantzigk, and was content with some expence of time and money to undergo the same hazards." (R. Jennison, in the preface to the Return of the Sword. See 1648.)

Mr. Morton of Newcastle was with Sir Arthur Hesilrige's troop in the army of the Earl of Essex, which marched to Worcester in Oct. 1642. (Calamy, i. 10.) "In the beginning of the war, Mr. Morton, a very worthy man, left Newcastle, went into the Parliament's army, and was one of the Divines in the Assembly at Westminster." (Barnes, p. 47.) "Mr. Will. Moreton, Newcastle," occurs among the divines present at that assembly in 1643. (Neale, iii. 58.)

Nov. 25. "The Declaration of the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament, For the suppressing of divers Papists, and other malignant persons, in the Counties of Yorke, Northumberland, Westmerland, Cumberland, Lancashire, Cheshire, the County Palatine of Duresme, and the Town of Newcastle; who have taken the oath of Association against the King and Parliament. Die Mercurii, Novemb. 23. 1642. Ordered by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that this Declaration be forthwith printed and published. J. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum. London. Printed for I. T. Novemb. 25. 1642." Small 4to, 4 leaves.

1642-3. Gateshead. "To a minister that came from Ireland by the consent of Mr. Jackson, 2*s*. To a gentleman whose father was a Doctor in Divinity, by Mr. Brownes order, 2*s*."

1643. "Christ Ruling in the midst of his Enemies; or, Some first Fruits of the Churches Deliverance, Budding forth out of the Crosse and Sufferings and some remarkable deliverances of a twentie yeeres Sufferer, and now a Souldier of Jesus Christ; Together with Secretarie Windebank's Letter to Sr. Jacob Ashley and the Maior of Newcastle, through which the violent prosecutions of the common adversaries to exile and banishment are very transparent. Wherein also the Reader shall find in several Passages, publike and particular, some notable encouragements to wade through difficulties for the advancement of the great Designe of Christ, for setting up His Kingdome, and the ruine of Antichrist. By Lievtenant Collonel, John Fenwicke *.—London, Printed for Benjamin Allen in Popeshead Alley, 1643."—Reprinted by M. A. Richardson 1846.

The Epistle Dedicatory to Newcastle upon Tyne commences thus: "Newcastle, though not the place of my birth, or much of my breeding (for I have herein been more beholden to other parts of the world) yet none may challenge from mee more interest in this Dedication." Then come the passages given at p. 299, and "Witness

* Fenwick was the intruding Master of Sherburn Hospital.

others of Christ's servants, ill entertained of thee, yet alive to witness all that is alleged against thee, and much more. And, last of all, he that sends these things unto thee, his wife and children, who have received their birth and breathing in thee, make up that long and black roll of bitter things writ against thee from heaven." Then he proceeds to judgments, the plague of 1636, new devices the next year "to suppress sound preaching," a fire in the evening of the day of their consultations breaking out in the secret chamber of the Town's-house. And then to the sins of the town, uncleanness, drunkenness and excess, "melody to see the church laid desolate," "superstition in worship, and oppression in government." The author refers to a tract published by him two years before, called The Downfall of the Hierarchy.

Henry Morse, the Jesuit (see 1625) who had been condemned to death at London shortly after his active attentions to the plague-stricken people of 1636, and by the mediation of the Queen had been banished in 1641, now returned, and laboured in the northern counties until he was apprehended and sent by sea from Newcastle to London for trial or confirmation of his former sentence. He was hanged at Tyburn 1 Feb. 1645. A memoir of him was published at Antwerp that year.

All Saints'. "Oil for colouring the pulpit and the font, 1*s*."

"Tempore Antelucano Magni Pasehatis festi." Death of Jane, wife of Vicar Alvey, mother of five sons and five daughters, and aged 34. See her monument in St. Nicholas' church.

May 12. Dr. Wiseheart or Wishart appointed to St. Nicholas' lecture.

June. A sessment of 1*s*. in the pound laid upon all the houses and lands of All Saints' parish, to defray the expense of repairing the decayed wall, at the east end of the church, and three windows in the same.

"A Declaration made by the Earle of New-Castle, Governour of the Towne and County of New-Castle, and Generall of all His Majesties Forces raised in the Northerne parts of this Kingdome, for the Defence of the same. For his Resolution of Marching into Yorkshire. As also a just vindication of himselfe from that unjust aspersion laid upon him for entertaining some Popish Recusants in his Forces. With other passages of consequence. Printed for W. Webb. M.DC.XLIII." Small 4to of 8 pp. and the title.

Oct. 2. The salary of Mr. Robert Urthwart at St. John's increased from 20*l*. to 40*l*.

1643. Dec. Mr. John Shaw, preacher of God's Word, being upon trial approved, was appointed Afternoon Lecturer at All Saints'. He was ejected from this church as also from his living at Whalton in Northumberland, and with difficulty kept the living at Bolton in Craven which he afterwards got. See 1661.

1643-4. Feb. The Houses enjoined the taking of the Covenant by all persons above 18; and this ordinance swept the church of all

ministers who would not disobey his Majesty's order of 9 Oct. 1643, that they should not take it. Those who would not undertake to endeavour "the extirpation of Prelacy" were therefore ejected.

1643-4. Gateshead. "Collonell Clavering for wine that his solgers received at the Communyon, 14*s*. (Apr. 28, 1644.)" "Making the seat in the Church-yard. Making the other seat. Half a dayle to mend the church coffin and nayles." Parkin still supplies bread for the Communion, but does not pay towards it. "For 2 horse lod of colls when the solgers was att the church, 8*d*. (Feb. 29.)"

1644. "Callander, with above 5000 foot and horse, came over Tyne about the 20th of July, gatt Hartlepoole and Stocktone on the Tyse the 24th, went thereafter to Newcastle, took in Gateside, and barricadoed the bridge-port." (Baillie.)

Autumn. "When the towne was belegured by the Scotts a greate part of the steeple of St. Andrewes was battered downe by their cannons" (Common Council books, 1656), "planted, it is probable, on the Leazes, where there is a tradition that a Scots minister was killed, by a cannon ball fired from the top of this steeple, as he was preaching to a ring of the soldiery." (Brockett.) There is also a tradition that when the Scots had besieged the town for several weeks, the general demanded its surrender or he would immediately demolish the steeple of St. Nicholas. The Mayor Sir John Marley and aldermen ordered the chiefest of the Scottish prisoners to be confined at the top of the tower, the place below the lantern. They then answered, "that the steeple of St. Nicholas was indeed a beautiful and magnificent piece of architecture, and one of the great ornaments of their town; but yet should be blown into atoms before ransomed at such a rate: that, however, if it was to fall, it should not fall alone; that the moment he destroyed the beautiful structure, he should bath his hands in the blood of his countrymen, who were placed there on purpose either to preserve it from ruin, or to die along with it."

1644. Oct. 19. Newcastle taken by storm by the Scots.—Oct. 20. Sunday. General Leven entered Newcastle, where he went with his chief officers to church to give thanks for their success. (Rushworth.)—William Robson, parish clerk of All Saints' church in Newcastle, ejected for his loyalty.—When the Scots took the town, they plundered the churches, and a large image of our Saviour upon the Cross on the monument of George Carr and many more were defaced. (See p. 320.)—As to St. Andrew's, "there was no child baptized in this parish for one year's time after the town was taken, nor sermon in this church for one year's time."—From the petition of Newcastle loyalists in 1660 for the grant of the vicarage to Dr. George Wishart *, it appears that he was strangely delivered

* Walker in stating that the House of Commons had resolved that he was unfit to be lecturer of St. Nicholas', gives 100*l*. per annum as the value of the lecture,

from his horrid imprisonment in 1644, when Newcastle was stormed, and the clergy were so abused by the Scots for their religion. (S.P.)

Oct. 25. Baillie writes from London. "Blessed be the name of the Lord, who will not for ever contemn the prayer of his people. We were extremely dejected on many grounds: we were perplexed for Scotland; besides winter, poverty, and strong proud obstinate enemies within Newcastle, the pest was beginning in our army; the King, with the greatest army he ever commanded, was coming straight upon us, being hopeful to dissipate our armies before they could conjoin, and it was but the miss of one day." "The news of Newcastle, in these two hours, has filled the city with extreme joy. The great God be blessed again and again for it: this people would have perished of cold without it. Had we gotten it by composition, it had not relieved our credit, nor the necessity of our most deserving and worst rewarded army. God, in clear justice towards that most wicked town, and great mercy to us all, hardened that people, that they should reject, with insolence, the fairest conditions that ever people in their condition could have expected; so that any loss they have, the world will excuse us of it."

Nov. 1. Baillie writes. "Our committee at Newcastle wrote up to the Houses, to haste the settling of the Church. This motion was well received by all but Say, Vane, and some few Independents."—Nov. 5. "The Reverend Mr. Robert Douglas and Mr. John Smith" were written to from London as "with the Scottish army at Newcastle, or elsewhere." (Baillie.) Nov. 21. Baillie writes "Our church affairs goes on now apace, blessed be God. Our letters from Newcastle moved the Houses to call once, twice, thrice, to the assembly for expedition. They sent up our propositions concerning Presbyteries; the Independents gave in the reasons of their dissent therefore: these are in the hands of a committee. The answer is like to be full and satisfactory to the world, and possibly to the parties themselves." That which most comforts us is the Directory.—The last passage was sensibly guided by God—one party purposing by the preface to turn the Directory to a strait Liturgy; the other to make it so loose and free, that it should serve for little use; but God helped us to get both these rocks eschewed."

1644-5. Gateshead. "Making three open coffins of five old formes, and mending a seate. Three gallons of French-wine at a communion on Whitson Sunday. Taking down the font-rope. Mending the iron that the houreglass standeth in. Ringing on the Coronation-day."

and says that he was plundered and suffered a long and tedious imprisonment in the nastiest part of the Tolbooth at Edinburgh, called the Thieves'-hole. He became chaplain to the Queen of Bohemia, was restored to the lecture in 1660, and died Bishop of Edinburgh in 1671. "Having been a prisoner, he was always careful at each dinner that he made, to send the first dish from his table to the prisoners."

1644-5. Jan. 18. Baillie and George Gillespie who were deputed to pass into Scotland, and report to the General Assembly the progress made by the Westminster Assembly, had left London on the 6th, on horseback, arrive at Newcastle "very weary, and fashed with a long evil way," and "the excursions of the enemy from Newark, hazardous." Jan. 19. Sunday. After preaching in St. Nicholas' church, Baillie and Gillespie rest. "God be thanked, Mr. Gillespie and I came hither yesternight, without one fall or any misaccident to any of our companie. It's a pity the officers should not be with the army; the mutinie here was dangerous and great. You must look to your army in England above all things. God helped me to speak my mind freely this day in Nicholas' church, and I trust shall help Mr. Gillespie to do the same presently, in the same place."—Jan. 20. They depart and arrive at Edinburgh on Wednesday.

1645. Feb. 16. The Trinity House gave "to Dr. Jenison for a gratuity, when he preached in Trinity House chapel, Jan. 5., when he administered the covenant, 1*l.* 10*s.*—March 17. The Trinity House "paid for beer which was bestowed on Mr. Thwing, schoolmaster, while he was writing the covenant in parchment, 1*s.* 6*d.* Paid for a skin of parchment for it, 8*d.*"

April 9. Order of common council enjoining all papists to depart out of the town, "the permitting of papists to inhabit in a garrison town being thought to be of dangerous consequence."

May 4. Baillie writes from London. The Independents in their sermons "are deviating more and more towards old and new errors, especially liberty of conscience." Has been assisting a subcommittee of the Commons, who are drawing two ordinances. "One for the practice of the Directory, wherein their punishment is as rigorous, if it be not mitigate, for the contemners of every part of that book, as it was before to the contemners of their religion. For preachers, or writers, or publishers against it, were they dukes and peers, their third fault is the loss of all their goods and perpetual imprisonment. The other ordinance is for the erection of Ecclesiastic courts over the whole kingdom."

May 26. Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, copied in the Common Council Books. "The towne of Newcastle uppon Tyne and the countie thereof hath by a malignant and wicked partie, ill affected to the Kinge and Parliament and the true Protestant religion, byn brought to greate extremitie and miserie.—The said towne cannot be reduced to due obedience and well governed, except the Delinquents therein be removed from the offices and places of trust, which formerly they held and enjoyed there and have abused to the prejudice and almost ruine of the said towne, and that others of fidelitie to the Kinge and Parliament be put into their roomes and places. The which cannot be speedily effected in the ordinarie and usual waie of election by and accordinge to the charters of the said towne.—(Marley the mayor and other officers removed and replaced

by Warmouth &c.)—Ordayned by the said Lords and Commons that Yealderd Alvey, now vicar of that towne, who is a notorious Delinquent *, be displaced and removed from his vicaridge and cure there †: and that Doctor Robert Jenison be viccar of the said towne in his place, and have receive and enjoye to his owne use all profitts and advantages belonginge to the said vicaridge and lecture in as large and ample a manner as the said Mr. Alvey might or ought to have enjoyed the same: And that Mr. Christopher Love and Mr. William Streuther, two ministers of God's word, or some other learned reverend divines, in case the said Mr. Love or Mr. Streuther cannot convenyently goe thither, be sent to preach the word of God there." [Proviso that the ordinance was not to prejudice the franchises of Newcastle in future.]

Thomas Turner, curate of St. Nicholas', ejected. (Brand, i. 316.) He "was Curate of St. Nicholas in Newcastle upon Tine, if I mistake not; I am sure it was somewhere in Northumberland, and turned out of that place, which was worth 40*l.* a year." (Walker, 423.)

John Clerk is mentioned by Walker as ejected from being "Curate and Lecturer of St. Andrew's (I presume in New Castle) worth 80*l.* p. ann. He was also plundered." Vide 1641.

1645. May 30. Amor Oxley, being a loyalist, was displaced from the mastership of the Grammar School by an order of the Lords and Commons, and was both sequestered and plundered. Edward Lumsden his under-usher about 1637 probably shared his fate. In his will of 1669, he mentions Lumsden as schoolmaster of Morpeth, and that "the free school in Newcastle lost its library when the town was stormed and plundered by the Scottish army, and I then also lost my own library." Nicholas Augar succeeded Oxley, with a salary of 40*l.* and other perquisites. Matthew Gouch, a graduate of Cambridge, was his usher.—Same day. Mr. Cuthbert Sydenham and Mr. William Durant were appointed by the Common Council to St. Nicholas' lecture, the former with a salary of 100*l.*, and the latter with one of 80*l.*—"Mr. Durant was not the wash-ball maker mentioned by Edwards in his Gangræna, but had university education, and was bred up in Exeter College, and took one if not more degrees there. But he was in no orders." (Dr. Ellison's MSS.)—"Cuthbert Sydenham, son of Cuthbert Sydenham, gent. was born at Truro in Cornwall, became a Commoner of St. Alban's Hall in Lent term, 1639, aged 17, continued there till the city of Oxford was garrisoned for the King; at which time being entertained by some of the 'godly party,' he became a forward zealot among them. About the year 1644, he became lecturer of St. Nicholas' church in Newcastle upon Tyne, without any orders, unless

* See the ordinance of Feb. 1644.

† Then worth above 200*l.* according to Walker. He was also ejected from Eglingham.

those of the Presbytery, conferred upon him ; where, by his constant and confident preaching, he obtained more respect from the brethren than any grave or venerable minister in that, or another corporation, could do." (Ath. Ox.) Vide p. 130. Besides his works afterwards noted, Wood mentions : "The False Brother : or the Mapp of Scotland drawn by an English Pencil. Printed in 4to." "Anatomy of John Lilbourn's Spirit and Pamphlets : or a Vindication of the two honourable patriots, Oliver Cromwell Lord Governor of Ireland and Sir Arthur Haselrigg Knight and Baronet : wherein the said Lilbourn is demonstratively proved to be a common lier, and unworthy of civil converse. Printed in 4to." "A Preface or Epistle before Quatermayns' Conquest over Canterbury's Court, &c. London, 1642, written by Roger Quartermayne of Oxfordshire."

July 18. Ordinance of the House of Commons for institution and induction of Mr. JONATHAN DEVEREUX, clerk, into the rectory of Gateshead.

July 21. The Council of NC. allowed Vicar Jennison a salary of 100*l.* and appointed him Thursday's lecturer.

Sep. 4. Order of Common Council for repairing St. Nicholas' steeple, "which should seem to imply that it had been much battered during the siege."

1645-6. Feb. 20. The Council augmented Vicar Jennison's salary from 100*l.* to 140*l.* and ordered a Friday afternoon lecture at All-Hallows. Mr. Harris, Mr. Sheffield, Mr. Sydenham, and Mr. Durant were the ministers appointed to it. It was to begin at 3 o'clock in winter, and 5 o'clock in summer.

1645-6. Gateshead. Mr. Joseph Brown, parson, who had continued in the Four and Twenty up to 1644 and 1645, has disappeared. "Making minyons to the church windowes and mending other places, 1*l.* 15*s.* [54 new iron barres were obtained for the windows and 30 old ones mended.] Nicholas Browne for glaizing the church-windowes [with plain glass ?] 9*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.* Paid by Timothie Heaton [a churchwarden] for charges in the court when the glaizner did arreast him, before mony could be procured, 4*s.* 8*d.* John Bourne for setting up table and seates when Mr. Tho. Curtaine did administer the communions, 7*s.* 6*d.* [June 1-5 for all these items.]. Timothie Heaton for six dailes for that use, 5*s.* Mending the pulpitt when Mr. Deverex came, 8*s.* John Willabie for setting up tables and seats for the communions, Diverex, 2*s.* 6*d.* [March, 1645-6.]. Ringing on the Coronation day and other two days, 7*s.* 6*d.* Christopher Gibson for a directory for Mr. Diverex, 8*d.*"

1646. A bell customarily rung at All Saints' every morning at 4 o'clock. So in 1691.

Daniel Gibson was usher of the free school of Newcastle.

April 29. Wednesday. "There was a monthly fast, the last Wednesday of every month, held duly for about seven years ; till, after the King's Death, we abolished it. Immense preaching and

howling, all over the country, there was on these stated Wednesdays ; sincere and insincere. Not to speak of due Thanksgivings for victories and felicities innumerable ; all ending in "—what Cromwell thought an "infelicitous condition. His Excellency thinks (July 4, 1653) we ought to restrain such habits ; not to imitate Ephraim, or the Long Parliament, in such." In Oliver's speech to the Little Parliament, he says "only this Scripture I shall remember to you, which hath been much upon my spirit : *Hosea*, xi. 12, 'Judah yet ruleth with God, and is faithful with the Saints.' It's said before, that 'Ephraim compassed God about with lies, and the house of Israel with deceit.' How God hath been compassed about by fastings and thanksgivings, and other exercises and transactions, I think we have all cause to lament." (Carlyle, iii. 281.) This fast this month was adjourned until Thursday, the next day, in order to fall with that of the Scots. (See 1648)—April 30. Fast by the Scots and their sympathizers. Jennison preached his "Return of the Sword." "It is not above eight moneths, I take it, (Septem. 1645) that this town, with the adjacent counties, were in great fears, by reason of the prevailing of the E. of Monross and his party, who being at that time master of all Scotland made his approaches very neer to England (his scouts, as is said, being then come within it :) though, upon the fears and prayers of his people of both kingdoms, by a miraculous providence he was met withal, routed, scattered, and himself sent back to his mountains (by Major General Middleton): a mercy, by us of this place, and (as may be thought, by others also) too soon forgotten. And now we hear of a dangerous band, under the name of an humble Remonstrance, &c. tending to the violating and subversion of our Covenants, say our brethren of Scotland in a late Declaration of theirs (Declaration of the Commissioners of the General assembly in Scotland), raising and fomenting jealousies in Scotland and between both kingdoms, prolonging of the unnatural wars, and impeding the intended uniformity in religion. They hereupon, calling it and looking upon it as a banding Remonstrance, a Divisive Band, and seeing their land threatened with a new breach from the North, and in consideration of the late shameful backsliding and compliance of many with the enemies, of their want of reformation, and not taking warning by late judgments of sword and pestilence, of their senceless ingratitude for drawing back his hand of pestilence, and for giving a little breathing from the cruel insulting enemy, and confessing it just with God to send new troubles &c. They hereupon, I say, have appointed a solemn fast (Thursday, April 30) to seek God, and that God, in the might of his power, would crush this cockatrice egg, that it break not forth into a fiery flying serpent &c. Now they, and we, especially in these northern parts of England, being, upon the like grounds, in the same ship of danger, and the day of our own monethly fast (April 29) calling on us for like duty, we cannot but sympathize and joyn with them." "How light have we made of Christ the Lord who was given us by

a Covenant ? of his faithful ministers, the messengers of his Covenant, and of their message and ministry, whom we silenced, molested, banished ?" "We have sought to bring idolatry and popish superstition into the land again, and have given way too far to the practise of it by Papists and such as were popishly affected." "We have endeavoured, yea actually have pulled down and taken away many lectures and afternoon sermons, and silenced or driven away such ministers as were most faithful, painful, and constant in preaching, yea, even in that regard." "Have we not declined and been corrupted in doctrine, worship and manners, God's Sabbath turned to play-day, masks and plays instead of afternoon sermons, and that even at court?" The vicar defends the power of ministers to foretel of judgments according to experience gathered from Scripture, by the forewarning of the late troubles "as with one mouth by the faithful ministers of Jesus Christ." He had learned no toleration by his own troubles. "Our Parliament hath given good hopes of a reformation according to God's word, and a bringing us back to the covenant of our God both in matter of doctrine, discipline, and a more holy life; yet whilst this main work of God goeth so slowly forward, whilst discipline is not yet settled nor so bounded as it should be, and whilst such connivence, if not, in effect, a toleration is suffered for men to speak, hold, write, and do what they list, that men may make themselves vile, and yet by no law be restrained or frowned upon . . we have no cause to be secure, but to fear the return of the sword. . . God will not be dallyed withal." To this subject the preacher returns, the great breach of covenant in his eyes being the non-reformation of religion in England and Ireland (the religion of Scotland being already satisfactory) and the non-extirpation of "popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism &c.," according to the provisions of the Solemn League and Covenant. "It amazeth me . . why God doth not from heaven visibly and remarkably shew his vengeance not only on the heretics, schismatics, and profane libertines themselves, but on such as have more power given them of God to restrain at least such evils than they use or than they will use, whereby at least a secret and implicit, if not open toleration is allowed to all sorts." It is remarkable that among the prophesied evils, which befell the chosen people in old time, and are threatened by Jennison, he specially notes "the loss of their king or of their kingly government. . . . These two together made their misery complete. . . . The Lord give grace and wisdom . . that our averseness to, or looseness in our keeping our vows with God and man bring not like evils upon us. Amen."

May 15. Alexander Henderson arrived at Newcastle, to endeavour to convert Charles I. to Presbyterianism. See Aiton's Life of Henderson, p. 586 *et seq.* for the vital importance both to the Scots and Charles of this step. See also D'Israeli as to the controversy. —May 15. Baillie writes from London. "Our great perplexity is for the King's disposition.—I hope Mr. Hendersone is with him this

night at Newcastle; the Chancellor takes journey thither to-morrow. By God's help, they will endeavour make him take the Covenant, and be fully directed to follow the advice of his Parliament. If he do so, we expect from God presently a happy peace; if his induration be remediless, our army will not shelter him: for, by God's grace, do he what he will, we shall be honest, and stick by our covenant, how greatly soever this people suspects, measuring us by their own hearts."—May 16. Baillie to Henderson. "Many here long to hear the King's resolution, and more to hear the resolution of our nation. If God help you to make him quickly do his duty, this people seem ready to welcome him.—The great God help you to soften that man's heart.—He must either yield to reason, and altogether change his principles, or else he will fall in tragic miseries.—If that man now go to tinkle on bishops and delinquents, and such foolish toys, it seems he is mad.—Let me intreat you—if it be God's pleasure to deny the success, not to vex yourself more than is meet—but woe to these villains who has bewitched, poisoned, and infatuated a good prince, for his own and so many millions' ruin."—May 19. Baillie to Henderson. "The Commons voted to-day that our army shall be gone; and that when we go, 50,000*l.* shall be given us, and other 50 when the garrisons are delivered, an evidence, among many moe, of this people's intentions towards us. Every circumstance is written daily from the North to our unfriends. There is much talk here by all sorts of people of the King's obstinacy; that he is the longer the worse, and refuses all reason; the faction rejoices herein; this disposition contributes exceedingly to their wicked design; all our friends are very sorry for it. Except God help you, that you have occasion to let us know shortly there is a great change, we will not know whither to turn us. Our perplexity for him and ourselves for the present is very great. If he would do his duty, in spite of all knaves, all would in a moment go right. But, if God have hardened him, so far as I can perceive, this people will strive to have him in their power, and make an example of him. I abhor to think of it what they speak of execution. Every hour of his delay gives advantage to these men, who makes it their work to steal votes every day, to engage the nations, and to make him irreconcilable. It has been his constant unhappiness to give nothing in time. All things have been given at last, but he has ever lost the thanks, and his gifts have been counted constrained and extorted. If Ashburnhame be keeped, we will not be able to bide this people's clamours. But enough of this: a blind man sees, that if he resolve to play the madman longer, he will be forced to do it within narrower bounds."

June 16. Robert Urthwart or Urguart sent to the Common Council a recantation of his principles, and expressed his sorrow for having preached against the Parliament. His salary of 20*l.* had been augmented by the Council to 40*l.* on 2 Oct. 1643.

He suffered in the beginning of the civil wars, afterwards went

beyond the seas, turned papist, and died in a convent. (Walker.) Durant and Sydenham officiated as lecturers at St. John's, one in the forenoons, and the other on the afternoons, after the removal of Urquart, and before they were settled in other churches in the town.

June 26. Baillie to Spang. "While we had given satisfaction for Ashburnhame and Hudson's escape, as indeed we were free from fault therein, behold the villain Hudson, as it's like by the King's direction, puts himself in the Parliament's hands, and makes grievous complaints of us, as Ashburnhame also did by his letters from over-sea, as if we had drawn the King to our army by fair promises; and when we had gotten him, we did use him roughly as a prisoner, and in nothing gave him contentment."—"Our great fear is now from the King: his wilfulness is very great.—If the King will not return upon just terms what to do with him we cannot tell." I must refer to Laing's edition of Baillie's Letters, &c., for the continued correspondence during Charles's stay at Newcastle. It abounds with interest. At the close of July, the intention to form a republican government is spoken of as the general sentiment if the King persisted.

Aug. 1. Ambrose Barnes apprenticed. (p. 50.)

Aug. 4. Baillie, at London, to Alex. Henderson. "The King's madness has confounded us all. We know not what to do, nor what to say. We know well the weight that lies on your heart. I fear this be the fountain of your disease. Yet, I am sure, if you would take courage and digest what cannot be got amended, and if, after the shaking off melancholy thoughts, the Lord might be pleased to strengthen you at this time, you would much more promote the honour of God, the welfare of Scotland and England, and the comfort of many thousands, than you can do by weakening your body and mind with such thoughts as are unprofitable."—Same day, to Spang. "The King's answer has broken our heart: we see nothing but a sea of new more horrible confusions. We are afraid of the hardness of God's decree against that mad man, and against all his kingdoms. We look above to God; for all below is full of darkness."—Aug. 7. Baillie to Spang. "Mr. Henderson is dying most of heartbreak at Newcastle."—Aug. 10. Mr. Alexander Henderson is gone from Newcastle into Scotland sick.—Aug. 17. Henderson's will.—Aug. 31. News by letters from the North. Mr. Henderson, the Scottish minister, who went from Newcastle to Edinburgh, seemed much discontented that he was frustrate in his expectations, in that he could not persuade his Majesty to a compliance, and to sign the propositions, fell sick at Edinburgh, and there died *.

"About the beginning of September, James Duke Hamilton, Lindsey Earl of Craford, the Earl of Cassiles, and some others from

* Perfect Diurnal. See, as to Henderson's affecting death more particularly, Aiton's Life of him, pp. 595 et seq.

the Estates of Scotland, came to Newcastle to the King and there earnestly solicited him to take the Covenant, and sign the proposition. (Perfect Diurnal, pp. 1303, 1304.) To second which motion, there was a petition presented to His Majesty from the general Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, for Reformation of Religion, according to the Covenant, and uniformity of Church government; denouncing God's anger upon him, and the hazard to lose the hearts of his good subjects, in case he assented not thereto.

"Soon after which, Mr. Andrew Cant, Mr. Robert Blayre, and Mr. James Douglass came (Ibid. p. 1317) thither also to press him to the same purpose. To torment him likewise yet more, one of these violent men (I mean a rigid Presbyterian preacher) besides many rude and uncivil expressions (Ib. p. 1419) in his sermon there before the King, called for the 52 Psalm to be sung by the congregation, which beginneth thus—'Why do'st thou, tyrant, boast abroad, thy wicked works to praise?' Whereupon His Majesty instantly stood up, and called for the 56 Psalm, beginning thus—'Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray, for men would me devour:' which the people readily sung, waiving the other *."

Sep. 10. The Scottish Commissioners at London address "the Right Reverend Mr. Robert Douglass, minister at Edinburgh, Mr. Robert Blair, minister at St. Andrew's, Master Andrew Cant, minister at Aberdeane, and Mr. John Smith, minister at Bruntyland, all now at Newcastle." (Baillie.)

1646. Dec. 23. The Mercurius Diutinus notices the first publication at Newcastle by Stephen Bulkley, the King's printer. "In the meantime, they have given us a bone to pick in these two kingdoms, called 'An answer sent to the Ecclesiastical Assembly at London, by the reverend, noble, and learned man, John Diodate, the famous Professor of Divinity, and most vigilant pastor of Genevah, translated out of Latin into English,' which is in truth a piece of prelatical forgery, a very fiction drawn up by some of their creatures here in England, and (most unworthily) published in the name of that reverend divine, said to be printed at Genevah for the good of Great Britain, 1646, but printed by the new printer that went from York to the Court at Newcastle. And the author of it tells us himself that he is a Protestant Malignant in his last note at the end of it (the profession of the new sect of *Newcastle Covetiers*)."

1647. A second edition of the work alluded to, with less than a page of note written by Charles I. under the title of "The King's Possessions, written by His Majesty's own hand, annexed by way of notes to a letter sent to the Ecclesiastical Assembly at London, in answer to a letter sent to them. Newcastle: Printed by Stephen Bulkley, Printer to the King's Majesty. 1647." pp. 12. See further in Arch. Æl. vi. 227.

* Dugdale's Short View of the late troubles in England; 1681, p. 220. The story of the psalm is more than a mere tradition.

1646-7. Gateshead. "Received in the church at 2 communions (for the poore), 19*s.* 6*d.*"—"Mr. Roberts and Mr. Patrike Duncon for preaching four sermons in Gaitshead church, 1*l.* 5*s.* Ralph Thompson, for ryding to Durham about the sosiation, 4*s.* Ringing on the Coronation day, 1*s.* 6*d.* Ralph Addison, for procureing an order to gather the tyeth, 4*s.*"

1646-7. Jan. 26. Baillie, returned to Edinburgh, says, "We stayed eight or nine days at Newcastle. The King took very well with me. I might have had occasion to have said to him what I pleased; but, knowing his fixed resolutions, I would not meddle at all neither to preach nor pray before him."—"There was some whispering of the sectaries plotting with him; but this I scarce believe; for each of them does really labour the others overthrow."—"It's very like, if he had done any duty, though he had never taken the Covenant, but permitted it to be put in an Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, and given so satisfactory an answer to the rest of the propositions as easily he might, and sometimes I know he was willing, certainly Scotland had been with him as one man." The letter is well worth referring to. See it in Baillie, ii. 5.

Feb. 3. Charles I. left Newcastle. See p. 54. "All the way, especially in towns, the people in wonderful multitudes crying out, 'Hosanna, God save the King,' rejoicing to see him: others, the wiser sort, weeping and sadly prophesying what after fell out." (Sanderson.)

Feb. 15. Letter from the Speaker of the House of Commons for the settling of the presbiteriall government "in this towne and countie."

Feb. 27. Nicholas Augar resigned the mastership of the free school on account of ill health.

1647. Rushworth says that "the well-affected in Newcastle are much cast down that a malignant party in that town are so prevalent, domineering it over the honest party, as they have lately done in putting a minister into the parish of Gateside, and a clerk of the same stamp, who was once a master-gunner in the Earl of Newcastle's army *."

Thomas Weld put into the rectory of Gateshead by the sequestrators.

Ex-Vicar Alvey published "The Humble Confession and Vindication of them who suffered much and still suffer, under the Name of Malignants and Delinquents." (Walker.)

April. The Corporation paid "for ringing on the coronation day at the four churches, 17*s.*"

Ap. 5. Order of Common Council to fix Mr. Stephen Dockray at St. Andrew's, where he had been for some time on trial, salary 80*l.*

* Mr. Jonathan Devereux, who had become minister in July, 1645, was buried at St. Nicholas', NC., 2 Mar. 1663.

He was of the Presbyterian judgment, and was established in his post by the same authority 20 June, 1660, and was buried at his church 11 Aug. 1660. Between the above dates, "Mr. John Wigham, preacher of the word," was buried there, 21 Jan. 1652. Brand questions whether he belonged to St. Andrew's.

June 14. THOMAS WOOLFAL settled by the Common Council at St. John's, to preach forenoon and afternoon, with a salary of 150*l.*

July 5. Mr. Sydenham was settled singly at St. Nicholas' on Sunday afternoons with a salary of 100*l.* per annum. Mr. RICHARD PRIDEAUX [of the Congregational judgment] appointed afternoon lecturer and Mr. William Durant morning lecturer at All Saints'.

1647. All Saints'. "Paid for a copy of two orders past in Common Council concerning Mr. Prideaux, 1*s.*"

1647-8. Gateshead. "Letten to Elizabeth, wife of Stephen Hopper, a seat on the south side where Mrs. Grace Liddell did sitt, in number 8, 4*s.*—Letten to Mr. John Clifton a seate where Claudius Hamilton did sitt." An immense number of travelling Irish were relieved here this year. "Received in the church for one gathering for the poore distressed prodistans in Ireland, 2*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* Paid Mr. Elizaser Gilbert, minister, by order of the 24, 1*l.* 15*s.* (May). A minister for his paines on Lord's-day, 10*s.* (June). To Mr. [Edward *erased*] Stot, preacher of God's word, 1*l.* A minister that came from Ireland, 7*s.* 4*d.* (Dec.). A minister pro preaching on Lord's-day, 10*s.* (Jan.) Rining the bells one the Cownenation day, 2*s.* (March 27) Mr. Stott, 1*l.* Mr. Stott for serving the cure in this church, 4*l.* (April.)

1648. "The Return of the Sword or a Divine Prognostick Delivered in a Sermon at Newcastle: Manifesting that breach of Covenant is a Prognostick of the return of the Sword. By Robert Jenison, Dr. of D. Levit. 26. 25. I will bring a Sword upon you, that shal avenge the Quarrel of my Covenant. Ezek. 17. 18, 19. Seeing he hath despised the Oath by breaking the Covenant (when lo he had given his hand) he shal not escape. As I live, saith the Lord, surely mine Oath that he hath despised, and my Covenant that he hath broken, even it wil I recompence on his own head. London, Printed by John Macock, for Luke Fawne, at the sign of the Parrot in Paul's Church-yard. MDCXLVIII." Small 4to, pp. 36 and title. "To the indifferent reader. These sermon notes, lying by me, having been delivered on the day of a solemn fast, (Thursday, April 30. 1646) kept, as by the kingdom of Scotland and by their garrison here, so by us, who sympathizing with them, conceived their dangers and fears to be ours, and who (for that one time) made our day of solemn humiliation theirs, which yet we kept (for the place) alone by ourselves; and finding that, in all likelihood, they may be as usefull at this time as then, and may tend to our warning, by way of prevention; howsoever, to God's glory and the justifying and

magnifying of his ways, whether of justice or of mercie ; I conceived it would conduce to those ends, if, transcribing, and, here and there, enlarging the same, I made them, in this juncture of time, more publick.—Newcastle, March 23. 1647-8."

This seems to be the proper place to speak of the rise of the Baptists. In their earlier progress, they were generally termed Anabaptists or Re-baptizers, a term which became less appropriate to settled churches whose converts were few. Before 1649, their numbers were but scanty. In 1633 the first Particular (i. e. Calvinistic) Baptist church sprang out of the first Independent church in London. Another secession took place in 1639, and thereupon another church was formed at Crutched Friars, by Messrs. Green, *P. Hobson* *, and Captain Spencer. In 1646, a confession by "the seven churches of London commonly, but unjustly, called Anabaptists," was addressed to Parliament. It is signed by a Thomas Gower. Col. Robert Lilburn, Governor of Newcastle in 1647, was a Baptist. In 1649 the doctrine spread much in the army (Douglas), and Colonel Paul Hobson, appointed deputy-governor of Newcastle in 1648 (Brand), was closely connected with the church there. (Douglas's Baptist Churches.) A Mr. Paul Hobson was ejected from the chaplaincy of Eton College on the Restoration. (Calamy.) Mr. Thomas Gower or Goare seems to have been the first minister of the Newcastle church. In 1652 the Baptists of Hexham describe the Newcastle church as the only one in those parts in the possession of the faith before themselves.

"O Friends! no Friends. To King, Church and State. Or, Thames Twede and Tyne paraell'd with Romes Tyber and Kingpoysoning Po. With Positions and Practices from Rome and from Rhemes, from Edenburgh and Geneva, poiz'd to some purpose, as the case now stands: and, Presented to all impartiall Patriots and Presbyterians. By Veridicus, præterea nihil. London, Printed by R. Austin. 1648." Small 4to. pp. 21 and title.

Ap. 5. An addition of 40*l.* to Mr. Sydenham's stipend from the Corporation.

Aug. 29. George Ritschel was appointed master of Newcastle School. In 1649, 10*l.* additional salary was granted him for his industry and careful discharge of his duty. He removed to Hexham in 1655 or 1656.

In this year, a "rogueish petition" and a "rogueish letter" in support of the Army, demanding justice on the King, "and the fomentors of, and actors in the first and second wars and the late bringing in of the Scots," were sent to Parliament from the Mayor, Common-Council, and the rest of the well-affected of the town of NC. They are tolerably well printed in Bourne, p. 237. In Dr. Hunter's MSS. there are copies, and it appears that the second one was written on 14 Oct. 1648. The 84 signatures to the first one,

* He is said to have preached at Moorfields after being released from prison.

which must have been before Oct. 2, differ somewhat from Bourne's print, and have some additions, and as they will well bear reproduction in this volume, I give them, premising that the italics, and the marks —, =, and + occur in the Doctor's copy.

Tho. Ledger Mayor
Thomas Bonner
Jn°. Richardson
Wm. Dawson
—Michaell Bonner
Richard Baker
James Jaxson
Richard Ward
Robt. Carr
—Robt. Plimpton
John Mowe
Robt. Young Aldr.
Geo. Fenwicke
Geo. Dawson
—Geo. Blaixston
William Bonner
Peter Burrill
Jn°. Lodge
Geo. Beadnall
—Tho. Erington
Postmr.
Pheneas Allan Senr.

Robt. Dalton
Robt. Ogle
Wm. Thompson
=*James Turner*
+*Hen. Rawling*
Sam. Rawling
Rich. Readhead
Tho. Smith
—Jn°. Pigg
Cuth. Nicholson
Cuth. Wilson
Tho. Betson
Tho. Trumble
—Tho. Foster
Edward Reed Brewer
Timothy Bonner
Francis Hall
Tho. Young
—Tho. Blunt—
Geo. Carr, hanged himself
Peter Taylor
John Watson door keeper

Edw. Kirton
—Geo. Usher
Hen. Bell Anchor Sm.
John Spurn
Tho. Mallard
Jn° Hall junr.
—Hen. Hawxworth
Pheneas Allan junr.
Ant. Robinson
Rob. Blaigden
Tho. Wilson
—Robt. Carr Taylor
Hen. Bowes
Wm. Wilkinson
Wm. Armstrong
Rob. Sharp
—Hen. Heighley
Tho. Millburn
Samuell Powell
Hen. Barber
Richard March
—John Tailor
Peter Story
Edw. Stockdale

James Chantler
Humph. Flint
—Fran. Tarnis
Rich. Binfield
Rich. Knowelles
John Readhead
John Bird
—Geo. Penckerton
Boatman
Tho. Tailor
Christo. Greetham
John Witfield Hatter
Wm. Thompson Smith
—John Hall senr.
Ralph Dining
Geo. Ayre
James Smith
Christo. Ellison

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Oct. 2. As Thomas Bonner, Mayor elected, was coming from the Spittle to go to his dwelling-house upon the Sand-Hill, Edmund Marshall threw a long stick at the lighted torches which the serjeants were carrying, and struck divers of them out, and, it being dark, stones &c. were flung.

Nov. 24. The garrison of NC. with others declare that "all other endeavours are to little purpose while the grand delinquent is untouched, as being not an acceptable sacrifice to the justice of God to offer him ought else, while the Agag is spared."

Mar. 19. Ex-Vicar Alvey buried in his church of St. Nicholas'. Walker says that his death was hastened, as was thought, by his sufferings. His numerous children were reduced to great straights, and they subsisted in good measure by charity.

1648-9. Gateshead. "Received of Robert Cornforth for one year's rent due in 1646 for one halfe of the Parsonage-garth, 8*s.* 9*d.* *Ittem* for 4 Parsongates and 2 Baliffgates, [i. e. rights of common of the Rector and Bishop's Bailiff], 2*l.* 16*s.*—Paid Mr. Robinson a minister that came from Ireland, 2*s.* (May). A minister one Lordesday, 10*s.* A minyon and other helps to the church, 11*s.* One iron barr for the church window, nailes for the stage, 2*s.* 7*d.* (Aug.). Setting the 2 pinacles upon the steeple and other worke upon the church, 4*s.* 2*d.* (Jan.). Mr. Story an Irish minister, his wife and 4 children, 3*s.* 6*d.* (Feb.). An iron for the halfe houre glasse, 2*s.* 6*d.* A halfe houre glasse, 8*d.*" [The bells silent on the Coronation-day.]

1649. "The Faithful Depository of Sound Doctrine and Antient Truths, maintained against all oppositions of science, falsely so-called,

and against the prophane and vain babblings of unsound teachers; or a Treatise on the 1st Tim. vi. 20. By R. J., Dr. D., with the Author's farewell to his hearers, readers, if not to the world. Newcastle, printed by S. B., 1649." Upwards of 50 pages.

"The Papers Which passed at Nevv-Castle betwixt His Sacred Majestie and Mr Alex: Henderson: Concerning the Change of Church-Government. Anno Dom. 1646. London, Printed for R. Royston, at the Angel in Ivie-lane M. DC. XL. IX." 12mo. pp. 58 and title and frontispiece. The frontispiece is inscribed "Guil: Marshall sculp:" and represents "Fidei Defensor" drawing "Scotica Ecclesia" on Scotland depicted on a globe.

Gray's Chorographia. "There is four churches and parishes in this town. The first is Saint Nicholas', in the midst of the town, a long, fair, and high church, having a stately high stone steeple, with many pinnacles, a stately stone lanthern standing upon four stone arches, builded by Robert de Rhodes, Lord Prior of Tinemouth in Henry VI. days. It lifteth up a head of majesty, as high above the rest as the cypress tree above the low shrubs. In this church is many porches, especially Saint George's or the Kings porch, built by some of the kings of this land. In it [the church] are many sumptuous windows. That in the east surpasseth all the rest in height, largeness, and beauty, where the twelve apostles, seven deeds of charity &c. built by Roger de Thornton, a great benefactor of this town.—2. Is Allhallows,'—having a broad and square church, and more populous than all the three other parishes, and able to contain more people than the rest, having three galleries.—3. Church is St. John's, a pretty little church, commended by an arch-prelate of this kingdom, because it resembleth much a cross.—4. St. Andrew's the ancientest of all the four, as appeareth by the old building and fashion of the church. —The parson of the town is the bishop of Carlile, who hath his vicar or substitute, and a fair old house belonging to the vicar."

Mar. 26. "The petition concerning witches was read, and ordered that thankes be returned to the petitioners, and the common council will contribute their best assistance therein." (Common Council books.) See the whole sad history in Gardner's England's Grievance Discovered.

Sep. 24. The Common Council agreed "to save harmless Dr. Robert Jennison from dilapidations concerning the vicarage-house," which appears to have been almost entirely destroyed by the Scots. Its successor is described by Bourne as standing "at least equally pleasant with the other houses in Westgate (a street more retired than any other in this town—chiefly inhabited by the clergy and gentry) being situated in the middle of fields and gardens, and more retired, being at some distance from the street. Who it was that built this house, I have not been able to learn; but it is not improbable that it was the town of Newcastle, who has been always famous for its generosity to its clergy; as the vicarage itself in particular must always acknowledge. It is at present more beautiful and con-

venient than it was wont to be, having been repaired and enlarged in the year 1694, by the Rev. and worthy Dr. Ellison, the then vicar. There is a Hall belonging to this house, built in a very grand and stately manner, according to the hospitality of the times it was built in. In particular, it was the place where the vicars of Newcastle were wont to entertain the inferior officers of churches, the clerks, sextons, &c. at the season of Christmas. If I am not very much mistaken, there are many still living, who remember this laudable custom."

Nov. 18. The Common Council confirmed the yearly stipend of 140*l.* to Dr. Jennison.

Dec. 13. Letters from Newcastle "that many witches were apprehended thereabout of late, that the witch-tryer taking a pin, and thrusting it into the skin, in many parts of their bodies, they were insensible of it, which is one circumstance of proof against them." (Whitelock.)

1649-50. Gateshead. Sir Francis Liddell omitted from the Four and Twenty. Sir Thomas Riddell and Mr. Raiph Cole retained. "Ringing September 10th, 3*s.* 6*d.* Ringing upon the thanksgiving day for the same newes, 4*s.* 4*d.* A poore blind minister, 3*s.* 6*d.* Another poore minister, 2*s.* Goeing to the justices about the witches, 4*s.* The constables for carying the witches to jaole, 4*s.* Given them in the Tolebooth and carying the witches to Durham, 4*s.* Spent in intertaineing all the Newcastle ministers when Mr. Weld * our minister was installed here, 1*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* Thus farr of Sanderson's disbursements. Item, spent when Mr. Weld came first, 3*s.* A grave for a witch, 6*d.* Trying the witches, 1*l.* 5*s.* An iron bowe for the gallery, 3*s.* 6*d.* Hedging the Parsons Flatt, 1*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.* Paid at Mris. Watson's when the justices sate to examine the witches, 3*s.* 4*d.* The cushion for the pulpitt, 1*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*"

1650. July 15. Cromwell arrived at Newcastle on his way to Dunbar. During his stay there was a fast kept to implore God's blessing upon the army's undertaking. (Whitelock.)

Aug. The Corporation paid for ringing at *three* churches by order of Mr. Mayor, 26 July, 1650, being a day of thanksgiving for the great victory obtained in Ireland."

Aug. 21. One wizard and fourteen witches of Newcastle, with nine thieves and a witch of Northumberland executed upon the Town Moor. (St. Andrew's Reg.)

Sep. The Corporation paid "for ringing at *three* churches the 5th of September, 1650, for the defeat given to the Scotch army."

October. The Corporation paid for "the cleansing of Nicholas' Church, where the Scots prisoners was kept one whole night, 5*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.*: for coals and candles for the guards at Nicholas'

* Weld had formerly been minister at Terling in Essex; but, not submitting to the ceremonies, he was forced to quit it and go over to New England. He wrote a work on the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of Antinomianism in New England, and another vindicating the new churches in the same colony against W. R. (Calamy.)

church, and for two tar barrels to burn naughty meat with, 8*s.*: William Whittaker, grave maker of All Hallows', for making of 23 graves for the Scotch prisoners, at 4*d.* per grave, 7*s.* 8*d.*

Oct. 31. Sir Arthur Haslerigge, Governor of Newcastle, writes to the Council of State touching the Scots prisoners after the battle of Dunbar. "When they came to Morpeth, the prisoners being put into a large walled garden, they eat up raw cabbages, leaves and roots, so many, as the very seed and labour, at 4*d.* a day, was valued at 9*l.*, which cabbage (they having fasted, as they themselves said, near eight days) poisoned their bodies; for as they were coming from thence to Newcastle, some died by the wayside. When they came to Newcastle, I put them into the greatest church in the town; and the next morning, when I sent them to Durham, about 140 were sick and not able to march. Three died that night, and some fell down in their march from Newcastle to Durham and died." "Out of the 3000 prisoners that my officers told into the cathedral church of Durham, 300 of them and 50 from Newcastle out of the 140 left behind were delivered to Major Clarke by order of the council. There are about 500 sick in the castle, and about 600 yet in health in the cathedral, the most of which are in all probability Highlanders, they being hardier than the rest, and we have no other means to distinguish them. About 1600 are dead and buried and about 60 officers are at the marshal's in Newcastle."

Nov. 18. Petition of Common Council to alter the market days from Mondays and Saturdays to Tuesdays and Fridays "both in this towne and in places adjacent, in respect Saturdays and Mondays were dayes that caused the Lord's Day to be much prophaned by travellers goinge and travellinge." A bill as to the Monday was passed in the House of Commons, June 8, 1651.

Dec. 9. "Mr. John Allen," supposed to have been a dissenting minister, occurs in the register of St. Nicholas'.

1650-1. Gateshead. No list of the Four and Twenty.

1650-1. February. The Corporation paid "for ringing at *three* churches the 30th January, being a public day of thanksgiving [for the death of Charles I.], 18*s.* 10*d.*"

1651. Several of the pinnacles of St. Nicholas' spire being blown down by a violent west wind it was repaired and restored to its former splendour. (Hodgson, from "MS. authority.")

June. "Thomas Powell, preacher," supposed to have been a dissenter, occurs in St. Nicholas' register.

Sep. 3. Mr. Elkana or Elikia Wales or Walles, preacher of God's word, and Mrs. Mary Butler, widow, married at St. John's, by Mr. Richard Stote, preacher of God's word. See p. 55.

1651. Sep. 15. Stones granted out of the Mannors for the underbuilding and buttressing All Saints church wall. (Common Council Bks.)

Jan. 30. Ten shipwrights fined by their brethren for working, "being a thanksgiving-day."

Mar. 8. "Robert Jenison, D.D. Thomas Wolfull, Richard

Prideaux, William Durant, Thomas Weld, Samuel Hammond, and Cuthbert Sydenham," ministers of Newcastle, write to Oliver Cromwell, complaining that Captain Robert Everard was preaching Arminian and Socinian doctrines to their flocks as well as to the garrison, and was encouraged in so doing by Lieutenant-Colonel Mason (who commanded the garrison in Colonel Fairfax's absence) and by Captain Pimme. After proceeding a very bitter strain, they say "the town's people are induced, and the soldiers warned by beat of drum, frequently to attend his delusions." On the same day "Cuthbert Sidenham, lately of St. Alban's Hall, now a Presbyterian Preacher at Newcastle," was created M.A. (Fasti Oxon. ii. 94.) This was by virtue of letters sent to the members of Convocation from the Committee of Parliament for regulating the University, which stated "that he hath long since full time for taking the degree of M.A., and is likewise of sufficient abilities in learning, whereof he hath given large and public evidence, both by his writings in asserting the cause of the Parliament, and otherwise: That though he cannot for his pressing occasions perform his exercises for that degree, yet he hath performed some part of them before the enemies possessing Oxon &c." (Ath. Ox. ii. 171.)

1651-2. Gateshead. No list of the Four and Twenty. "The newe seate in the churchyard, 1*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*"

1652. St. Andrew's church repaired by an assessment upon the houses and lands in the parish.

"The Pourtraicture of the Primitive Saints in their actings and sufferings, according to St. Paul's Canon and Catalogue. Heb. 11. [xi.]—By J. S. Presb. Angl. Newcastle, Printed by S. B. 1652." Pot 4to. pp. 153 besides title. Wood says of this Pourtraicture as follows:—"One part whereof, to verse 23 was preached at Newcastle, 1652. The other from verse 22 to the end was preached at the same place an. 1659. Both which were afterwards published in quarto." According to the same authority, John Shaw the author was a minister's son, born at Bedlington, and educated by Thomas Ingmethorp Rector of Stainton in the Street. He became a batler of Brazen-nose College in 1629, when aged 15 or thereabouts. Walker says that in 1645 he was instituted and admitted to Whalton rectory, but not permitted to enjoy it, being a royalist, and was ejected from the Lectureship of All Saints'. It and Whalton were worth together about 180*l.* With much ado he obtained Bolton in Craven which, being only 50*l.*, he was permitted to keep during the affliction of the church of England. He was imprisoned four years by the rebels. So far the statements of Wood and Walker. The name does not occur among the Bedlington incumbents and lecturers of All Saints', but a John Shaw, (qu. if not his father) was lecturer at St. John's in 1614 &c. and from 1632 to 1637 when he died, and this John filled the same office at the Restoration. His age at his death in 1689, according to his monument, 77, differs in two years from that stated for him in 1629 *.

* M. I., St. John's. Brand, ii. 113.

The Common-Council of Newcastle give 20*l.* to Mr. Wells, minister of Gateshead, for his good services to the town of Newcastle.

July 5. Mention in the Newcastle Common-council books, of "sessing all the lands in Gateshead, for the building of the minister's house," and leave asked "to sess the town lands [i. e. those of Newcastle] in Gateshead for that purpose."

July 30. The Common Council ordered that upon Monday after the Judges comeing to this towne Mr. Durand be desired to preach before them.

Sep. 29. The Society of Drapers by their ordinary of this date are ordered to choose two auditors annually in St. George's Porch, St. Nicholas' church. Their electors are also to claim their place in the church, which was the north side in St. George's porch, under a penalty.

Oct. 21. Died "Thomas Wolfall, pastor of St. John's," whose escutcheon so marked was placed in the north aisle. His widow was left with children, and, on 15 Sep. 1654, the common council allowed 10*l.* yearly to her. His monument, erected by his widow E. W., calls him "Thomas Wolfallus in agro Lancast' natus, theologus celeberrimus." "But the Newcastle Presbyterian ["Woolfall," in margine] who was after his death honoured with a monument, with high elogies in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin [printed in Brand, ii. 676] was more than Jesuitical in his doctrines, which were these. 1. All Government is derived from the people. 2. The governours appointed by them, in case of male-administration, are to be questioned by them. 3. If the preservation of the King's person be incompatible with the preservation of ourselves, and our religion, then the deposition was no breach of covenant. 4. In the oath of allegiance a condition is implied, viz. to be true to the King so long and so far as he is true to his trust, otherwise the obligation ceaseth. 5. In the deposition of the King his posterity ceaseth as to that right. 6. We justify not the persons proceeding against the King, but we justify the fact." (Shaw's No Reformation of the Established Reformation, p. 192.)

1652. "The Doctrine and Practice of Renovation, Wherein is discovered, What the New Nature, and New Creature is; Its Parts, Causes, The Manner and Meanes also how it may be attained. By Thomas Wolfall, Mr. of Arts, and late Preacher of the Word of God in Newcastle upon Tyne.—Gateside: Printed by S. B. 1652." 12mo. pp. 246, errata 1 leaf, title, dedication and contents, 16 leaves. The next year we have the same book with a different title-page. "Printed by S. Bulkeley, and are to be sold at his House in Hillgate 1653."

Oct. 24. Buried, at St. Andrew's, "Robart Fenwick, a child, which was drowned in the Bares Mylldam, wher he went to swim on the Saboth day." (Sharp.)

Vicar Jennison died 6 Nov. and was buried in his church on the 8th. On the 5th of the same month the Council had appointed

Samuel Hammond to preach at St. Nicholas' on Sunday forenoons and other solemn days and to lecture on Thursday forenoons, with a salary of 150*l.* (10*l.* more than his predecessor's). The Corporation, when Jennison died, applied for the disposal of the vicarage. Hammond was of a sect called "The Congregational Judgment." To his call to Newcastle, he cheerfully complied, "finding himself and the people much in the hearts of one another." The church was now simple "Nicholas' church *." According to the Memoir of Barnes, Hammond was a butcher's son of York, long of Cambridge, and afterwards colleague with Mr. Weld of Gateshead.

1652-3. Gateshead. Neither Mr. Devereux nor Mr. Stote had been on the Four and Twenty, but now Mr. Thomas Weld, minister, occurs. The name of Riddell is gone. Mr. Ralph Cole, Mr. James Cole, and Mr. Ralph Clavering are found. "Raising the pulpitt heed, 8*s*."

1652-3. Mar. 25. William Cole succeeded Woolfal at St. John's at the same salary. He is mentioned in Barnes, p. 129, and occurs at St. John's until 1658.

1653. George Fox went from Westmorland, "into Bishoprick," thence through Northumberland to Derwentwater and so to Hexham. (Journal, Leeds edition, p. 249.) "Now were the priests greatly disturbed at Newcastle." (p. 246.)

1653. The first edition in 12mo. at London of the following work. "A Christian, Sober and Plain Exercitation on The two grand practical Controversies of these Times; Infant-Baptism, and Singing of Psalms. Wherein all the Scriptures on both sides are recited, opened and argued, with brevity and tendernesse: and whatever hath been largely discussed by others, briefly contracted in a special method for the edification of the Saints. By Cuthbert Sidenham, Teacher to a Church of Christ in Newcastle upon Tine. London, Printed by Thomas Mabb, and are to be sold by Francis Tyton at the three Daggers in Fleet-street, near the Inner-Temple-gate. 1657." Small 8vo. pp. 216. Page 169 is a second title. "A Gospel-Ordinance concerning The singing of Scripture-Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs; the lawfulness of that Ordinance. London, Printed for R. W. and are to be sold at the three Daggers in Fleet-street. 1657." The author is in favour of infant-baptism without immersion, and of singing the Psalms of David; but against the use of organs, harps, viols &c. and a mere pensioned order of singers excluding the church, as "abuses of the Roman and Episcopal church." The Epistle Dedicatory commences thus. "To his dear and honoured brother, Mr. William Durant, my faithfull fellow-labourer in the Gospel; and the church of Christ, over whom the Holy Ghost hath made us joynt-overseers. Dearly beloved, I present you these first-fruits of my poor labours, as a pledge of my love, and testimony of my unfeigned desires and longings after your

* As if the omission of "Saint" made any difference.

settlement, and comfort together." And it is signed,—"Your unworthy Teacher, Cuthbert Sidenham." Wood says that the book was "answered by Will. Kaye, Minister of Stokesley, in his book called 'Baptism without Bason,' &c. Lond. 1653, 4to, and by others."

At this period, every Baptist church seems to have claimed a special right in its members and the ministers it ordained. Thomas Tillam, who had been sent down to Hexham in 1651, and was appointed lecturer of Hexham by the Mercers' Company on Feb. 17, 1651-2, was still only the evangelist of the London church, and not the regular pastor of the congregation of Hexham. The brethren of Newcastle, under the guidance of Mr. Gower, very soon began to transmit charges against him, to which he answered, and when, in March 1653, the Hexham church solicited his appointment as pastor, the answer from London was that from a short acquaintance he seemed suitable as a messenger, but as to his qualifications as pastor or elder, the congregation is referred to the epistles to Timothy and Titus, and the London church would be glad to hear of his answering to the requirements of those books both from his church and himself, especially when he had given a reply to them concerning their judgment of the Newcastle charges and his answers. In the same month Mr. Edw. Hickhorngill (a missionary from the Hexham church to the army of Col. Robert Lilburn, a Baptist and Governor of Newcastle in 1647,) writes from Dalkeith:—"Captain Turner hath since his last coming changed his judgment about living upon the Gospel when maintenance is freely given, and I hope Mr. Gore will shortly be like minded, so that I hope that you and our brethren will own each other in all Christian fellowship and communion."

We now come to the story of the false Jew. The memoir of Barnes seems to be in error in calling him Wilson. According to his own statement he was the son of Dr. Alexander Ramsay of Scottish extraction and was born in London. He lived with his father 16 years; and then went to his uncle's in Glasgow for education and continued there one year. After remaining in Edinburgh another year, he went through Germany to Rome, where he was one year in a Dominican cloister, and another in the college of the Jesuits. He was then sent with the personal benediction of the Pope on a special mission to Germany and England, where he was to close with the Anabaptists as the prevailing party. He seems to have been circumcised at Rome to enable him to act the part he was to play. He sailed from Hamburgh to Shields in April 1652, and, judging from the master's account, would appear to have been placed on board his vessel by the sympathy of a countryman who had relieved him in the midst of his difficulties. On the voyage he wore a periwig, and being sick, he confessed that he had been under the pope as a Benedictine friar. His conscience, however, having accused him, he made his escape. He also affirmed that there were many Jesuits in England, as well as in China. He himself he said had been employed as one, and the more effectually to conceal his

designs, he was to carry on the business of a tailor. During the voyage he called himself Thomas Horsley. On arriving in England, Ramsay assumed the name of Joseph Ben Israel and the character of a converted Jewish Rabbi. During his state in Newcastle, Ramsay seems to have committed some forgeries, and deluded a friend of the ministers of Newcastle, Hammond, Weld, Durant and Sydenham, who became acquainted with him, but, owing to several circumstances, suspected him. These were, his perfect knowledge of our language; his leaving Newcastle and going to Col. Hobson, without giving any intimation to them who had hospitably received him; his intimate acquaintance with a certain family in Newcastle; and lastly, and especially, from two letters which they had seen in the possession of a person resident in Newcastle. Both of these letters were from Mrs. Ramsay, wife of Dr. Ramsay, who was now practising physic in Scotland. One of them was addressed to the person who held the letters, and the other to the pretended Jew, in which she calls herself his mother; and states that his father had seen a letter from him, under the assumed name of Thomas Horsley. The impostor afterwards confessed that his going to Col. Hobson was in pursuance of the instructions he received at Rome. The Colonel wished him to exercise in a public meeting, but he only told some stories of the Rabbins, and made some reflections on the present translation of the Scriptures. The Colonel then recommended him to go to Mr. Tillam at Hexham. The day after his arrival, he made a declaration in the parish-house, beginning it with "Men, Brethren, and Fathers," and stating that he was a Jew of the tribe of Judah, and born at Mantua; that he had been taught eight languages and found considerable similarity between Plato's views respecting the Trinity and the Jewish Scriptures; that he had been impressed by the prophecies concerning the Messiah, but had had several relapses to Judaism. He had found nothing among the Catholics but idolatry, the Lutherans but consubstantiation, the Calvinists, organs and wicked lives. At last in England, he found Christ. He conceived himself to be called to arise and be baptized. Baptized therefore he was, by Mr. Tillam, who, according to the Rabbi, would have had him to partake of the Lord's Supper, but at that his conscience had revolted. Mr. Tillam now published the following tract:—

"The Converted Jew: or, the Substance of the Declaration and Confession which was made in the Publique Meeting House at Hexham, the 4 Moneth, the 5 Day, 1653. By Joseph Ben Israel. Printed at Gateside by S. B." Small 4to. pp. 12, and title.

The ministers of Newcastle before mentioned, on reading the tract, suspected who was its subject, and engaged their friend, whom he had deluded, to write to him, inviting him to Newcastle to clear himself of the charge of forgery. Ramsay complied by coming to Newcastle, the same month in which his baptism had taken place. Mr. Tillam and several Baptists of Hexham accompanied him. He

went to the house of his quondam friend, who sent for the ministers and the master of the vessel which conveyed him from Hamburgh and a fellow voyager. These parties identified his person although he was divested of his periwig. The identification took place in Alderman George Dawson's house, whither all parties had repaired for the purpose. The same day, the master deposed on oath to the incidents of the voyage, before Henry Dawson Esq. Mayor of Newcastle. To these statements the accused acceded, but Mr. Tillam intimated that if "his dear brother in Christ" had joined the party to which the plaintiffs belonged, they never would have attempted to blacken his character. The ministers replied by stating their former suspicions. Ramsay aided by Tillam attempted an ingenious defence on all the grounds of these doubts except on the subject of the letters, but his special pleading only confirmed the idea that he was "a perfect cheat." To the letters he could make no reply, but calling Mr. Tillam aside he acknowledged his real parentage. He disclosed the whole truth to the prosecutors at another meeting, and was sent to London with the evidence against him to the Lord General Cromwell and the Council of State. It was on this enquiry that Tillam avowed himself to have been a travelling Catholic. Mr. Gower of Newcastle was perhaps compromised by his own connexion with Tillam's congregation and does not appear in the transaction, and it does not appear in his subsequent charges against Mr. Tillam. A joint production of Hammond and Weld (Palmer's Calamy,) now appeared as follows.

"A False Jew; or, A Wonderful Discovery of a Scot, Baptised at London for a Christian, Circumcised at Rome to act a Jew, re-baptised at Hexham for a Believer, but found out at Newcastle to be a Cheat. Being a true Relation of the detecting of one Thomas Ramsay, born of Scotch Parents at London, sent lately from Rome by a speciall Unction and Benediction of the Pope, who landed at Newcastle, under the name of Thomas Horsley, but immediately gave himself out for a Jew, by the name of Rabbi Joseph Ben Israel, Mant. Hebr. soon after baptized at Hexham, by Mr. Tillam, and by a speciall providence of God, found out by the Magistrates and Ministers * of Newcastle upon Tine, to be an Impostour and Emissary of Rome, and since sent up to the General and Councell of State to be further enquired into.—Printed for William London, Bookseller in Newcastle 1653." Small 4to. Reprinted in London for Richard Tomlins at the Sun and Bible, 1654.

Mr. Tillam replied in his own vindication (see 1654). Meanwhile, the disputes between the churches at Newcastle and Hexham, continued. In Aug. 1653 (Douglas p. 46) Captain Sympson and Capt. Mason, with Brother Blenkensop, by order of the London and Newcastle churches, visited Hexham, and "hearing of our constitution and condition, sweetly and lovingly owned us [the Hexham congre-

* The ministers were Thos. Weld, Cuth. Sidenham, Sam. Hammond, Will^m Durant.

gation] as their brethren, which was far from the rugged and unbrotherly carriage of Mr. Gower*." In September, 1653, the London congregation are satisfied with the Hexham answers to the Newcastle objections, and will write to the Newcastle brethren and endeavour to satisfy them also. "Only this, we see no clear rule, nor example for the presenting of little children in our arms to Christ for a blessing, though it be, we confess our duty to pray for them that the Lord would bless them. But in your expressions, we understand that, through grace, you would not go beyond rule nor come short therein, which gives occasion to hope, that you will go no further therein than rule will lead you unto." The London brethren desire that the Hexham and Newcastle churches will acknowledge their brother Kay, who as they understood had been chosen by the church of Christ to be the minister of some congregation. They are to continue to shun the appearance of singing of Psalms with the world, that is with the multitude where they meet. (It will be remembered that Mr. Tillam was Lecturer of Hexham.) The Newcastle brethren have been desired to give them of Hexham a meeting. "We would also advise you, if you think meet, that our brother Kaye with some of the brethren *there*, may be at your meeting, that so their state may be more fully known to our brethren at Newcastle, that if they may understand that both you and them are churches constituted according to the gospel of Christ, we doubt not they will be satisfied therein and we shall be certified thereof." In Dec. 1653 the church of Newcastle sent 12 articles against Mr. Tillam to the brethren at Derwent Side, but they regarded them as a subtile design to divide the church of Hexham and sent a suitable answer. "Notwithstanding Mr. Gower laboured with the church at London, but God blasted all his endeavours."

Dec. 23. Gateshead. Among the "poore indigent peopell" receiving Smith's charity we have "Mrs. Wood, wiffe of Mr. Wood late Curett of Gaitshead, 5*s*."

Jan. 13. William Henderson, preacher, and Katherine Johnson, married at St. Andrew's. (Sharp.)

Feb. 25. The Common Council of NC. address Cromwell, questioning not but that the Lord was fulfilling Isaiah, lx. 17. See the Address in Bourne.

"The Quakers Shaken: or, A Firebrand snatch'd out of the Fire. Being a briefe Relation of God's wonderfull Mercy extended to John Gilpin of Kendale in Westmorcland. Who (as will appeare by the sequel) was not onely deluded by the Quakers, but also possessed by the devill. If any question the truth of this Story, the Relator himselfe is ready to avouch it, and much more.—Gateside: Printed by S. B. and are to be sould by Will. London, Bookseller in Newcastle, 1653." Small 4to, pp. 16.—Another edition of the same

* In Douglas p. 5, this is said to be in 1652. The book has been kindly searched for me. 1653 is the correct date. Kay was minister at Stokesley.

date: London, printed for Simon Waterson and are to be sold at the Crown, in Paul's Churchyard. 1653. pp. 14.

"The Perfect Pharisee under Monkish Holinesse, Opposing the Fundamentall Principles of the Doctrine of the Gospel, and Scripture-Practices of Gospel-Worship manifesting himselfe in the Generation of men called Qvakers. Or, a Preservative against the Grosse Blasphemies and horrid delusions of those, who under pretence of perfection and an immediate Call from God, make it their businesse to Revile and Disturbe the Ministers of the Gospel. Published for the establishing of the People of God in the Faith once delivered to the Saints, And in a speciall manner directed to Beleevers in Newcastle and Gateside.—Gateside: Printed by S. B. and are to be sould by Will. London Bookseller in Newcastle, 1653." Small 4to, pp. 51, including title and address.

1654. "The perfect Pharise, under Monkish Holines, opposing The Fundamental Principles of the Doctrine of the Gospel, and Scripture-Practices of Gospel-worship manifesting himself in the Generation of men called Quakers. Or, a preservative against the Grosse Blasphemies, and horrid delusions of those, who under pretence of perfection, and an immediate Call from God, make it their business to revile and disturb the Ministers of the Gospel. Published for the establishing of the people of God in the Faith once delivered to the Saints, by Thomas Weld, Rich. Prideaux, Sam. Hammond, Will. Cole, Will. Durant, Ministers in Newcastle.—London, Printed for Richard Tomlins, at the Sun and Bible near Pie-Corner, 1654."

The tract is of a general character, and only ritualistic and local manners can here be noticed. The Quakers charged others "that they love the high places in the synagogues." There is a grave argument that pulpits were not "high places." "The galleries in which the boys do sit, are higher than our pulpits." "Charge 2. That they wear long robes." "Reader, judge thou what ground they have from hence, to charge this Scripture (Luke, 20. 46.) against the ministers, because of their cloaks? Have they either their fringes or phylacteries? And had not Paul a cloak? 2. Tim. 4. 13." "Charge 3. That they stand praying in the Synagogues." "'Tis neither praying in the publike meeting places, nor standing in prayer, that Christ reproved; but the hypocriticall ostentation of Pharisees. But what is this to ministers, who neither performe their private duties in publike places, nor pray in the corners of the streets." "Charge 4. That they preach for hire." "We in our places might be inabled as well as others for subsistance in the world (if they will look upon as capable to understand and practice the callings in which others live)." "There are many other cavils which these men do raise against the ministry: as that first, we have been at universities, as if Paul's learning had truly made him mad.—Secondly, our making use of an hour-glasse (though our respect is herein to the weaknesse and capacities of people, for though the

spirit be willing, the flesh is often weak.) Thirdly, our preaching upon a text, (though our worke be to divide the word aright, 2 Tim. 2. 15. and Christ and the apostles practised it, Luke 4. 12. 22. they wondered at the gratious words that proceeded out of his mouth; which must needs be his opening of that text. So Acts 28. 23.)" "Fourthly, as also, that we run to the powers of the world to uphold us, as if it were a sin for Paul, in case of wrong and persecution, to appeale to Cæsar's judgement." "Fifthly, that we steal from the prophets and apostles, while we quote them." "And lastly, our not thouing all we speak unto, and yet thouing God." "One of these people when they were lately at Newcastle, told a merchant there, Mr. H. T., having on his black clothes, that he was a deceiver, &c. but being told he was no minister, he shuffled pittifully, as seeing how naked his mistake was laid."—"Their usual charge in publick against us, is, that we are deceivers, and do teach lies in the name of the Lord; yet when they are charged to produce any one tittle by us delivered that they particularly can call a lie, there is no thing that they do ordinarily produce, or can except against us, but will presently run to such expressions as these; thou wearest long robes, and prayest standing in the synagogues; and therefore they tell us in the name of the Lord, we preach lies; this was fully apparently lately before the magistrates of Newcastle, where John Audland, Stubbs, and the woman their partner were called, and challenged to instance in any one particular of the doctrine delivered by either of us which they durst affirm to be a lie, but had no syllable against it to object; as we could instance in many other cases. S. H. W.C." —"Their common expression is to him that opens or shews them the interpretation of any scripture, Cursed is he that adds, or The plagues are upon thee for adding to the Scripture. Jo. Audland, a few daies since, being for his railing and publike disturbance, called before the magistrates, and there pleading against the ministry, alledging that text, Jer. 5. 31. The priests bear rule by their means; one of us (W. C.) laboured to convince him of his ignorance in that gross mis-interpretation, for by means he understood their maintenance, showing, that that text doth most evidently hold this sense, that those priests bare rule by the means of the false prophets: the said J. A. presently cried out, Thou addest, thou addest. The same man having called another of us (S. H.) deceiver, was asked, whether he heard him preach any thing contrary to the truth the day before; telling him withall, he preached that which he had prayed, and studied the Scripture for: presently the said Audland (as if studying the word were enough to convince a man to be a deceiver) cried out, There thou shewest thyself." Throughout the tract Cole shows himself intimately connected with the western counties of the north of England.

1654. "A Further Discovery of that Generation of men called Quakers: By way of Reply to an Answer of James Nayler to the Perfect Pharisee. Wherein is more fully layd open their Blas-

phemies, notorious Equivocations, Lyings, wrestings of the Scriptures, Raylings, and other detestable Principles and Practises. And the Booke called, The Perfect Pharisee is convincingly cleared from James Nayler's false aspersions ; with many difficult Scriptures (by him wrested) opened. Published for the building up of the perseverance of the Saints, till they come to the end of their Faith, even the salvation of their souls. Gateside ; Printed by S. B. 1654." 4to pp. 96, including title.

"Banners of Love displaied over the Church of Christ, walking in the Order of the Gospel at Hexham : By the Out-stretched Arm of the King of Saints, against the Jesuitical design lately attempted by the false Jew. Or, An Answer to a Narrative stuff'd with Untruths, by four Newcastle Gentlemen *—London : Printed by Hen. Hills, and are to be sold at his house at the Sign of Sir John Old Castle in Py-corner. 1654.") Small 4to, pp. 42. title and address, pp. 5.

"The Counterfeit Jew." 4to, pp. 8. By Thomas Tillam.

"The Greatnes of the mystery of Godlines ; Opened in severall Sermons by Cuthbert Sydenham Teacher to a Church of Christ at Newcastle upon Tine. London, Printed by W. Hunt for Richard Tomlins, at the Sun and Bible neare Pye-Corner. 1654." Small 8vo, pp. 266, exclusive of title, dedication &c. "To the Right Worshipfull William Johnson Maior of Newcastle, with the Aldermen, Sheriffe, Common Councell, and the rest of that famous Corporation. Honoured, and Beloved, . . . I cannot now preach to your eares, ... my uselessenesse to you (through sicknesse) in preaching hath provoked me, that if possible I might be a little usefull to your soules by this. . . . . I believe never more respects have been shewn by any Corporation in England to the most grave and worthy preachers among them, than you have shewn to me, unworthy me. . . . I have only one thing to adde (which all the nation may take notice of and wonder) concerning your happinesse, that these nine yeares, when all the nation have been in a puzzle about errors, sects, and schismes, even almost to bloud, you have sate as in a Paradise, no disturbances in your pulpits, no railings or disputings, Presbyterians and Independents preaching in the same place, fasting and praying together, in heavenly harmony, expressing nothing but kindnesse to each other, in their meetings ready to help each other ; and as for the errours of the times that have disturbed so many Towns in England, it may be said of Newcastle as of Ireland, the aire is so pure no such venemous creature can live there ; and this hath been through the power of the Gospell, and your carefull Government. . . . . Yours to serve you in Gospell, if ever God recover my strength, Cuthbert Sydenham. From my sick chamber in Axe-yard in Kingstreet in Westminster." T. W.'s preface to the next work states that this one was "published by [Sydenham] himself a little before his death." Wood says "At length our author,

* The four Ministers. See 1653.

retiring to London, to gain health, and to print some of his books, took up his lodging in Axe-yard joining to King-street within the city of Westminster, where he died in the very beginning of the year (about 25 of March) 1654. But where he was buried, I cannot tell; for the register of St. Margaret's-church, wherein Axe-yard is situated, mentions him not to have been buried in that parish." The same writer says that the book was published in London, 1654, 1656, and 1672, in 8vo and 12mo. "Which book is the sum of ten sermons on 1 Tim. 3. 16, and hath before the second edition of it the author's picture with this written under it, *Æt.* 31. 1654.

"Hypocrisie Discovered in its Nature and Workings. Delivered in several sermons, By That faithfull Minister of the Gospell, Mr. Cuthbert Sidenham, Late Teacher to a Church of Christ in Newcastle upon Tyne. London, Printed by W. H. for Rich. Tomlins, at the Sun and Bible in Pye-Corner, 1654." Small 8vo, pp. 212, exclusive of dedication and preface. Wood states that the work has "his picture before it, in a cloak," and that it was printed at London again in 1657 and 1671, in 8vo. The Epistle Dedicatory "for the Honourable, Sir Arthur Hesilrig, Knight and Baronet," mentions "the more than ordinary respects you shewed to this precious servant of Christ, the author of these sermons." It is signed by "Tho. Weld, Sam. Hamond, Tho. Trurin, Wil. Durant," "willing to beare witnesse to the world, though he be in his grave, how much he resented your favour and love towards him." God, they say, made Sir Arthur a terror to the enemies of his Son, and brought him "among us when his enemies were very high and turbulent," and drew out his heart "in being an instrument to procure the three yeares commission for propagating the Gospell in these foure Northerne counties." A prefaee by T. W. "to all that professe the name of the Lord Jesus" mentions "the loathsome fashions of many of you with powdered haire, painted faces, naked breasts and such phantastick garbes, that yet would go for choice Saints and Christians." After attacking the Quakers and Arminians, and noticing the entanglements of the world and "how many, alledging to be scandalized by your walkings, are turned to embrace the gross abomination of popery," Weld draws in:—"Brethren, though we thus speake, yet we may not but faithfully witnesse—that our lines are fallen into better places, where our soules are not vexed with the beholding such folly and abominable wickednesse in those that do professe the Gospell."—"Yet our deare brother, the author of these sermons, doubtlesse not without a secret impulse of the blessed Spirit, was moved to be so large in opening the nature and workings of hypocrisie; for hypocrisie hath its severall formes, and dresses, and may lye for a while undiscovered in the hearts and duties of the most reall saints, but where it workes most secretly and subtilly there it requires a more quick eye, and faithfull hand to the anatomizing of it, which we can, without flatery, say God had eminently bestowed upon him, of whom, to you that know him not, we shall

give this briefe testimony. He was trained up under religious education from his childhood, which made him often profess his jealousie of professors, especially such who had the advantage of a godly education, through the many experiences of the deceits of his own heart, his speciall insight into the mysteries of Christ, as you may observe by his Sermons upon 1 Tim. 3. ult. published by himselfe a little before his death ; his judicious and drawing discoveries of the riches of grace, which if the Lord please we shall hereafter shew to you, where you may see his tender bowels toward the poorest soules under any of the workings of God, his unwearied paines, even to the visible wasting of his owne bodily strength in the work of the Ministery, and his great care over the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made him overseer, all of these did bespeake him a vessell fitted for his Master's use, and it is not unknown to those in chiefest places his otherwise usefulness to the people of God in this nation. Thus did he serve his generation with these many talents his God had furnished him with. And, for these few Sermons, we can only say, you have them as they were taken from his mouth in his ordinary ministery *, without any alteration, which is enough to excuse the often inculcated expressions you meet with in them. They were the last of his publike exercises among us." The sermons are seven, from Luke xii. 1. and are spirited and searching. At the end, Richard Tomlins advertises a list of books. We find "The Fortune Booke in Fol. English," and other queer volumes mixed with "The Perfect Pharisee under Monkish holinesse, quarto. The fale Jew, quarto. Mr. Sidenham's Mystery of Godliness, oct." The only volume in twelves succeeds the last mentioned, and concludes the list, "Watson's untaught Bridegroome."

Mar. 28. Gateshead. "Mr. Edward Spencer demanded 40tie odd shillings for iron worke lockes keys &c. had of one Gaille of Gaitshead, a smith, for Mr. Tho. Weld minster the howse new bult which he now liveth in. Voted by the major part of the 24tie that the towne is in no wayes oblidged to pay any part of the summe of monie soe demanded.—Mr. Thomas Weld minester, with his owen consent acquitted of a sess of 10*s.* which was required of him towards the repaire of the church and the walls about the churchyard, acceknowledged that he had no instrist to the church, or churchyard, they bellonged to the parrish, and that only the Quere of the church bellonged unto him as minister : and that the churchyard he had nothing to doe with it nor required no intrist in it."

April. The Hexham Baptists complained that the Newcastle church were unadvanced in charity. "They cannot own us, because we can own unbaptized churches and ministers, as churches of

* This scarcely, in itself, supports Wood's statement that these sermons "were taken from his mouth in short hand by the said T. W. ["one of his persuasion"] who published them without any alteration." If T. W. means Thomas Weld, he would hardly have time for such drudgery. More probably he merely edited the notes of another person.

Christ, and ministers of Christ, though we do also judge, in those churches and ministers, some thing as to order wanting, which God, in his own time, may reveal unto them." "But now as God seems to moderate the spirit of our brethren, and hath kept us sound in the faith, not any of us touched with that Arminian poison that hath so sadly infected other Baptist churches; only those deluded souls called Quakers have been very active in those parts, and have seduced two of our society, and six of Newcastle church." In May, Mr. Tillam visited London and acquainted the brethren with his purpose to obey Christ in the 4th principle (the laying on of hands on baptisms, blessing of children, ordinations, and departures of ministers). He had a favorable reception, and departed to many other congregations and found them in the practice of the ordinances he wanted. In Dr. Chamberlen's congregation he had great blessing "by the laying on of their hands, and after a love feast, having washed one another's feet, we did joyfully break bread, and concluded with an hymn: in all which the singular majesty of Christ shined forth to the mighty conviction of some choice spectators.—I thank (writes he to the Hexham church) and heartily salute you all. Oh that you could embrace it as the mind of Christ to greet one another with a holy kiss. Oh how amiable is it in the churches where it is practised." But new troubles from Newcastle were gathering. Mr. Tillam had been informed by Mr. Hammond of some scandalous conduct of Major Hobson, and had written to the Newcastle church about it. Mr. Tillam was in London, but, on May 28, Tho. Gower, James Turner, Geor. Oliver, Lewis Froist*, Joh. Carrath, by the appointment of the church at Newcastle" write to the church of Hexham. They think Hammond is prejudiced against Hobson and Tillam, and all who are opposite in their views to himself. They have found that the reports referred to the Major's "days of his wantonness." Now he loathes his former practices. Further they regret to hear that the report has been mentioned to men of the world; details of this they have not yet acquired. The Hexham brethren waited two months and in August replied that Tillam was a monitor not an accuser, and would have been unfaithful to his master had he not initiated an enquiry; and they implore a cessation of divisions, so baneful in their effect on the world. Gower, for his church, speedily replies that the Hexham church gave no satisfaction, that they had come out of Babylon only by halves and that they should forsake their sinful pleadings for what was justly a cause of difference; that the Newcastle church would at a suitable and seasonable time give a particular answer to the Hexham reply

* In March 1663, Lewis Frost, then of South Shields, was accused of undertaking to provide the Muggleswick Conspiracy of Anabaptists with arms and ammunition. Capt. George *Gower* was also implicated in the supposed plot, in which, saith Surtees, "the two troops of Anabaptist horse, and the men who forded the Darwent with glittering broad swords, are reduced into Joseph Hopper, who took a five weeks' jaunt into Ireland, and had reasons for not informing his wife."

to their charge, but desire a copy of the commission of Tillam (for *you* evidently refers to him, though addressed to "our dear friends at Hexham,") to preach obtained from the propagators, of the order by which he went to Hexham, and a copy of the order by which he received his maintenance. Mr. Ward, an elder of the Hexham church, replies by enquiring what was meant by coming out of Babylon by halves and again laments the evil effect of the differences. The Newcastle church now particularize the grounds of their complaint that Mr. Tillam had spoken of the conduct of Major Hobson to the world, stating it to Mr. Liddell of Ravensworth ; also to Thomas Gibson and Crane Liddell of Hexham, being overheard by Ed. Rowland ; and likewise to Mrs. Fenwick. All this has Mr. Tillam denied, to their wonderment, and why did not Mr. Tillam tell the Major of his fault when he asked him to preach at Hexham, instead of telling it to others ?

1654-5. Gateshead. Among the recipients of Smith's charity is "Mary Browne, daughter to Parson Browne, 1*l.*" "Receved of Wm. Birton for one whole years rent for the eatadge of the church yard, 10*s.*" "Sowdering the crokes of the Quire dore. Liming the church wallas. Making the church cleane, the pewes &c. after the lime was slockned in the Quire. Given to burrie Mrs. Willowbie, Parson Hookes his daughter, who was of late parson of Gaitshead, 10*s.*" [She does not occur among the objects of charity.]

1655. Publication of Gardner's "England's Grievance Discovered," which contains the curious account of the persecutions at Newcastle for witchcraft.

At the dawn of 1655 Mr. Gower prevailed with the church in Coleman Street to disown Mr. Tillam and all that were in practice of laying on of hands. Stephen Anderton endeavours a schism on the point, opens his mouth in blasphemy against Mr. Tillam's doctrine, plunges into other gross evils and is by the elders and church "delivered unto Satan, with Thomas Ogle." Mr. Tillam is, however, unhappy. He resigns, leaves Hexham in 1656, and is said to have gone to Germany, where he expected the personal reign of Christ to commence. Mr. Gower, Major Hobson, and others connected with the army, disappear from Newcastle, and Mr. Turner takes the pastorate at that town.

May 16. Penruddock and Grove executed at Exeter, fixing the date of the disturbance of a private society in Newcastle who met to worship God after the way of the Church of England. (See p. 188.)

June 12. Ambrose Barnes married. (p. 50.)

All Saints'. "At a vestrie holden the 21st of January 1655. Whereas, for some yeares by past, the collecting of the dutys belonging to the parrish for bell and towling hath been forborne and laid aside, which hath much lessned the revenues of the church, by which, and such like means, it is brought into delapidations, and, having now taken the same into serious consideration and fully debated the objections made by som against the same, and having had

the judgment of our ministers concerning any superstition that be in it, which being made clear, Itt is this day orderred that, from henceforth, the church officers appointed thereunto do collect the same and bring the money into the churchwardens, and that those who desire to have the use of the bells may freely have them as formally, paying the accustomed dutye."

Feb. 4. The ministers of the town were desired to come before the Mayor and Aldermen and give their opinion concerning the legality of ringing bells at funerals as had hitherto been the custom.

Same day. Petition of the churchwardens of All Hallows' to the Common Council for stones out of the Manors "to build up the east end of All Hallows church, being now ready to fall." On this occasion "the stones of the old ruinate chapel" were granted them.

1655. Gateshead. "Horsehire and expences goeing to present the Papists."

1656. Gateshead. "Here sleeps Mrs. Judith Weld, who was to three godly ministers a good wife; to Christ a faithful servant; to the church an affectionate member, for piety, prudence, and patience, eminent. She departed this life the .... 1656. In Jesu dormio, splendide resurgam." The rector's wife was buried May 4.

1656. July 22. Mr. Ward, the warm partizan of Tillam, had in 1655 been elected elder of the Derwent church, but on the withdrawal of the support of the London church from Tillam he and his church withdrew also. The Hexham friends, whose elder, Richard Ord, never forsook the cause of his spiritual father, withdrew from the false brethren. After some months attempt at reconciliation at Eadsbridge failed. The Hexham brethren then held a conference with the Newcastle church, and a deputation from it met the Hexham and Derwent brethren at brother Joplin's (Foxholes near Muggleswick) on 22 July 1656, and after mutual explanations amity was restored, and Stephen Anderton the ringleader of the schism, declared expelled. He was restored in the early part of 1660.

1656. Dec. 18. A petition of the Ministers of the Gospel in the counties of Northumberland, Durham, and Newcastle upon Tyne read before the House of Commons.

To the Mayor of Newcastle: To be communicated to the Aldermen and others whom it doth concern.—Whitehall, 18th December, 1656. Gentlemen, and my very good friends, My Lord Strickland, who is one of our Council, did impart to us a Letter written from yourselves to him, according to your desire therein expressed; which occasions this return from us to you. As nothing that may reflect to the prejudice of your outward Good, either personal or as you are a Civil Government, shall easily pass with us; so, much less what shall to your discouragement, as you are Saints, to your Congregations, gathered in that way or fellowship commonly known by the name of Independents, whether of one judgment or other:—'this' shall be far from being actually discountenanced, or passively 'left to' suffer damage, by any applying themselves to me. I do, once for

all, give you to understand, that I should thereby destroy and disappoint one of the main ends for which God hath planted me in the station I am in. Wherefore I desire you in that matter to rest secure. True it is that two Ministers, one Mr. Cole and one Mr. Pye did present to me a Letter in the name of divers Ministers of Newcastle, the Bishoprick of Durham and Northumberland; of an honest and Christian purpose: the sum whereof I extracted and returned an Answer thereunto;—a true Copy whereof I send you here enclosed. By which I think it will easily appear that the consideration of my kindness is well deserved by them; provided they observe the condition 'there' expressed; which in charity I am bound to believe they will; and without which their own consciences and the world will know how to judge of them. Having said this, I, or rather the Lord, require of you, That you walk in all peaceableness and gentleness, inoffensive, truth and love towards them, as becomes the Servants and Churches of Christ. Knowing well that Jesus Christ, of whose diocese both they and you are, expects it. Who, when He comes to gather His People, and to make Himself 'a name and praise amongst all the people of the earth,'—He 'will save her that halteth, and gather her that was driven out, and will get them praise and fame in every land, where they have been put to shame.' [Zephaniah iii. 19, 20.] And such 'lame ones' and 'driven-out ones' were not Independents only, and Presbyterians, a few years since by the Popish and Prelatical Party in these Nations; but such are and have been the Protestants in all lands,—persecuted, and faring alike with you in all the Reformed Churches. And therefore, knowing your charity to be as large as all the Flock of Christ who are of the same Hope and Faith of the Gospel with you; I thought fit to commend these few words to you;—being well assured it is written in your heart, So to do with this that I shall stand by you in the maintaining of all your just privileges to the uttermost. And committing you to the blessing of the Lord, I rest, Your loving friend, Oliver P.*

Jan. 12. The churches of Newcastle and the neighbourhood address the Lord-Protector.

Jan. 26. The Merchante-Adventurers of Newcastle, reciting that they find, "by woeful experience, a great apostacy and falling off from the truth to Popery, Quakerism, and all manner of heresy and unheard-of blasphemy and profaneness," enact "that no Popish recusant, Quaker, or any who shall not attend duly on his master at the public ordinances, or any who is base begotten, crooked, or lame, or any other way deformed," be taken apprentice.

Same day. The Common Council ordered a payment of 40*l.* to Amor Oxley in part of his arrears due to him at the time of his dis-

* Thurloe, v. 714: in Secretary Thurloe's hand. "Newcastle upon Tyne, or the municipal authorities there, as we may perceive, are rather of the Independent judgment; and have a little dread of some encouragement his Highness has been giving to certain of the Presbyterian sect in those parts." (Carlyle.)

charge (in 1645) from the Grammar School, "in consideration of the great wants and necessities and poverty and indigent condition of the said A. Oxley."

John Tilsley, M.A. of Glasgow University, a native of Lancashire, was officiating at Dean church in Lancashire with Mr. Horrockes. (Calamy.) From this place he had a call to Newcastle. The Presbyterian system of Congregational, Classical, Provincial, and National Classes, ordained by Parliament on 29 Aug. 1648, seems to have been fully carried out in Lancashire, and Tilsley, in consequence of the call, applied to the Class for leave to obey it, for no one was to remove out of the precincts of a Class without permission. The Class consulted the First Class (Lancashire contained 9 classes), who certified that they conceived it would be most for the glory of God and good of the church for Mr. Tilsley to go. But his own Class (the Second) refused leave, whereupon he appealed to the Provincial Assembly, and seems to have obtained their licence for his removal (Walker), for on the 20th March 1656 there was an order of the Newcastle Common Council for Mr. John Tilsley "of the Presbyterian Judgment" to preach at St. Nicholas' every Lord's day in the afternoon, and once a month in the forenoon, at the monthly sacrament, with a salary of 150*l.* per annum. (Brand.) "Finding not the place so beneficial as was expected he returned back [to Dean]; it being not, it seems, to the glory of God for him to stay, when it was not to his own advantage." (Gipps' Notes in Walker.) This was before March 20, 1657. (Brand.) He succeeded Mr. Horrocks at Dean and was ejected thrice from that vicarage for nonconformity. He died in 1684 aged 60. He is represented as an able, strict, charitable and eminently courageous man. (Calamy.)

March 20. The Common Council appointed Mr. Richard Prideaux morning, and Mr. William Durant afternoon, lecturer of All Saints'.

1656-7. Gateshead. "Disbursed, John Swann for Mr. Weld's use, for the Parson's Flatt, 2*l.*"

1656-7. Feb. 26. General Monck, at Dalkeith, to the Protector. "I doe more feare Newcastle than any towne you have, that may bee surprized, if hee [Charles II.] hath a designe to any towne in England. I doubt that towne more than any towne in the northerne parte, being there is noe garrison in itt, and many people disaffected." (Thurloe's S. P.)

Mar. 2. Mr. Tilsley having removed into Lancashire, and "the elders and others of Nicholas' having given a call to Mr. John Knightbridge, fellow of Peter-House, Cambridge," there is an order of Common Council appointing him to preach on Sunday afternoons, and once a month in the forenoon at the monthly sacrament, also on other solemn days, with a salary of 150*l.* per annum.

1657. "A catalogue of the most vendible Books in England, Orderly and Alphabetically Digested, under the heads of Divinity, History, Physick and Chyrurgery, Law, Arithmetick, Geometry, Astrology, Dialling, Measuring Land and Timber, Gageing, Navi-

gation, Architecture, Horsmanship, Faulconry, Merchandize, Limning, Military Discipline, Heraldry, Fortification and Fire-works, Husbandry, Gardening, Romances, Poems, Playes, &c., with Hebrew, Greek and Latine Books for schools and scholars. The like work never yet performed by any. [Also, all sorts of Globes, Mapps of the World or in Parts, either Kingdoms, Provinces or particular counties ; French and Duch Pictures and Landskips ; Paper of all sorts from *5s.* to *5lb.* a Reame : The best perfumed India, and English wax, &c., all to be sold by the Author at his shop in New-Castle.]* Varietas Delectat. London, Printed in the year 1657," with "A supplement of New Books come forth since August the first 1658 [*sic*] till June the first 1658 which is intended to be continued from year to year beginning at June the first 1658 where this ends." Pot 4to. 124 leaves unpaged. The dedication is "To the Gentry Ministers of the Gospel and others of a Peculiar choice. To the Wise Learned and Studious in the Northern Counties of Northumberland, Bppk of Durham Westmerland and Cumberland. Gentlemen, (For such should be Scholars and Scholars are no less,) this work seems of right to challenge your protection," &c. This is signed "Wm. London."

The catalogue comprises some of the local books already mentioned, and the following. "*Mr. Cole*, Newcastle : David's distress in the loss of Jonathan, or an explication of David's mourning at the death of Jonathan, in a sermon upon 2 Sam. 1. 16. at the funeral of Mr. Henry Massey, Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ at Kirby Kendell in Westmoreland, 12°." (Published between 1650 and 1655.) —*Dr. Jenison*, of Newcastle : Of Compunction or pricking of heart, the time, means, nature, necessity, and order of it, and of conversion, 4° : A Treatise of God's Promises touching the Elect, and concerning the extent of Christ's death, 12° : Apparelling of Christ, 8°.—*Mr. Sydenham*, of Newcastle : The False Brother, or the Mappe of Scotland, drawn by an English pencill, 4° : An English interpretation of the Scotch declaration, 4° : The Anatomy of John Lilburn's spirit and pamphlets" [see page 343]. The following tracts were published between 1650 and 1655. Mr. Durant was not our William Durant, but John Durant of Canterbury. (See Granger, iii. 334.) "*Mr. Durant :* Comfort and Counsell for dejected souls, wherein is handled the nature, working, grounds, and remedies of spiritual dejection, 8° : Sipps of Sweetness, or consolation for weak believers, discovering of the sweetness of Christ's carriage towards all his weak members, 8° : Salvation of Saints, by the appearances of Christ now in heaven, and hereafter from heaven, 8° — *Mr. Woolfall :* The Doctrine and Practice of Renovation, discovering what the new Nature, and the new Creature is, its parts, causes, manner and means to get it, 8° : The Doctrine and Practice of Mortification, the matter, manner, and

* In some copies the words in brackets are wanting, and the date on the title is 1658.

means thereof, with the blessed event of it, 8°."—London's Catalogue is very catholic, and he likes not his opinion "that lately thrust out a catalogue in print, and out of a comendable zeale, refuses to insert heterodox books, as unfit to be sold (to some indeed they are so)." However he proceeds to say that "though I am against selling them to such as may be seduced by them, yet will I not hinder their acquaintance to such as may confute them.—I resolve to condemn to secrisie every pernitious piece as soone as I know it."

The steeple of All Saints' repaired. The upper part covered with lead. New copper vanes added.

May 15. Letters patent of Cromwell for a college at Durham. Among the first visitors (see the whole very curious list in Hutch. Dm. i. 523) are Samuel Hammond of Newcastle upon Tyne, Thomas Weld of Gateside in the Bishoprick of Durham, William Cole of Newcastle upon Tyne, William Durand of the same, Richard Gilpin of Greystock, co. Cumb., Richard Prideaux of Newcastle upon Tyne, and Henry Leaver of Branspeth in the Bishoprick of Durham, ministers of the Gospel. Among the constant visitors are Hammond and Leaver, Thomas Trewren of Ovingham being the only other minister of the Gospel so appointed.

June 18. The House of Commons ordered a committee to bring in a bill for the maintenance of some preaching ministers in (among other places) the town of Newcastle upon Tyne according to an Ordinance of 23 Apr. 1645.

Aug. The Corporation paid "for ringing at the *four* churches when his Highness the Lord Protector was proclaimed chief magistrate of the three nations by act of parliament."

To the Protector. "May it please your Highness, we, ministers of the Gospel in this place [Newcastle] and in the counties of Durham and Northumberland, being here occasionally this day met upon our church affairs, did also meet with the solemn proclamation of your Highness's government over these nations. We are not so many as to procure any apprehension of our considerableness, yet we durst not let slip the occasion and opportunity to congratulate your highness, not only upon the real satisfaction of our own spirits, but also the assurance we have of the same in the spirits of the whole body of our association. We do therefore cordially wish you all prosperity, peace, satisfaction and contentment in that place, to which God hath declared his designation of you of the now superadded free and concurrent vote and resolve of Parliament. We have in our late addresses to you experienced the freedom of your Highness's spirit to protect us in our way; and we are assured therefore, that our peaceable deportment under your Highness's government shall find the same respect for time to come. We hope, and are persuaded the Lord will more and more make use of your Highness for the advancement of the interest of his dear Son, which we may take the boldness to entreat your Highness to make your principal design, as that in which you will find no less cordial

contentment than we do in that power and capacity in which you stand. We are no little presuming thus to divert your highness's thoughts from your more concerning businesses, but shall crave pardon for it, as proceeding from the overflowings of that respect, service, and submission, which our spirits owe, and shall endeavour to perform unto you with all faithfulness: and so commending your highness to the great God, and begging the blessing of your highness upon your spirit, government, and all your precious interests and concernments, we make bold to subscribe ourselves your highness's most obedient, affectionate and observant subjects and servants, John Pye, pastor of Christ at Morpeth in Northumberland, Tho. Dockry, pastor of Christ at Newburke, Cuthbert Mole, pastor of a church at [*blank*], George Ritchell, pastor at Hexham, Robert Pleasaune, pastor at Boweden bpr., William Graves pastor of Christ at Bishops-Weymouth, John Woodfall, pastor of Woodborne, Stephen Dockrey, pastor of Christ at St. Andrew's in Newcastle, Richard Prideaux, pastor of Christ at Allhallows' in Newcastle, John Knightbridge, pastor of Christ at Nicholas' in Newcastle, Tho. Lupton, pastor at Shields, Fran. Battie, pastor at Jarrow in bpr. of Durham." (Thurloe's S. P. vi. 431.) I have not attempted to correct some obvious misprints in the names both of persons and places.

Nov. 5. Buried, at St. Andrew's "Mr. Robert Claxton, Master of Art." (Sharp.)

Nov. "The Just and Reasonable Desires of the parish of Gateshead to have a Lecturer Established for Administring the Sacraments*. Mr. Weld, we have formerly represented to you the desires of the parish of Gateshead, to have a lecturer established to preach upon the Lord's day once a moneth in the parish-church; and there to administer the sacraments to such persons who cannot communicate with you, but by adding hypocrisie to their perswasions; which at that time was resented as a thing so reasonable, that you passed your concession to it. Upon the stocke of this promise from you, we were much encouraged to make our applications to some pious ministers of the Gospel, and have found them very willing (by your permission) to undertake the charge, as accounting it their duty to dispense the misteries of eternity for the benefit of souls. For securing the continuance of this provision among us, we thought fit to acquaint you, that the people are willing to charge themselves with a certain salary to their lecturer, as preferring their spiritual improvements, before secular interests, which will be advanced without the abridgement or lessening of your benefice. As this motion therefore is not supposeable to have

* This and the succeeding papers about Mr. Weld are from a tract of the highest rarity in the library of the late Mr. W. H. Brockett, with whom the history of Gateshead was a subject of leading interest. It is a small 4to. of 24 pages, and its title, if there was one, has disappeared. The printing is probably S. B.'s.

any inauspicious aspect upon your trouble or estate, so it is presumeable, that you will grant it with more freedome and choice, which we desire may be confirmed to us under your hand, for the satisfaction and assurance of the people of Gateshead, and priviledge of the lecturer, who ought not here to intend these exercises without warrant and free allowance from you. If it were seasonable to complain, we might instance by sad experience, that the intermission of sacramental ministrations hath given advantage to the enemy of mankind, to sow tares while we thus sleep ; by which means, the union of minds is dis-hinged, the usefulnesse and comfort of our lives lost, and publique assemblies polluted, and checquered with all sects ; so it becoms us as Christians, from the observation of these things, to stand upon our guard, and to implore the just assistances of those faithfull seers and watchmen of the church, to conduct us in the improvement of our eternall interests, which is the reason of our desires to obtain this grant from you ; and cannot, upon the account of little and triffling objections, prejudge your deniall, which shall further engage us to appear, Your loving freinds, James Cole, Thomas Arrowsmith, Thomas Potts, George Johnson, Churchwardens of Gateshead, Novemb. 30th, 1657."

"Be it Remembred, That Mr. Weld, upon the third of November 1657, was moved by the church-wardens of Gateshead, in the behalfe of the parish, to allow the establishment of a lecturer for preaching and administering the sacraments to the said people in the parish church of Gateshead once in the moneth ; and the church-wardens then declaring, that they would pitch upon either Mr. Will : Cole*, Mr. Rich : Prideaux, or Mr. John Knightbridge for the present, till a minister could be procured for that service onely ; it met with so faire a reception, that Mr. Weld did then approve of the motion ; and at that very time faithfully promised to grant the desires of the people, and would actually establish a lecturer of the peoples choyce, when ever the same should be offered. But, being moved afterwards to give a signall testimony of the performance of his promise in this behalfe, at a conference the thirtieth of November following had with the said church-wardens, he positively refused to condescend or yeeld to any such motion, and like the game of fast and loose did passionately disclaim his promise, which was docked with his aversations to yeeld to such a reasonable proposition. James Cole, Thomas Arrowsmith, Thomas Potts, George Johnson, Churchwardens."

"The Assurance Required for Placing a Lecturer in Gateshead. These are to certifie whom it may concern, that I Thomas Weld in the parish of Gateshead, have approved, and am really content, upon the desires of the people of the said parish, to allow and permit a lecturer to preach in the said church upon the Lords day once in

* Samuel Hammond is said, in p. 142, to have been colleague with Mr. Weld in Gateshead.

fourteen dayes, and then and there likewise to administer the sacraments once a moneth, without the let, eviction or trouble of me, or of any other persons by my perswasion or procurement. I doe also further declare and professe, that I will not hereafter meddle or interpose in the choyce of a lecturer for this service; but freely remits the people to the sole liberty of electing and placing such a minister, as they themselves, with the approbation of the Commissioners at Whitehall can approve of; and shall be so far from dis-satisfying their expectations and spirituall necessities, that I will for ever disclaime all power of dis-placing the said lecturer, without the free and unanimous consents of the whole parish of Gateshead, nor use the power of others to procure the same to be done. In testimony and assurance whereof, I doe faithfully declare, promise, and agree, by tenor of these presents, that this is my unfaigned resolution, and avowed consent to ratifie and confirme what the said people shall think fit to conclude and determine in this affayre. Witnesse my hand, the thirty day of November, 1657.—This he refused to signe, notwithstanding his former promise. Witnesses, James Cole, Thomas Arrowsmith, Thomas Potts, George Johnson, Ralph Clavering, with many others of the parish."

"Diatrephes: or Altare contra Altare. Stating the Case of the Parishioners of Gateshead by way of Complaint, in being actually syquestred and Excluded from the benefit of both Sacraments, by the arbitrary Sentence of their present Incumbent, Mr. Weld."—"Aarons rod is turned into a serpent! for he whose office and duty, it is not onely to explain the oracles of God; but also is required by divine œcunomy to administer the sacraments, despotically refuses so to apply them, though the relation of subordination equally reaches the minister with the people. It is the judgements of all learned divines, and others, that these sacramentall administrations are so essentiall inseparable a part of every ministers duty (who hath a parochyall cure or charge of soules) that they seem to be cemented to the very office and pastorall function by divine and civill sanctions, which interminates penalties for the contempt and neglect thereof. But Mr. Weld assuming a peculiarity and inclosure of some donative and irrefragable power instated upon him by greater authorities, acts diametrically contrary to the constitutions of our own, and all other Christian churches; and as the Philarchæ ruled and judged the severall tribes of Israel; so he doth exercise the keyes for improving the pragmaticall modell of his new Congregated Church into a standing judicature, to which our constant subordination and subjection is required. But we are not obliged, as we conceive, by any laws of God or man, to truckle under such a preheminence; neither, with the slave in Exodus, are our ears bored through with an aule, that we should permit the power and nobler faculties of the soule, to be subdued to an implicite coherence with any magisteriall opinions: and therefore being capable by more light of safer resolutions, we will not act as the Peguans did to their

Pagods, pull out their eyes, and give them up to the priests in sacrifice; so, doe violence to our reasons, which ought to be the instrument of credibility and perswasion, and make our understandings servile and sottish, to take the stampe and character of his impressions; or which, as to the scandall to the action is equivalent, professe to approve, and beleeve, what we reject in our hearts, and doe not beleeve.—Perhaps the title of gratitude may be pleaded, as an aggrevation of the distance to lay an obligation of obedience and complyance upon us; but truely, his favours gives us no being in any notion, so cannot engage our subjection to him, without the intervenience of our own consents; nor is the precept, of living peaceably with all men, of any force or energie in this matter knowing the latitude of that impellency extends but to a morall or legal possibility; and therefore being not convinced in our consciences with the lawfulnesse of such a complyance, should vertually act against our eternall interests by the concession.—We must confesse, that we have had the conduct of pious orthodox ministers, to advise us in examining the grounds of this new way of gathering churches, and by no demonstration of reason, can observe its warrant from God's word, nor the practice of the primitive church; and therefore we who doe not acknowledge our minister vested with the perfections of a Seraphim, nor inerrable, may be allowed to make a supposition which is founded in the possibility of his inceriting some dogmaticall error in the confessions of his New Church, and making the explicite acknowledgement of that, the peremptory indispensable condition of communion. This is our jealousie, as presuming, that if he had discerned any known canon of Scripture by which he might have framed a body of articles, as the constituents of his New Church, he would not have retarded the dispatch, and made publication of them, if it were but to leave us unexcusable for not being his proselytes. To summe up this affayre, we seeme to be redneed to the worst and most unhappy kind of strait, as being necessitated, either to want the federall rites of our salvation, or to purchase their enjoyment by lying and hypocrisie; nor doe we beleeve that the desires of the one will excuse the other.—It is the saddest of considerations, that the legacies of a crucified Saviour, designed for the contesseration of Christian societies, should be converted into a seminary of schisme, contention, division, and separation, to prevaricate the paraphrase of that expression in the Gospel, 'He that will be great among you, let him be your minister'; and that those sacraments should be monopolized to serve the designe of ambition, and fill the belly of covetousenesse, which is perfectly dissonant to the very essence of the pastorall function and duty, and the description of a true and good shepherd.—We remember, that plurality of livings was much declaimed against in Episcopall men, as sœlœcism in piety; and yet it seems parochiall benefits and congregationall benevolences, transferred and secured to one

person, is a thing lawfull for such as pretends to an eminency of diligence and saintship above others: But Mr. Weld professes to have no such carnall contemptible things in his intuition, his elevation being fine and spirituall; yet the dilemma is resolvable by any ordinary capacity, and the curtaine being drawn, his agents and emissaries will appear moving in subserviency to his interests and advantages, and he worshipping the Diana of profit in his actions, which was framed in his heart.—But, however the scene is layd, we feele the prejudice, and may instance by experience, that the personall contumacy of our minister in not communicating with his parishioners as his flocke, and that as one spirituall head and body with them, hath tempted the patience, and interrupted the peace of the generality of them, which is apt to inseminate and fix a 'hatred of the brother in the heart,' and that is more then 'suffering sin upon him.' (Lev. 19. 17, 18.)—Tis whispered to us, that Mr. Weld hath performed the conditions of his call, which is but *gratis dictum*, and a begging of that, which he knows to be most denied him. For in case there were so much of imposture in the projection, as to gaine his admittance to the parochiall cure onely to preach the Gospel in the parish church, but not to administer the sacraments to the parishioners; yet certainly such an admission is a nullity in law, as onely to part of the ministeriall function, not to all the spirituall cure, so consequently the church is voyd. Likewise to fancy that such an admission can enable our minister to receive the whole tythes and dues of his parishioners, yet exempt him from the moity of his pastorall duties is the grossest delusive absurdity imaginable, and extends onely to evince it, his resolutions to fleece his parishioners, but not to own them for his flock; so inverting the order and reasonablenesse of Saint Pauls argument, to receive temporall, and refuse the performance of spirituall ministrations. *Beneficium est propter officium*, that every minister who reaps the benefit of any office or function, ought conscientiously to performe all the duties of his ministery and function; and therefore it is a most untheologicall plea, to pleade conscience against doing that duty, which his very place and calling obliges him both in conscience, justice, and honesty to performe.—Unconverted, unbaptized heathens are capable of nourishment from the pulpit; but Christians have a right to higher priviledges, to which our restauration is prejudged by our minister, and that upon this ground; to engage us to a vital complyance to his new garbe, founded upon no colour of authority from Scripture, antiquity, or reason; so as the result would onely be an adhering to conclusions, without weighing what is, or can be brought against his present perswasions, which in the event can onely render us a return proportionable to Glaucus's change, giving us flannell for gold. But because we checke at such aëry ineffective notions, it inflames the passions of our minister, he resolving, as the historian tells us, *acrioribus stimulis animos explorare*, and not to cure the distemper by embrocation, but by

causticks, and excision ; and therefore, above the proportion of the most unlimited arbitrary court, hath interpretatively excommunicated and actually excluded above a thousand soules from the benefit of the sacraments, without any legall proceeding, hearing, or sentence denounced against them in any civill or ecclesiasticall judicature, and have so kept them under the same penall suspention above eight years together, against the rules of law, religion, and conscience ; nor will indulge the favour of administering the sacraments to any of his parish, but to eight women, and two men, weak and unstable persons, that are sublimed his converts.—Now observing, that the intermission of those great comprehensive acts of piety is a season for the enemy of mankind to sow his tares, by the production of error, confidence, security, and a carelesse conversation appearing in many men ; we thought it our duties to importune and intreat our minister to take a true, serious, full comprehension and value of that one great interest of others, as well as himselfe, and to administer the sacraments at fitting and accustomed times, to such persons in the parish church, as are not justly chargeable with scandall or ignorance, and to baptize their children according to his pastorall duty ; or else to establish such a pious godly minister, as the parishioners should make choyce of to perform those duties to them : but these desires, like Philopemen's counsell in the senate of Lacedæmon, is peremptorily denyed, yea, and defamed, as secretly designing to devest him of his parochiall right, which is a fallacious pretence, *à non causa pro causa*, to amuse us, and stave us from those priviledges, which we claime as members of a visible church, yet why our minister should be unwilling to be gratified in propounding to him a lecturer, we can render no reason, but his hast, which permitted him not to consider our spirituall necessitie, and his own advantages of ease and security, which having no influence upon his spirit, we shall onely super-adde these quæries, and leave them to his own soule to answer them."

The Quæries echo Diatrephes. The following are extracts. "Whether the doctrines held out in maintenance of this act of separation be parts of that evangelicall faith which was once, or at once delivered to the saints ?—Whether *si quis ecclesiam non audierit* be intended his Congregated Church in the sense of Christ's affirmation, to give grounds to the act of exclusion from the sacraments ?—Whether it can be reputed any act of conscience or reformation in any person to forsake his present perswasions, whilst he is not convinced of any error in them ? And whether the bare damning of us is any such matter of conviction ?—Whether Mr. Weld is knowingly elected a foundation-stone in the church of Christ by an irrespective decree, which in conscience might induce him to passe that obloquy of *loose stones* upon his parishioners, by way of reproofe, to hasten their fixation in him ? Or was it not the towring pregnancy of a Babell in the braine that spawned the anologie.—Whether Mr. Weld receiving the whole profits of the parochiall cure

from his parishioners, can apprehend it the duty of an uncompounded professor of the Gospel, to substract and with-hold a part of their spirituall rights instated upon them as members of a true visible church? And if this usage be further continued to them, whether they may not in justice and equity detaine the tythes and duties demanded by him as their incumbent, by parity of reason, and muzzle the mouth of the oxe that refuses to tread out the corne? —Whether the externall zeale of Mr. Weld be sufficient to regenerate his godly party, (as he styles them), and to canonize their actions for christian, and saint-like, being such in themselves for which no other religion allows any expiation.—Whether the ambition of magistracy makes them not content to be seemingly holy, that by that means they may get into power, like Absalom, a passionate friend to justice, when he had an itch to have command?—Whether it is the temper of his godly party (for so he termes them) to plot and project, and to that purpose to hold correspondency with others, to subvert and destroy the interest of their neighbours, which, by their continued practice, is acknowledged to be so in their account, having attempted *the removing of the land-marks*, the altering the government of the place where their lot is fallen?—Whether it is their innocence or discretion, the want of will or opportunity, that they are not really and knowingly guilty of that wickednesse themselves, which they falsely charge upon others? *If a man strive for masteries, yet is he not crowned unlesse he strive lawfully*, 2 Tim. 2. 5."

"To the Commissioners for Propagating the Gospel. The humble Petition of the Parishioners of Gateshead Sheweth, That since Mr. Weld hath had the incumbency of Gateshead, the greatest part of his parishioners have, by him, been denyed the comfort and benefit of both sacraments, to which being intitled as Christians, and valuing them as the essentialls of our profession, have induced us by all lawfull and Christian means to endeavour our restauration to those priviledges; and therefore, with much patience and moderation, have besought Mr. Weld to administer the sacraments to all without distinction, being fitly qualified for the reception of them, which in assuming a parochiall charge, he ought to doe, by the laws of God, and by the command of that authority which established the Directory *. While we attended a satisfactory answer to so just and reasonable desires, we might observe his aversations, in admitting persons to the sacraments out of other places, as capable onely of communion with him: and therefore, with meeknes, did reinstance him to discharge the duty he had espoused, and not to deprive us of the most visible advantages, afforded us by divine œcunomy, for promoting the eternall interest of our soules; for if the pretence of conscience will supercede this duty, because we act not in a vitall complyance with his perswasions, which to us are

* The Directory is printed in the Appendix to Neal's vol. iii.

dark and enigmaticall ; by parity of reason he should disclaime the constitution, and consequently the tythes and dues incident to the office parochiall, for avoyding of scandall, and all appearance of evill. But that is more than we desire should be granted, if the sacraments at seasonable times may be administred to us and our children publickly in our parish church ; yet because it is possible that our liberty in such things may be judged by other mens consciences, we did earnestly importune Mr. Weld to establish a lecturer for that service, as our sister churches have in Newcastle, who, being of our own judgements and choyce, would so move in harmony with our spirits, as to engage us in the practicall knowledge of Christ Jesus, and upon the emanations of an uniforme faithfull obedience to the whole Gospel. But these conveniences, Mr. Weld hath denyed us, to which his exceptions was so causelesse, that they are onely able to evidence the power of prejudice in dissatisfying the consciences and necessities of more than a thousand soules, who hungers and thirsts for these spirituall refreshments. We have therefore thought it necessary to make our applications to you, who are intrusted by publick authority to redresse such grievances, hoping you will be pleased so to order things in Gateshead, as that a certain provision may be made for the administration of the sacraments to all whose eternity are concerned in them. And your Petitioners shall ever pray &c."—"This petition was presented to the Commissioners for Propagating the Gospell 3tio Martii, by some of the Parishioners of Gateshead, Mr. Mitford being then chayre-man : To which he returned this answer, that the Commissioners had considered of the Petition, but were not empowered by their Commission to take Cognizance of it."

Mar. 2. Mr. Stephen Dockrie, preacher of God's word, performs marriages at St. John's.

March 6. The clerk of the town's chamber ordered to send for the several parish clerks of the churches in Newcastle, quarterly, and receive the vicarage dues.

March 24. "Mr. Hammond and the rest of the Ministers moved the Common Council that they would please to petition the Lord Protector to change the market day from Saturday to Friday, for that it is a greate profanation to the Lord's day to be kept on tne Saturday. Order accordingly."

George Fox assumes to himself the merit of having suppressed the new university at Durham. Just before, he came from Berwick "to Newcastle, where I have been once before (see 1653)*. The Newcastle priests had written many books against us ; and one Ledger, an alderman of the town, was very envious against truth and Friends. He and the priests had said, 'the Quakers would not come into any great towns, but lived in the Fells, like butterflies.' So I took Anthony Pearson with me, and went to this Ledger, and

* Journal, 281.

several others of the aldermen, 'desiring to have a meeting amongst them, seeing they had written so many books against us, for we were now come, I told them, into their great town.' But they would not yield we should have a meeting, neither would they be spoken withal, save only this Ledger and one other. I queried 'had they not called Friends butterflies, and said, we would not come into any great towns ? and, now we were come into their town they would not come at us, though they had printed books against us : who were butterflies now ?' said I. Then Ledger began to plead for the Sabbath-day ; but I told him they kept markets and fairs on that which was the Sabbath-day, for that was the seventh day of the week ; whereas that day, which the professed Christians now met on, and call their Sabbath, is the first day of the week. As we could not have a public meeting among them, we got a little meeting among Friends and friendly people, at the Gate-side ; where a meeting is continued to this day, in the name of Jesus. As I was passing by the market place, the power of the Lord rose in me, 'to warn them of the day of the Lord, that was coming upon them.' And not long after, all those priests of Newcastle and their profession were turned out, when the King came in. From Newcastle we travelled through the countries, having meetings and visiting Friends as we went, in Northumberland and Bishoprick. A very good meeting we had at Lieutenant Dove's, where many were turned to the Lord and his teaching. After the meeting I went to visit a justice of peace, a very sober, loving, man, who confessed to the truth. From thence we came to Durham, where was a man come down from London, to set up a college there, to make ministers of Christ as they said." "When we had discoursed with the man he became very loving and tender ; and, after he had considered further of it, declined to set up his college." (Leeds edition of Fox's Journal, i. 459-61.)

1657-8. Whitehead's Journal. "Great endeavours were used for us to have had some meetings in Newcastle-upon-Tine, while I was in those parts ; but the Mayor of the town (influenced by the priests) would not suffer us to keep any meeting within the liberty of the town ; though in Gateside (being out of the Mayor's liberty) our Friends had settled a meeting at our beloved Friend Richard Ubank's house (as I remember his name was). The first meeting we then endeavoured to have within the town of Newcastle was in a large room, taken on purpose by some Friends. The meeting was not fully gathered, when the Mayor of the town and his officers came, and by force turned us out of the meeting, and not only so, but out of the town also ; for the Mayor and his company commanded us, and went along with us so far as the bridge, over the river Tyne, that parts Newcastle and Gateside ; upon which bridge there is a Blew Stone, to which the Mayor's liberty only extends. When we came to that stone, the Mayor gave his charge to each of us in these words, viz. 'I charge and command you, in the name of

His Highness the Lord Protector, that you come no more into Newcastle, to have any more meetings there, at your peril.'"

"The Friends, however, met again on a Sabbath-day, near the river side, and within the liberties of Newcastle; and, though in the open air, were again forcibly sent over to Gateshead, where, it seems, they could have their meetings without molestation. As they could not have a meeting within the liberties of the town, they had, however, agreed, for a certain sum of money, with the man who kept the Shire House* (which, though in the town, was not in its liberties), for the use of it, to hold a public meeting in; but in this they were also, by the interference of a priest of the town, prevented. They, however, held their meeting out of doors, on the side of the hill near the Shire House, where they could not be disturbed by the Mayor." (Mackenzie.)

1657-8. Gateshead. A table of the stalls. A great number vacant. A general reletting and considerable income therefrom, but the vacancies left. Received, 30 Sep., at a colection upon a day of humiliation, 1*l.* 1*d.* Oct. 4. Received of people absent from the church, 4*s.* 10*d.* Whittning the church and putting the pillars in marbell cullors, and adorning the pulpiutt. Mr. John Thompson, minister, who teacheth schole in the Anchoridge. George Sneton, making upp the partichon betwixt the Quire and the church, and for dailles and sparrs for the same and for spicks and nailles, and his and sarvant's workmanship, 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*"

1658. Petition from Mrs. Jane Stote to the Corporation to send her son Nicholas to the university, and to have 5*l.* a year for that purpose.

Mar. 30. Mr. Richard Prideaux, preacher of God's word, solemnizes marriages at St. John's. In July he is called Pruddux. In the latter month, Mr. Henry Ashborne, preacher of God's word, occurs in the same capacity.

1658. "Tuesday, 22 of June, 1658. At the council at Whitehall. Upon reading a certificate from Robert Fenwick, Henry Ogle Esq., and John Topping, Governor of Tinmouth, touching the government of Gateside in the county of Durham, in pursuance of an order of the 6th of April last, forasmuch as it appeareth that divers of the Four and Twenty of Gateside are persons who, by the Humble Petition and Advice, are disabled from exercising any place or office of public trust, and are guilty of profaneness and divers other crimes, so as they are not fit to be intrusted in that employment, Ordered by his Highness, and the Council, that the present Four and Twenty of Gateside aforesaid be discharged from exercising any power or authority in the said town, and that Mr. Thomas Weld, John London, William London, John Partridge, Edward Spenser, William Webster, Thomas Henderson, Christopher Sanderson, Charles Midleton, John Bedford, Thomas Jeffery, Abram Smith, Lawrence Foster, Nehemiah Church, Richard Hopper,

* The Moot-hall in the liberties of the Castle, which belonged to the Crown.

William Bell, John Clarke, Robert Jackson, Symon Thursby, Francis Collingson, Christopher Gibson, Charles Grove, John Willowby, Thomas Turner, inhabitants of the said town, be and they are hereby nominated and appointed to be, from henceforth, the Four and Twenty there, and to exercise the same power and authority, and to do all and every the things, in reference to the said town, and the inhabitants thereof, and the election of officers and of such as shall succeed in the place of any of the before named persons dying, as the former Four and Twenty might lawfully do and exercise. Henry Scobell, Clerk of the Council."

October. The Corporation paid "for ringing at the *two* churches, Nicholas' and All Hallows', when his Highness Richard Lord Protector was proclaimed."

Nov. The Corporation paid "for ringing at the *four* churches on the 5th of November."

1658-9. Gateshead. Mr. Weld now acts in the Four and Twenty. He did not previously. They met the first Monday of every month at 8 a.m. "The Gallery in the church mended which was like to fall downe, and new seates built therein." "Inditementes for that the constables neglected to present Popish recusants." "Parson Browne's child" receives charity.

1659. "The Catalogue of the Hebrew Saints Canonized by St. Paul, Heb. 11th. Further explained and applied.—Newcastle, Printed by S. B. 1659." Small 4to., pp. 159, including title.

There appear to have been a number of Quakers "in Lambert's army in Newcastle, 1659, where they bargained for and sold horses, to be paid when such or such a steeple house (in our language a church) was pulled down." (Price's History of the Restoration, p. 32.)

About Candlemas, Henry Leaver 'had a call' from Brancepeth, to St. John's, on the resignation of Cole. He was established here 20 June 1660, and was afterwards ejected. Cole afterwards conformed. (p. 29.) He was minister of Kirby Kendal (Brand, i. 118). Was this before or after his Newcastle ministry? See London's catalogue, 1657.

1659-60. Jan. 1. General Monk ordered his infantry from Coldstream over the Tweed. "It was the Lord's Day too, and it was his doing." (Price's History of the Restoration, p. 75.)

1660. Mr. John Durant dedicated The Woman of Canaan, being the sum of certain sermons on Matthew xv. 22, to the Magistrates, Ministers, and Inhabitants of Newcastle upon Tyne, thanking them for their singular respect to his dear brother William Durant, who was carrying on the work of the Gospel among them in that town, 1660, 8vo. (See Granger's Biog. Hist. ii. 27.) This John Durant preached in the cathedral of Canterbury, and, like his brother William, was ejected in 1662. There was also, among the ejected, another John Durant, a clergyman in Norfolk.

May 13. Margaret Dixon of Newcastle said "What! can they

find no other man to bring in than a Scotsman ? What ? is there not some Englishman more fit to make a king than a Scot ? There is none that loves him but drunk whores and whoremongers. I hope he will never come into England, for that he will set on fire the three kingdoms as his father before him has done." (Dep. York. 83.)

Reign of Charles II., 1660—1684-5.

After the Restoration it is not necessary to notice all the ministers of the churches.

1660. June 20. Mr. Stephen Dockwray (appointed 1647) established at St. Andrew's, by the common council, to preach forenoon and afternoon, at 80*l.*—Mr. Knightbridge established at St. Nicholas', with 150*l.* salary.—Henry Lever established at St. John's.

July 28. William Robson, parish clerk of All Saints' church, restored to his office by writ of Charles II.

July 27. Certificates by Drs. John Cosin, John Barwick, and Gilbert Sheldon in favour of Robert Bonner, M.A., petitioner for the rector of Hartburn, co. Nd., void by death of John Snape, and in his Majesty's gift by vacancy of the see of Durham. (S.P.)

Aug. ? Robert Bonner, M.A. Curate of All Saints, NC., petitions for gift of St. Magdalen's Hospital and St. Thomas's Chapel there, which have been usually bestowed on a freeman of the town and a master of arts. Was banished the town during the troubles, for using the church services and praying for His Majesty, and the places were given to Sam. Hammond, brought in by Sir Arthur Hasslerigg. Annexed is a certificate by John Marley and ten others, to the facts. (S.P.)

Aug. ? Sir Nicholas Cole, Bt. and six other loyal subjects of NC. petition for the grant of the vicarage there to Dr. George Wishart for their encouragement in religion and loyalty. (See 1644.) In all these changes no preferment could prevail with him to change. (S.P.)

Aug. ? Ralph Fetherstonhaugh, of Durham, petitions the King for the office of Bailiff of Gateshead. Was imprisoned four times, *sold to the Barbadoes*, and fined 310*l.* during the Usurpation, so that his former estate of 300*l.* a year will not maintain his family. Marked "Warrant accordingly." (S.P.)

Aug. 26. Gateshead. Mr. John Ladler reads the Thirty-nine Articles. He was instituted by Bp. Cosin 16 March 1660(-1) to the Rectory; but the presentation had been made by Charles II. sede vacante. Cosin was consecrated Bishop in Dec. 1660. Calamy, in speaking of Ladler's succession to Weld, states that he had a dormant presentation from Bp. Morton.

Sep. Dr. Wishart was appointed in the place of Mr. Dockray

(who died in August) at St. Andrew's, by the common-council, pursuant to a letter from the King, at 80*l.* He was removed to St. Nicholas', and the salary of John Clark, reinstated in Aug. 1662, was to begin since Mr. Dockray's decease.—Roland Salkeld occurs as curate of All Saints' this year.

Oct. The Corporation paid "Wm. Story for keeping the two women which was suspected to be witches."

Oct. 27. Ambrose Barnes took the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. (p. 100.)

Nov. 13. Mr. Cuthbert Stote, preacher of God's word, occurs in the register of St. John's.

1660-1. Gateshead. The Four and Twenty remodelled. Lawrence Foster, John London and Francis Collinson who had been displaced by Oliver and restored in his list, are the only Oliverians retained. Ten others of those ejected are restored. Five who had been retained by Oliver are rejected. Gifts of communion plate. "The King's armes sett up. Three yeardes of French green for a communion cloth. Joyning worke to the fontt. A rope for the fonte. Laying the stone stepes aboute the fontt and setting it upp and levelling other stones in the church. Gilding the fontt, 3*l.*: nailcing a fox head on the church dore."

1660-1. Jan. 10. Wm. Delavalle at Gateshead to Edw. Grey, London. A treacherous party of 150 horse tried last night to surprise NC., but failed through fear. Commissioners should be appointed for settlement of the militia and disarming the factions; these are chiefly merchants, who disperse infinite quantities of powder and shot into the northern counties and Scotland. Most of the disbanded forces lie about Newcastle, and would join the fanatics to raise a new war. The pulpit blows sparks, and it is common discourse that the government will not last a year. Fears hellish designs in embryo. (S.P.)

1660-1. Mar. 2. Cuthbert Stote buried a son Richard at St. Nicholas', NC. He had been minister of Whickham, and, under the name of Scot, is said by Calamy to have conformed on the Restoration. In the lists of Whickham rectors, there are no notices of a successor till 1671, but he does not seem to have retained his living. On 10 Sep. 1662 he buried a daughter Margaret, who had been born the day before, at St. Nicholas'. We next find a clergyman of the same name at Tollerton in Yorkshire, in Sep. 1663, and Mrs. Jane Stote was buried there in December. In 1663, a curate at St. Nicholas' of the name of Nicholas Stote, occurs in Cosin's Register. Brand asks whether Cuthbert and Nicholas were the same man, and Hutchinson and Surtees call the intruder at Whickham Nicholas. But there can be no doubt of the existence of two Stotes, Cuthbert and Nicholas. Edward Stote *had* a son Nicholas, bap. 1632.

1660-1. March 18. Henry Worster to Henry Thompson, Newcastle. Exhorts that town to follow the example of London in

choosing Independents and Presbyterians as parliament men.—March 19. Joseph Tilly to Sam. Bird, Newcastle, describes the members for London as well affected to good government, but no friends to bishops.—J. C. to Thomas Powell, Newcastle, says the lawn sleeves will not like the election. (S.P.)

1661. The four and twenty, and the "auncients of the parish" of All Saints' assembled in consequence of the east wall and other parts of the church having become very ruinous. 200*l.* shall be raised by a cess. No land shall be valued at above half its rent.

March 25. The Savoy Conference. Bp. Cosins was there constantly, and a copy of the previous prayer-book altered by him and Sancroft is now at Durham. When the Ministers prayed the Bishops to have some compassion and not cast such numbers unnecessarily out of the Ministry, he replied "What, do you threaten us with numbers? For my part, I think the King would do well to make you name them all." Again, when they complained that after so many years' calamity the Bishops would not yield to that which their predecessors offered before the war, Bishop Cosins replied, "Do you threaten us then with a new War? 'Tis Time for the King to look to you." (Neale iv. 335.)

July 2. Mr. Plesents, preacher of God's word, solemnizes marriages at St. John's.

Aug. 1. "The font of All Saints was set up this day by Cuthbert Maxwell of this town, mason, who had saved it about 20 years before from the barbarous hands of the Scots army, who did indeavour to break it." (Par. Reg., Sharp.)

Aug. 8. A witchcraft case at Newcastle. See it in Dep. Yk., Sur. Soc., 88. Others occur in the same volume at pp. 92, 112, 124, 127, 154.

Sep. 3. Elikia Walles, preacher of God's word, and Mrs. Mary Butler, widow, married at St. John's by Mr. Richard Stote, preacher of God's word.

John Cosins, draper and alderman, bequeathed 100 volumes to the library of St. Nicholas'. He died on March 21, and was buried in the north aisle of All Saints'.

"This John Cosyn as well as Mr. Rawlin, (whose monument is over against his in the south corner,) was an alderman in the time of the rebellion, of whom Sir George Baker said they were not truly justices, though in the place of justices. This Cosyn was the first exciseman that was ever in Newcastle, and a captain against the King. Mr. Pringle, as they say, caused this to be written:—*A conscience pure, unstained with* SIN, *Is brass without and gold within.* But some took offence, and said thus:—*A conscience free he never had, His brass was naught, his gold was bad.*"

1661-2. Gateshead. An assessment for the repair of the church and the providing of "a communion table cloath, surplice, and cushion and cloath for the pulpitt." "Received from Mr. Wm. Webster in No. 28, North side, for his wife when he gits hir,

3*s.* 4*d.*" "Paid for a communion table cloth of dammaske 18*s.* A cirpeloth 3*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* Guilding the pulpitt head 4*l.*"

1661-2. Mar. 23. Thomas Herbert, weaver, Newcastle, had lamented the destruction of Lambert's army and wished a change of government. (Dep. York, 93.)

1662 ? Petition of Isabel, widow of Major Wm. Humes for a portion from the 2000*l.* assigned for charitable purposes. Her husband served at Oxford and under the Marquis of Newcastle, was surprised at his house near Newcastle, by Sir Arthur Hasslerigg's foot, murdered in the night, and his estate of 4000*l.* plundered, so that she and her children want bread. (S.P.)

1662 ? Memoranda of sundry medical receipts and directions; notes of a projected cypher, and address of the writer's sister, Janet Wilmet, Newcastle, under cover to Gavin Lawry &c. (S.P.)

1662. Died William Milbourne, postman. Buried under a blue stone near the church porch of All Saints', which stone he bought of one Milbourne a mason, who had been ordered by Thomas Ledger (Mayor during the Civil troubles), who brought it from St. Austin's Friary, to erase the ancient inscription. Ledger, finding no room to lay it where his father was buried at St. Nicholas', sold it to the mason.

1662. "The Loyall Subject. Treating of Magistracy, Ministery, Religion &c. chiefly set forth (in these perilous times) to inform all those weake, unstable Spirits, and divided members of their distracted Church and State, of their duty, and due Obedience, to God and their King. And by motives and reasons (arising from the Word of God, and learned Authors) draw them from their erronious Opinions to a holy conformity in Christian Government. The second edition, Corrected and Enlarged, Per R. Thomson, Pacis & Veritatis Amatorem. Newcastle, Printed by Stephen Bulkley, 1662." Small 4to, pp. 120, title and dedication to the Reader, 7 leaves.

1662. All Saints'. "Paid for mason work for making up the great window, 25*l.*—for mason work for the second window 14*l.* 1*s.*—for iron and smithswork for the three windows 12*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.*—for carving, gilding, and setting up the King's arms, 12*l.* 6*s.*—for two + frames for the Ten Commandments and the Lord's prayer and Creed, making 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*—Benedict Horsley for gilding painting and writing them 4*l.* 10*s.*—the glasier for making the great window 6*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*"

April 9. Barnes contemplates emigration to Surinam. (p. 191.)

April 20. Deed, wherein Samuel Barker (see 1617) occurs as curate of All Saints', according to Brand.

Apr. 27. Amor Oxley (sequestrated in 1645) re-appointed master of the Grammar School, at 100*l.* with perquisites. William Sanson was usher, and *Allan Gilpon* under-usher.

July 14. "Mr. Renny, Parish clerk, Bp. Wearmouth, has a Bible which belonged to Mr. Hammond. It contains a few MS. notes, from which the following. 'I came from N.Castle July 14,

1662, and set saile for Hamburgh the 16th, 1662*, and arrived, through the good hand of God upon me, July 24th, 1662. My wife and children set saile the 30th of August, and arrived through the same providence at Hambrough, Sep. 5, 1662.'" (Sharp's MSS.) Dr. Ellison's MSS. inform us that when Mr. Hammond, upon the Restoration, was questioned by Bp. Cosin about his orders, he had nothing to plead but either a university or college licence.

Aug. 18. Wm. Geary writes from Gray's Inn to Mr. Whittaker. Dr. Nath. Ward recommends his petition to him, with the certificate, which is a true copy of the original in the Bishop of Worcester's handwriting. Annexing Petition of Nath. Ward, D.D., chaplain to the King, for letters mandatory to the Corporation of NC. to confer on them their vicarage †, void by non-conformity of the present minister; and copy certificate by Dr. John Earles and George Bp. of Worcester in favour of the petitioner. (S.P.)

"If it were certainly known what their [the Sectaries'] design was in the tickets which were dispatched into the several counties, before Saint Bartholomew, 1662, their hypocrisy would be so laid open that no apology could be made. Thus much I know, it was to assure their inferior sort of ministers, that, with their good leave, they may comply and conform, and, if they prevailed in the design they were carrying on, notwithstanding their present compliance, they would favourably entertain, and, as it should happen, prefer them." (Shaw's No Reformation of the Established Reformation. See 1685.)

Aug. 24. St. Bartholomew's Day.

Among the ejected ministers in Northumberland were John Pringle from Eglingham, and John Lomax, M.A. from Wooler. The former settled in Newcastle, where, says Calamy, he preached occasionally for Dr. Gilpin, and practised physic with reputation and success. He was accounted a man of learning: was very communicative, and not unpleasing in conversation. He once suffered imprisonment. (See p. 146.) Lomax had lived with his mother at Newcastle before he obtained Wooler vicarage. She subsisted comfortably upon "a jointure which she had by Mr. Bonner, an eminent merchant, who died mayor of Newcastle." Lomax afterwards kept the first apothecary's shop in Shields, and died about 1694. When Dr. Cartwright, then prebendary of Durham, was reflecting upon Lomax among other dissenting ministers, in presence of Bp. Cosin,

* See p. 142. Here is plain evidence that he did not come to Hackney until after he had been at Hamburgh, and that he left Newcastle before Bartholomew's Day. On Aug. 18 we find the vicarage already void. The Act for Uniformity had passed on May 19, and "some of the Nonconformists quitted their stations in the church before the 24th of August, as Mr. Baxter and others, who did it with an intent to let all the ministers over England know their resolution beforehand." (Neal, iv. 369.)

† The real patronage was, I presume, a matter of small consequence. Without the Corporation's salary the living was not perhaps very attractive.

who laboured to induce him to conform, his lordship said "Doctor, hold your 'tongue; for to my certain knowledge, John Lomax is a learned man." (Calamy.)

Henry Lever of St. John's, on his ejection, removed to Shincliffe, to the house of Mr. Dixon, his late wife's son, where he continued until 1665. Durant of All Saints' remained in Newcastle. Hammond had gone, and Prideaux occurs below.

Aug. 27. John Shaw, A.M., on the removal of Lever, appointed to preach forenoon and afternoon at St. John's, with a salary of 60*l.*, and 10*l.* for his turn in the Thursday's lecture at St. Nicholas'. He also came into possession of Whalton at the Restoration. He had been "imprisoned no less than four years by the rebels." (Walker.)

Same day. On the removal of Dr. Wiseheart to the rectory of Brancepeth, John Bewick, A.M., was appointed to St. Nicholas' lecture, with a salary of 150*l.* per annum, for preaching on Sunday afternoons and holidays. Calamy calls him Berwick, and states that he was of Stanhope at the Restoration and conformed. Bourne considers that he was the same John Bewick as was lecturer of St. Nicholas' in 1639.

Same day. Richard Prideaux, of All Saints', of the persuasion called "The Congregational Judgment," seems to have conformed, as we now find him settled there, to preach both forenoon and afternoon. See his will at p. 129. It was proved in 1663.

Same day. John Clark, A.M. reinstated at St. Andrew's, salary 80*l.* "to begin since Mr. Dockray's decease." He died in 1667.

Mr. Richard Gilpin is said at p. 142 to have succeeded Mr. Samuel Hammond and to have "been educated in Scotland *." (p. 141.) At one time he was a preacher in Lambeth, at the Savoy, where he was assistant to Dr. Wilkins †. He administered the Lord's Supper to a small congregation in Durham; but not having his health there, he removed to Cumberland ‡, and was made parson of Graystock "a benefice of 300*l.* a year." (p. 142.) In this living he succeeded one West, who had died about two years after he had supplanted William Morland, M.A. Morland was presented by the Earl of Arundel in 1639, and in 1650 was ejected for ignorance and insufficiency by Sir Arthur Hazlerig and other commissioners for propagating the gospel in the four northern counties; which sentence, upon Mr. Morland's appeal, was confirmed by the Com-

* "He was not, however, wholly educated in Scotland. He was also at Queen's Coll. Oxford, where he took the degree of M.D." (Clephan's Nonconformity in Newcastle.) According to p. 142, he went to Leyden and took the degree of M.D. there before coming to NC. This is not inconsistent with an English degree. He is called *Dr.* in the lists of Greystock rectors.

† Calamy.

‡ Among his works, Calamy has "The Temple rebuilt, Sermons before the united ministers of Cumberland and Westmoreland:" "The Heads of Agreement between the Ministers of those two counties:" and "An Assize Sermon in 1660."

mittee for Plundered Ministers. On the Restoration Gilpin delivered up the rectory to Mr. Morland, who did not long survive his returning fortune, for he died in 1663. (Nicholson and Burns.) In 1657 when at Greystock Gilpin had been made a visitor of Oliver's college of Durham. (Hutchinson.) It is said that Gilpin had, on the Restoration, while yet Rector of Graystock, been offered the Bishopric of Carlisle, which preferment he declined on conscientious scruples as to the authority of Episcopal government, and on the passing of the Act of Uniformity he was ejected from his living. It is a coincidence that Bernard Gilpin also refused the see of Carlisle *. Gilpin's old flock in Cumberland received a successor in Mr. Anthony Sleigh, who was educated in a private academy at Durham, took the degree of M.A. at Edinburgh, and was a candidate for the ministry when the Bartholomew Act took place. While Gilpin was prospering at Newcastle, Sleigh was thrown into prison, and, for praying with the prisoners, consigned to the dungeon. He was preaching by secrecy and by night, and for 20 years together had not above 20*s.* a year from his people. He declined more advantageous posts after the toleration, and died in bodily suffering and mental patience in 1702 †.

Sep. 30. Wm. Delavalle to Edward Grey. The treacherous designs of fanatic spirits under the church's colours bid defiance to the civil magistrates, and by impunity grow to such insolence and boldness that, without speedy suppression, King and kingdom will be endangered. Companies of 12 or 20 men go to Scotland, and many horses are sent thither too good for the plough. The Scots buy or steal all the horses they can. The Newcastle men correspond with them, through Pattison and Johnson, their emissaries.

1662-3. Gateshead. "Mending the church coffin. 6 winding shetts to bury the poore. Removing the gallery. Flowring the vestre. Setting up the Commandments. Building a chimny in the vestre. A lintall for the said chimny. An iron chimny-grate, toungs and fire shovell. Plaistering the place of the old gallery. Two loe stoles for the comunion-table. Cutting away the old gallery-steps."

1662-3. Feb. 9. Thomas Nayler, clerk, M.A. instituted perpetual vicar of St. Nicholas', by Bishop Cosin, on the presentation of Thomas Burwell, LL.D. patron for this turn only. (Reg. Cosin, 108.) He had a salary of 100*l.* This Vicar Nailor gave leave to Mr. Lanc. Hodshon to remove the wooden monument of Henry Percy, 4th Earl of Northumberland, from its position against the wall in St. Nicholas' next to the Selby monument which had usurped its original site, and place his father.

Mar. 15. John Wolfall, curate of All Saints', ordained priest.

1663. March 30. James Hickes (dating from Letter Office) to Williamson. A plot has been discovered at Newcastle on Tyne by

* "Consonant to their motto '*Dictis factisque simplex.*'" (Calamy.)
† Calamy.

an informer, an Anabaptist, whose name is kept secret [John Ellerington, examined March 22], and who was troubled in conscience and revealed all to the Bishop of Durham. Many persons are apprehended, but none of quality. (S.P.)

Same date. Same to same. A letter sent to him from Capt. Rich. Foster, of NC., concerning the discovery of a plot there, was borrowed from him by the postmaster, and is detained by Col. Frowde. The names are not told yet. It was first discovered to the Bp. of Durham. (S.P.)

Same date. Bp. Cosin (at Bp. Auckland Castle) and two Deputy Lieutenants of Durham to the Council. Have employed the militia in the arrest of seditious persons, and nine are taken, who stiffly deny the information, especially their frequent meetings. The rest have escaped to Scotland or Northumberland. Capt. Tho. Gore, a chief contriver, and Paul Hobson, his great friend, are in London. John Elrington, servant to Lady Foster, of Blanchland, is constant to his oath, and by him further discoveries may be made. (S.P.)

See Surtees, ii. 389, for Ellerington's information and other papers about this "Muggleswick Conspiracy."

June. Mr. John Jackson, preacher of God's word, occurs in All Saints' Register.

June 20. Will of "Edward Rochester a most unworthy minister of Jesus Christ in Wooler," proved the same year. "My books I appoint to be sold leaving to *Mr. Amor Oxley* [see page 342] my deare friend his choice of any of them, and the moneys of their prices to be putt into the hands of Mr. John Clarke of Chillingham and Henry Morton of Dodington to make a stronge planke Bridge of wood for foot passengers over Wooler water, engraving at the one end of the bridge *doe not sweare*, at the other *bee not drunck*."

June 30. The Conventicle Act passed, denouncing fine and imprisonment, exile and death, against offenders.

Aug. 8. Anne Houstonns (Newcastle) to Mr. Duell. Has not yet prevailed with Col. Stewart, but hopes to hear from him; will write to Duell at the postmaster's at NC. Endorsed "Information from Sir T. Gower." (S.P.)

Aug. 9. Mr. Thomas Davison appointed lecturer of All Saints', with a salary of 150*l.* per annum, by the Common Council.

Aug. 11. —— (at York) to the Bp. of Durham. The disaffected have sent lately into the Bishopric, and there are dangerous people in Sunderland, whence they are to be furnished with powder. Thinks these devices should be hunted out, though men say it will stir up humours and be ridiculous if nothing is proved. Durham and Newcastle should be searched; has imprisoned several of the heads in that country. Receives no letters, and fears they are taken out of the posthouse. (S.P.)

Sept. ? E. Jennings to (the Council of the North), has taken up at NC. five persons, supposed to be highwaymen, with whom the

county abounds, but finds they are Sir Dugald Campbell and his party, of the Argyle family. Sir Dugald professes that their business in England was to drink the waters; he denies having received letters from the Earl of Argyle, as stated by his man. Sends two letters of mysterious import found on him ("Things are drawing more close" &c. in one of Sep. 3). Has set a guard over them in their inn, and asks whether to send them to York. (S.P.)—Sept. ? Intelligence. Disputes have arisen between the Anabaptists and Fifth-Monarchy men. Their intention was to rise last Durham assizes, but the south parts not being ready, they postponed, till nearer winter. They intend to take Newcastle and Skipton Castle, and have ships riding about NC. They expect to do all in a night. (S.P.)—Sep. 24. Sir Thomas Gower [of Stittenham] to (Bishop Cosin). The dissatisfied intend to seize his Lordship and his money, with that of the Dean and Chapter; also divers gentlemen who may oppose them, with their arms, horses, and money. They have 300 horse ready, and foot enough to surprise Newcastle. This information, though strange, is given on oath, but some are incredulous of any design; does not wish to hazard ill consequences through neglect. (S.P.)—Sep. 25. John Durance (Durham Castle) to the Mayor and Deputy-Lieutenants of Newcastle. Has dispatched an express with a letter from the High Sheriff of York. Keeps guards continually for the peace of the county, but cannot discover any cause of apprehension. (S.P.)—Sep. 27. —— to Sec. Bennet. The busy discontents compute their numbers in the four northern counties at 10,000. (S.P.)

Oct. The Corporation "paid the Lord Bishop of Durham as a gratuity towards the building * of his chapel at Auckland, 200*l.*"

Oct. 12. Thomas Swan (Newcastle Post Office) to Mr. Muddiman. Thanks for his news. Will give him Scottish tidings. Lord Lorn, Argyle's eldest son, has passed up to London; will gratify his clerks if he can. (S.P.)

Oct. 13. Letter from NC. There are hot alarms. Sir James Clavenger (sic in cal., lege *Clavering*) the vigilant mayor, has ordered the officers of two companies to be ready. Never saw men prepare so quickly. Sir Fra. Lyddall's company marched to the market-place before the drums began to beat. The readiness in

* Or rather, as it seemeth to me, converting the great hall of the manorhouse, which indubitably ran east and west, into a chapel. It is mainly of early work, containing in fact, fine examples of the transitional volute. The chapel built by Bishop Bek, which was nearly destroyed by Sir Arthur Hesilrigg, would, of course, be in the style of his period, and was in quite an opposite direction of the castle. Cosin formed a new hall, running north and south, out of the Great Chamber. I know not Godwin's reason for ascribing to Bek the hall with its "pillars of black marble speckled with white," and since encrusted with Bp. Van Mildert's whitewash. Graystanes is careful enough, "Manerium de Aukland, cum *capella* et *cameris*." There was an earlier chapel, of course, and there would be earlier chambers.

these remote parts to prevent insurrection should be put in the news-book. (S.P.)—Same day T. Pierson (NC.) writes. There have been no indictments against nonconformists in Newcastle or Northumberland last sessions. A few Catholics and Sectaries were presented in the town. The trained bands are in a posture of alarm. (S.P.)—Oct. 15. Information of Bernard Walker of NC. Met 80 armed horsemen, Quakers and Anabaptists, near Carleton, in Coversdale. Heard at Whitsuntide that there were 500 of them, and the number daily increasing, and that they had taken three horses from the parson the day before. (S.P.)—Oct. 30. Information from Sir J. Marley; being a list of 27 persons who have entered into bond to the deputy lieutenants of NC. not to plot against government, and to appear for a whole year, upon reasonable summons. (S.P.)

Nov. 5. One in NC. displeased with the solemnity on this day, said it would be the last ever kept in England; another, that they have been spinning their spider's web 15 years, but it is broken, and they will to work again. (Dean of Durham, in S.P.)

Nov. 13. Thomas Swan to Mr. Muddiman. The Mayor of NC. has secured several suspicious persons, on whose apprehension the whole town had every house his lantern hanging at his window into the street till morning. What the issue will be is not determined. (S.P.)—Nov. 26. The objects of the plot said to have been to force the King to perform his promises made at Breda, grant liberty of conscience to all but Romanists, take away excise, chimney-money, and all taxes whatever, and restore a Gospel magistracy and ministry. (S.P.)

Dec. 27. Leaver, a nonconformist minister in Durham, was privy to the plot, according to Richard Walters, a prisoner, now examined. (S.P.)—Dec. 28. Bond from Alexander Gordon and two others in 1000*l.* that he shall not within 20 days speak or contrive against the king or government, shall appear on summons before the deputy lieutenants of NC. and shall appear at the next general sessions. (S.P.)

1663-4. Gateshead. "The pulpit cloath, cusheon with all the appurtenances, 8*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* Two damask napkins."

1664. *Stephen Hegg* *, curate of All Saints'.

Jan. 4. Edw. Williamson (NC.) to his cousin Joseph Williamson. Begs him, unless the Lord satisfies some of his doubts as to the truth of principles and practices, to aid him if he should be troubled for teaching school; if not, he must submit to God's will. Cannot come to London while he has liberty to teach school, nor do such things as open the door to preferment, but begs continuance of his affection. (S.P.)

Feb. 25. Licence to Sir Thomas Liddell, Bart., his lady and daughter, to remain beyond sea for twelve months. (S.P.) I only repeat the fact to enable me to add to the note at p. 161 that "one

* Admirers of the golden Legend of St. Cuthbert will understand the italics.

of Mr. Frankland's first scholars was a son of Sir Thomas Liddel." (Bogue and Bennett, ii. 75.) Frankland had been selected as the vice-president of Cromwell's infant college of Durham, and was ejected from Bishop's Auckland. From 1665 until his death in 1698 Frankland was an eminent teacher.

Mar. 3. Col. Philip Frowde sends a letter from the postmaster of NC., Ric. Forster. The deputy lieutenants of Northumberland have secured most of the persons named in an express from the Bp. of Durham, and a few more suspected. They have armed the trained bands and are settling the militia, who are cheerful though of small fortunes. Is not allowed to give the names of the informer nor of the ship-master who supplied the arms. (S.P.)—Mar. 18. Dr. Richardson has confessed at Rotterdam that he knew all the plot, and that *none were concerned in it further north than Durham*, or south than Nottinghamshire, except two in London, Paul Hobson and an Anabaptist, a small tradesman. A book of 600 quarto pages is in printing by Macguaire, a banished Scotch priest, on former proceedings between the nonconformists in Scotland, England, and Ireland. (S.P.)

Apr. 23. Sir. Wm. Blakeston, at Durham, writes that many of those silenced have obtained physic licences, to have more liberty. Thinks his county the most disaffected and least prepared for defence. (S.P.)

May 1, 2. From examinations of John Waller (of Appleby) and John Elrington (of Blanchland) it appears that the signal word for rising was "God with us," and the oath of secrecy a prayer that God would deny Heaven to them if they discovered the design. The oath was extensively broken. (S.P.)—July 7. Col. John Mason's letter left on his table in York Tower on his escape. Remained at home some time after his neighbours were taken. When called to his own country, suffered his journey to be talked of, and got the Mayor of Newcastle's pass for Newark, where he was taken prisoner. Two gaol deliveries being past without his trial, fears that there is some design against him, and that his life will be sworn away. A vile, perjured wretch, who would swear any thing, has been to take a view of him. Many persons keep their lives, as a reward for such work. Is a stranger in Durham, and fears not to have so fair a trial as if he were known. Was also an officer in the late army, and differs in religion from the established way of the nation. Has therefore escaped. Had no hand in the plot but considered it as sinful. (S.P.)—July 22. L. B.? says that the great lenity used throughout the kingdom has prevented vigorous prosecution of the design. The desperadoes are gone into the country to keep sparks alive. The sects mingle more, even with the Quakers. Some conformists correspond with nonconformists, as being for the good of the church, and they even lend their pulpits to them*. (S.P.)

* Not a local letter, but an interesting one.

Aug. 27. Marmaduke Rawdon of York at Newcastle observes "four churches. The fonts therein are made with more than ordinary curiosity."

Sep. 1. Benezer Durant, son of William Durant of NC. *gent.*, apprenticed to Sir James Clavering, bart., merchant-adventurer and mercer. On 6 June 1665 he was set over to Mr. Lionel Blagdon [vide 1669]. Sir James would be Benezer's uncle.

Sep. 21. Charles II. to the mayor and aldermen of Newcastle. Has been much satisfied with the integrity and prudence of Clavering, their present mayor, and exhorts them to care in choosing a person of known loyalty to be mayor at the ensuing election, more than ordinary vigilance being needed on account of the late northern conspiracy. (S.P.) Sir Fra. Liddell [see 13 Oct. 1663] was elected.

Oct. 14. Sir Tho. Gower to Sec. Bennet. The schoolmaster of Newcastle, Thomas alias Lawrence, whose examination he is ordered to send up, has never been taken, though carefully sought for; he has been at several meetings of conspirators, and been sent on their errands. Details of his proceedings; his different names. Is a man of great consideration among the conspirators, and can give much light on the design. (S.P.)—Oct. 24. Guy Carleton, Dean of Durham to Sec. Bennet. Sends an account of the trial of John Joplin of Durham, so called to distinguish him from his confederate John Joplin of Foxhole, a most uncontrollable rebel, and the centre of the plot. Sir Nicholas Cole and others of their gang take wine with them into the prison, and make merry with him; and even when the plot was ripe, Joplin was allowed to go out of gaol late at night to meet his fellow conspirators, returning before morning to avoid public notice, and he even had leave to travel to Newcastle and Shields. At the trial the Bishop absented himself from the bench, several of Joplin's bosom friends were on the jury; they refused to postpone the verdict till the King's pleasure could be known, and acquitted him. Wm. Blakeston, of Pittington, a deputy lieutenant, threatened to pull the gowns of some of the Durham prebendaries over their ears, for saying Joplin had too much favour shown him; yet they think Joplin an obstinate villain and dangerous traitor, but they were bribed; Joplin being treasurer for the plot. The carriage of this business has encouraged the fanatics, and cast a damp on all the loyal party, to see the King's service postponed to private ends. Sir Nick. Cole and Col. John Tempest have been among the most unfaithful. (S.P.)

1664-5. Feb. 25. John Dobson (Newcastle) writes to Sir Philip Musgrave, asseverating the truth of his report about a design being in hand against the government. Sir Philip will hear of it from other hands. (S.P.)—Mar. 8. John Ironmonger to Sir Tho. Gower. Those abroad promise great things, and are glad to have their designs attempted at other people's hazard, yet promise to come also. They say 600 or 700 could take Newcastle. The chief agitators, Atkinson, Marsden, and others are in London.—Many old officers in

the north have better horses than the cavaliers. (S.P.)—Mar. 14. Richard Forster from NC., writes that there are 300 and more young lusty fellows from NC. or Gateshead, volunteers or pressed men, longing for the convoy to come, that they may get to the fleet and to service; never saw men promise more courage. No news of the Dutch on the coasts. (S.P.)—Mar. 17. Arrival of the long looked-for ships. (S.P.)

1664-5. Gateshead. "Disbursed at the Bishopps visitacion in Durham, when wee wur sworne, the minister and the old churchwardens being there, 1*l.* 13*s.*—12 yards of fine hollands for a surplice, 3*l.*, making it, 10*s.* A new hood for the parrish, 2*l.* The King's book desired by my Lord Bishop to be kept and preserved in the church, 1*l.* 12*s.* Mr. Trollup for the communion-table, 5*l.* 7*s.* The whirry-men and labourers for bringing up the ballisters, 6*s.* Timber for the chancell, 14*s.* Coullering the quire, 1*l.* 3*s.* A minister's wife and her son, and to an Irishman with three children, 5*s.* 6*d.* Mr. Horsley for painting the communion-table 10*s.* Spent upon Dr. Wilkinson, when he preached in the church, 5*s.*" [Such items are numerous in the books.]

1665. All Saints'. "Paid for wine when Mr. Wormes preached, 3*s.* 4*d.*" [Vide 1674, 1675. In 1745 we find "two pints of sack *as usual* to preachers, being the first time of their preaching, 2*s.* 6*d.*" and in 1746 "a pint of wine for a stranger preaching *as usual*, 1*s.*"]

Henry Lever, returning to Newcastle, there married again. I cannot learn, says Calamy, that he had any settled congregation after his ejectment.

1665. Thomas Naylor, Vicar of Newcastle, to the Archdeacon of Northumberland. "At my coming to Newcastle, I sent for George Beadnall, and acquainted him with the contents of your letter. I let him know that you had spared no pains, either by tongue or pen, whereby he might be convinced of his error, and informed in the truth, in relation to his present case. I also gave him notice that you had decreed a commission to me to absolve him upon a juratory caution. To this he answered that such a caution was all could be required upon a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*. I replied to him that it were easier for him now to perform that condition than if the law made further process against him. He concluded he will come and wait on my Lord Bishop in Whitson-week, and if you will be in Duresme, he will speak to you about the business of his absolution. Thus doth he shift off the business from time to time, to gain time; and from person to person, thinking, as I conceive, to slip away from them all." (Bourne, 239.)

Apr. 28. James Hickes to Williamson. Sends intelligence, as required, about the principles of Wm. Foreman, who is a fanatic, and his owners no better: thinks his correspondent's letters to Holland should be inspected, as they may transmit the present state of the kingdom, and the designs intended against the King. Encloses:—I. Ric. Foster to Jas. Hickes. Could hear nothing of Wm. Foreman,

except as master of a small vessel trading for Berwick. Went with Sir Fras. Anderson, member for Newcastle, to the Mayor, about it. They sent for [Tho.] Swan, the postmaster, who said Foreman had had no letters from Holland lately, but several from the north. Sends Foreman's examinations and bond. There are a few capers off the coast, but they do little hurt. The people say they shall be great losers by the Lord Mayor's proceedings about coal; the coal works have ceased, and many thousands will go begging. The fanatics prick up their ears, but the Mayor and gentlemen take good care of them. NC. Ap. 25, 1665.—II. Examination of Wm. Foreman, master of the Prosperous of NC. Has not been in Holland for more than a year, nor had any letter thence for 3 months, except one from Robt. Foreman, nor sent any but one to him. Signed by Fras. Liddell, mayor, Sir Fras. Anderson, and Ralph Carr, NC. Ap. 24, 1665.—III. Bond of Wm. Foreman, and two others, in 500*l*., that he shall not plot against government, and shall appear before the deputy lieutenants, if summoned within a year; with names of the five owners of the Prosperous. (S.P.)—June 13. Richard Forster (NC.) writes to James Hickes. The news of the victory was received with bonfires and ringing of bells, but the fanatics hang their heads, which makes people suspect they wished better to the Dutch than to their own country. Forty ships have come in, and bring tidings of two Dutch vessels being taken by two ships of the blue squadron. Two men-of-war will convoy the Newcastle fleet, which will be 150 sail. (S.P.)

June 26. Sir Henry Widdington and Sir Robt. Delaval to Lord Bennet. Have put Wm. Coulson, of Northumberland, in gaol for words spoken a year ago, and have taken good security for appearance of the informer why he concealed the matter so long. Request directions of the council. Enclose information of Wm. Carnes, of Jesmond, Nd.: Was in company last Lammas with his landlord, Wm. Coulson, of Jesmond, and was praising Monk's quiet bringing in of the King without blood spilling, when Coulson called Monk a traitor, and said it had cost him 15*l*. to get a pardon, because he set his hand to the late King's death; that he hoped to see His Majesty go the same way as his father, and that his chief intriguers would be the first to put him out again. (S.P.)

July 17. J. Smyther, accountant general of the Post Office, to John Earl of Lauderdale, secretary of State for Scotland. The Scots mail of 28 June last was opened, or the strap cut and letters taken out, near Berwick: hears that this is sometimes done by the governor or garrison of Berwick; begs a warrant against it. Asks his influence to obtain allowance for extra expresses sent to and from Scotland; also that a trial intended at NC. against Tho. Swan, postmaster, and his servants, for pressing a horse, in obedience to his lordship's post-warrant, may be stopped; such warrants will not be obeyed, unless the King's servants are protected against the fury of those who take advantage of the short penning of the Act of Par-

liament for the post office, and weary them out with vexatious suits for doing their duty. (S.P.)

Sep. 2. Sir John Marley (NC.) to Lord Chancellor Clarendon and Lord Arlington. Sir James Clavering and himself, with several others, have endeavoured to settle the government of the town for the King's service, and have tried to persuade the corporation to choose a suitable mayor. Sir Francis Liddell, the present mayor, Sir Nic. Cole, who never comes to the town except to make disturbance, and others, wish to choose Mr. Maddison, who is the more unfit in these times of danger, because the mayor is a deputy lieutenant, and a commissioner for the royal aid. They plead that it is his turn, but, formerly, the person thought fittest was elected. The ill-affected party are high and vigilant. They concealed the resignation by Sir Francis Bowes of his alderman's place till they had got most of the votes for Thomas Davison, to strengthen their faction, but the plot was discovered, and Bowes' resignation was not accepted. Sir James Clavering is fittest to be mayor, and Capt. Brabant alderman. The King's letters to the town thereon would do good. If things fall out otherwise, nothing but a governor and a strong garrison can prevent NC. being delivered into the enemy's hands. Sends a list of persons committed to prison for the plot. (S.P.)—Sep. 22. The King to the Mayor and aldermen of NC. The unquiet spirit of the disaffected leads them to create new troubles, during a war likely to produce so much public advantage, and blessed with such results. To prevent the success of their malice there, urges the electing of a good and sufficient mayor, for preservation of the peace of a place of so much consequence. (S.P.)

1665. Oct. The Five Mile Act passed, requiring all the silenced ministers to take an oath declaring it was not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King or any commissioned by him, and that they would not at any time endeavour an alteration in the government of the Church or State. Such as refused this were not to come within five miles of any city or parliament borough, or of the church where they had served. The act was in consequence of nonconformists occupying the empty pulpits of the London ministers who were driven away by the plague, and preaching openly in many other places against the sins and persecution of the court *. "When the act passed, Dr. Gilpin lodged at Mr. Barnes his house for more security." (See p. 142.)

1665-6. Gateshead. "Two bookes and proclamation for the observation of the first Wednesday of every mounth, 5*s*. Rosall and frankinsense for the church, 1*s*. Matts for the church, 9*s*."

1666. In the Clavering pedigree of this year, Durant is styled "William Durand of Devon."

Jan. 26. Mr. William Bickerton was appointed lecturer of All Saints', with a salary of 100*l*. on the resignation of Wm. Cock. He had been pastor of Wolsingham during the usurpation.

* Burnet's own Time, edit. 1753, i. 329.

"1665-6. March 7. Northumberland. We, John Pringle, of Newcastle, clerke, John Weld, of Lamesley, in the county of Durham, John Thompson [ejected from Bothal], of Peglesworth, in the county of Northumberland, Thomas Willson, of Lamesley [ejected thence], in the county of Durham, Thomas Trueren [ejected from Ovingham], of Harla Hill, in the county of Northumberland, and Robert Pleasance [ejected from Boldon], of Newcastle aforesaid, clerkes, doe sweare that it is not lawfull, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up armes against the king; and that we doe abhorre that trayterous position of takeing armes by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissionated by him in pursueance of such commissions; and that we will not at any time endeavour any alteration of government, either in Church or State.—Jo. Pringle, John Weld *, John Thompson, Tho. Wilson, John Davies, Tho. Trewren, Rob. Pleasaunce, Ralph Wickliffe †."

1666. Mar. 12. Dr. Thomas Smith (Rose Castle) begs favour for Mr. Bonner of Magdalen Coll. Camb., now proctor, touching Simonsburn living, Nd., that no grant may be made of it without hearing from the Bp. of Carlisle. (S.P.)

July 27. Ric. Forster (NC.) sends to Williamson an account of an apparition, which, as divers masters affirm the same, is much credited, but most among the fanatics. The account enclosed is by T. G. of Ipswich, that, sailing to the north of Shields, he and several others saw, at 6 p.m., July 25, appearances in the heavens, of ships, first one or two, then three or four, which vanished; then the hull of a great ship without masts, and at last a fleet of ships, one of which was a very great ship, with hull, masts, yards, vanes &c., all discernible. (S.P.) [In this year there are many interesting items as to difficulties of the coal trade, the Dutch ships hovering on the coast, &c.]

1666-7. Gateshead. A new "modwell" of the pews. No. 7 of the south side was "the stairs of the Old Gallery," and there did sit Thomas Hauxley and Robert Lovet "*with* their wives now liveing." No. 10 contained the minister's wife, No. 11 was the curate's pew, and No. 12 the clerk's pew. "A white sheet for pennance ‡, 1*s.* 6*d.* A new chaire and covering a stoole for the vestry, 1*l.* 2*s.* Washing the parson's surplices, 15*s.* The curatt's wife for washing the church linning 15*s.*" [The chair is preserved in the church.]

1667. All Saints'. "Paid for workmanship for the new window &c. 16*l.* 1*s.* 5*d.*"

1667. June 25. Richard Forster at NC. writes that the people who are in some fear of the Hollanders, are much encouraged to hear of the Earl of Carlisle's coming. There would be danger if an

* An intruder at Ryton. Had that living in 1656. See 1669.

† "Ralph Wicliffe was the son of William Wycliffe, of Offerton, a cadet of the great Yorkshire family of that name. He preached in Durham and Northumberland, and died in 1683." York Dep., 135.

‡ This item has not occurred previously in the Gateshead accounts.

enemy appeared without the presence of some person of honour like him or Lord Ogle.—June 28. Yesterday the Earls of Ogle and Carlisle and Lord Widdrington came, but will return to secure Shields Haven. Their coming has much encouraged the people.—June 29. The worthy noblemen have put the town in good condition against any enemy's attempt.—July 4. The Earl of Carlisle writes. Has an odd people to deal with, but hopes soon to make all things safe against any attempt of the enemy. 48 hours would have been enough, if there had been willingness of mind, and good tools to work with.—July 12. Forster says that Lords Ogle and Carlisle are very active. Many men come in, more than they can entertain had they to raise twice the number ordered; men are so willing to serve against a proud insulting enemy like the Dutch.—July 13. Somebody sends to Williamson a copy of a letter to a lady, written by the town's agent, John Rushworth, who often writes seditious letters. The King may look for little obedience so long as such men are agents for corporations.—Aug. 3. Forster writes that the Governour intends leaving on Monday. He leaves behind the character of a prudent well-tempered nobleman. (S.P.)

October 15. Forster to Joseph Williamson. There has been a great conventicle of near 200. The churchwardens and some of the Mayor's officers went to apprehend or take notice of them, but most of them escaped. The Mayor has not above 28 of their names. Those he intends to have before him. Their speaker was FARSAYD, a suspected minister, a *bark man*, who was taken and brought to church during sermon.

Oct. 15. Seditious language by John Lee, yeoman, in the Bigg-Markett, Newcastle. (York Dep. 158.)

1667-8. Mar. 10. John Mayling used the like at NC. Lee and he were acquitted.

Temp. Car. II.—"THESE PARTICULARS following I desire in all humility to offer unto the consideration of the Reverend Dr. Basire Archdeacon in Northumberland.—[ALL SAINTS'.] 1. That some of the inhabitants in Sandgate in the chappelry of All Saints' do use obscurely to bury their dead in an ancient chappelyard (as they pretend) there, persons excommunicate, as Christopher Milbourne, buried there. 2. The gallory in the church not removed, though oftentimes commanded by my Lord Bishop and Mr. Archdeacon. 3. The leads are very much out of repaire. 4. One [*blank*] Spor in Overdeane bridge an Independent teacheth schoole without license, and will have none.—ST. JOHN'S. 1. The churchyard wanteth gates and defense. 2. Richard Turner a Quaker teacheth schoole without license. Qu. about Bowdon, the Quakers' buriall-place. 3. Many dead said to be buried at the chappel at Benwell, whereof we cannot get notice.—HOSPITALLS and Almshouses in and about Newcastle. 1. The hospitall of the Blessed Virgin, Mr. Nicholas Hall master [1649—1657, ceased before 1669.]. 2. The Hospitall of Mary Magdalene, Mr. Robert Bonner, master [1662—1676.]. 3. An Hospitall

or Almeshouse in the Trinity house. The Master and Wardens of the Merchants and Marriners maintayne it. 4. The Maison Dieu upon the Sandhill given by Roger Thornton for an Almeshouse, as it is said, but now lett to tenants by the Lord Lumley. 5. An Almeshouse neer the Fryers at Pilgrim Street gate, now lett to tenants by Christopher Ellison merchant. 6. An Almeshouse in the Pudding Chaire maintained by the Towne. 7. An Almeshouse upon the Nether Deane Bridge, maintained by the Wardens of St. Nicholas Church. 8. An Almeshouse neer the west stile of All Saints' in Pilgrim Street, maintained by the Wardens of All Saints'. 9. Ward's Hospitall neer the Augustin Friers now called the Mannours, about 30 years agoe demolished by Mr. Robert Brandlin, who never after did thrive, nor his posterity *." (Hunter's MSS., Durham, 10. 85.)

1668 ? Bishop Cosin speaks of "the Newcastle men, who are ever and anon molesting me in the county palatine, where they will in time hope to be kings and bishops." And afterwards, "I have seen a writing under the Mayor and Common Council's hand at Newcastle, wherein they elect and license Mr. Asburneham to serve the cure at St. John's †, without the let or hindrance of any one whatsoever, not so much as excepting the Bishop himself; and the Vicar of Newcastle subscribes to it, *quantum in, &c.* Now you are to let both the Town and the Vicar know that it is not in their power to put a man into a church, but to nominate him only unto the Bishop, or else they make themselves bishops, which is a strong spice of the Presbyterians and Independents." (Surtees, i. cxii.)

1668. December 8. Bishop Cosin to Dr. Basire, Archdeacon of Northumberland. "Mr. Archdeacon, I had your letter sent by yesternight's post with the inclosed information of the seditious meetings at Newcastle. I had the same information from the Dean of Carlisle, only with this difference, that he saith the number of the conventicle was 3000, and your note saith only 500. But what answer I have given to him, I will give to you also. I commend your zeal which you have for the suppressing of the seditious and numerous assemblies at Newcastle, wherewith I was acquainted before by Mr. Naylor, the Vicar there, and now again by yourself and the Dean of Carlisle. All your informations I have, by the King's command, represented unto the two principal Secretaries, who say they will acquaint the Privy Council with it, and give me an account thereof as soon as they can. In the meanwhile they say that

* "The chief almshouse in the town is Ward's, near the Manour: the mills at Pandon-gate should give them, as I remember, 20*s.* per annum to buy them coals, but old Mr. Brandling pulled off the lead, on purpose to expell the poor people, which he did. The mills are now fallen into one Homer's hands, and so are lost for ever. I have seen the writings and know it." (Milbank MS. per Bourne. And see Bourne, i. 358.)

† Henry Ashburnham occurs at St. Andrew's in 1668, and was buried at St. John's 28 May, 1669. (Brand, i. 193.) On 12 Aug., 1669, the Bishop writes about St. Andrew's as vacant by his death. Can he be the Henry Ashborne of 1658?

numerous conventicles are frequent here, both in London and Westminster, near his Majesty's own court, and they doe what they can to repress them, by making the people whom they take there to pay several fines and sums of money to the poor. I wrote lately to Mr. Chancellor T. Barwell, about this matter, when the Newcastle saints met together 500 of them upon All Saints' Day, and sung the 149th Psalm in great triumph. And I could wish that Mr. Chancellor would presently take the pains to go to Newcastle, he and you or Dr. Carlton, together there to confer with the Mayor (whose wife the Dean of Carlisle says by a strong report was present at the last conventicle of 3000 people, as Mr. Ralph Davison related the matter to him), and with the rest of the Governors and Justices of Peace in that town, urging them earnestly to put the laws now in force against *the four principal heads and ringleaders of the faction*, least the mischief spreads further, both in that town and in the country about them. If I were in the country, I would goe thither with you in person. In the interim I shall not be wanting at this distance to do all I can, who am, Sir, Your very loving friend and servant, Jo. Duresme.—*Posts.*—I pray take no notice at Newcastle, or to others that shall tell them of it, that I have represented this matter to his Majesty or his Secretaries and Council, for then the four ringleaders will hear of it, and perhaps fly and shelter themselves in other places to do more mischiefs hereafter; but desire Mr. Chancellor to deal only with the Mayor and Justices of Newcastle to put the laws in execution, which the King and the Council expect from them, as I doubt not but they will hear very shortly; especially for ridding themselves of the four ringleaders, that they may trouble the town and country no longer. I wish you had told me the Christian names of the four ringleaders." (Darnell, 271.)

Dec. 12 *. T. Naylor, Vicar of Newcastle, to Dr. Basire. "At my coming home, I received a letter from my Lord of Durham, wherein he was pleased to give me the honour as to intimate unto me the concerns of his Majesty's letter to our magistrates, much concurrent with the intelligence you received from Court, and desired me to press Mr. Mayor, Sir James Clavering, and Sir Francis Anderson, with this necessary duty of suppressing these illegal, riotous, schismatical, and, as near as may be conjectured, seditious assemblies: And this to be done with the concurrence of the rest of the ministers. I have had little time since my coming; but Mr. Shaw, who is *instar omnium*, is come to town, and in health, and he will second me; upon Monday we purpose to prepare ourselves, that we may discourse the matter with Mr. Mayor and the rest of our magistrates. This for the account of our zeal to suppress those caterpillars, and our obedience to my Lord's commands. Now for matter of fact, I know not of any thing as yet done; it is publickly

* This and the following letters on the same subject are printed by Bourne, to whom they evidently were communicated by Dr. Hunter.

known that a letter is come from the King about them: the magistrates, I hear, have been consulting about it; what the result is, I know not; their actings will discover their counsels, I hope well of them: but if I had been a magistrate, and none had been wiser than I, they should have been secured before this time. I shall from time to time give you an account what I see or know to be done in this grand affair."

Dec. 15. Ralph Jennison, Mayor, and James Clavering, J. Emmerson, Robert Shaftoe, Will. Blackett, and Mark Milbanke, aldermen of Newcastle, to the Bishop of Durham. "My Lord, we received your Lordship's letter, with his Majesty's royal letter inclosed, in which his Majesty takes notice that there are numerous conventicles held in this town. My Lord, we are sorry that there is any cause of complaint upon this occasion; we have this to answer for ourselves, that we have put the laws against conventicles in execution, so far as we had any information, and have convicted several persons upon the late act against conventicles, and taken care to prevent these meetings under pretence of worship, by employing the churchwardens to give information, in case they could discover any. We do take the late statute against conventicles to be in force, and shall be always ready to proceed to punish offenders against it; and if any offenders have not been punished, it was for want of evidence to convict them; and if those persons that informed your Lordship would have been pleased to have acquainted us, we would have taken away all cause of complaint. We desire your Lordship would please to take care of the inclosed, and acquaint the King with our proceedings herein. We should not have been so bold with your Lordship, to have given your Lordship so much trouble, but that we were encouraged to it by your Lordship's letter."

Dec. 22. Bp. Cosin, at London, to the Mayor and Aldermen of Newcastle. "I have received your letter of the 15th instant, together with the inclosed, which I delivered to Mr. Secretary, Sir John Trever, who read it to me, and hath acquainted his Majesty with it. I am glad to find by both these your letters, that you declare your readiness to put the laws in execution against conventicles, and unlawful assemblies, for pretended religious worship in that town, whereinto both you and myself are in this case intrusted to have a particular and diligent inspection. But on the other side, I am sorry to hear from you, that you have had neither any information, nor any evidence given you against such unlawful assemblies in your town, when the notoriety of the fact, by their numerous meeting at your Barber-Chirurgeon's Hall upon All-Saints Day last, being Sunday the 1st of November, was such, that it was voiced and made known to all the town and country about; notice being also taken what special Psalm, or New Rejoicing Song, they then chose and applied to themselves, as Holy Saints, of 'Bearing a double-edged sword in their hands to bind Kings in chains and Lords in iron bands:' of which notorious and unlawful meeting both myself

and divers others here at this distance were shortly after informed; and I took the best care I could thereupon to have an address made unto you, Mr. Mayor, by a special person under my episcopal jurisdiction, to desire you that you would not suffer any such scandalous and offensive meetings to be held among you, contrary to the known laws of this church and realm of England, and greatly endangering the publick peace thereof. And this I did before I acquainted his Majesty or his principal secretaries with it; neither was there any letter sent to you and the aldermen from his Majesty concerning this matter, before a second information came both to myself, and Mr. Brabant, one of your own society, of another numerous and unlawful meeting at one of the ringleaders' houses, upon the 25th of November, wherein they appointed and kept a fast, with preaching and praying, which they held out from eight a clock in the morning till four in the evening, the work being held forth by their four chief leaders and abettors, *Mr. Gilpine*, *Mr. Durant*, *Mr. Leaver*, *and Mr. Pringle*. Of all which surely you had or might have had knowledge; and if you had not, you will give me leave to say, without offence, that many of your townsmen are very backward in discovering to you and attesting their knowledge of such disorderly assemblies, and that you are very great strangers to the affairs and disturbances of your own town, the government whereof, under his Majesty, is committed to your care. It is well taken that, as you write, you have proceeded and convicted several of these disobedient persons already, and that you will take care to prevent their meetings against law for time to come; which good resolution being observed by you, will highly please his Majesty, and express the duty that we owe to his laws, and the good government of this realm. Otherwise, if we any ways neglect to do herein what belongs to us, we shall deservedly suffer the blame of it, and incur the King's displeasure, which always most carefully to avoid, is the bounden duty both of you and myself."

1669. All Saints'. "Paid the bookbinder for mending the King's Book, 1*s*."

April 30. The Vicar of Newcastle to Dr. Basire. "Reverend Sir, your unpromerited goodness hath given me encouragement to become at present a humble suitor to you, that, when you come to Newcastle, you would please to do me the honour to take a homely lodging in your servant's house. I cannot commend it for any thing so much as privacy and retiredness; being free from the noise and trouble of disorderly persons, which, in a house of public entertainment, though very carefully ordered, will some time or other be a gravamen to a pious spirit and contemplative brain. Hereunto I am encouraged by your acceptance of the same lodging at the last Assizes. It is an honour I have been long ambitious of, but could never, till of late, bring my house into order; but now our Architects ultimam apposuerunt manum: it is in such a condition as I must not expect to have it better, and I am very glad and thankful

that it is so well; for, however the suit between this Town and the Dean and Chapter be the pretence, I verily believe that my endeavour to suppress conventicles both by preaching, and complaining, and writing, is the original of that disgust which I daily hear the Magistrates have conceived against me. Non indignum est me pati quæ Christus passus est. Contradictions and oppositions of men, contempts and oppressions, are the certain entertainment of the children and servants of God. I shall be more happy in their frowns if God draw me thereby nearer to himself, and prepare me for suffering of whatsoever his gracious wisdom hath appointed for me, then they can be by having brought down so low a shrub as I am. Their conquest is not great; but if God bring me this way into heaven, my acquisition will infinitely overpoise whatsoever I can suffer here. But I am troublesome, manum de tabula?—I only take leave to subscribe my self, Reverend Sir, your most affectionate and humble Servant, T. Naylor.—These for the Reverend and my much Honoured Friend, Dr. Isaak Basire, Archdeacon of Northumberland, at Durham." (Darnell, 279.)

July 6. Bp. Cosin "from my Castle at Duresme" to "Mr. Mayor, and the rest of the Corporation of Newcastle. Publick peace being the life of the kingdom, and execution the life of the laws, it has been my endeavour to procure and preserve both, as in my diocese in general, so in your corporation in particular, being one of the most considerable towns under my episcopal charge; witness my frequent letters to you in order to those good ends. I should have been right glad to have seen, and would as gladly to your advantage have reported the good effects, as I am heartily sorry to hear still the contrary, which cannot be otherwise as long as the ringleaders of the factious are suffered to walk at liberty, so expressly contrary to the act 17 Carol. II. which lies before you, to which the King's late proclamation ought to have given fresh vigour. I would fain vindicate the town of Newcastle from the foul imputation of being the nursery of faction in these northern parts, which as things now stand I cannot do, but rather must, and according to my duty will, report the contrary to the King, and his Council, and then any one may easily foresee the evil consequences. Out of my special respect to your town and Corporation, I forbear still, in expectation of a speedy account that both the act of Parliament, and the King's proclamation in his behalf, are really obeyed, that is, duly executed. If, as I hear, any of the seducers pretend they have subscribed and taken the oath required by the act 17 Car. II. I desire you would speedily send me their certificates; mean while, I hope that you will make good use of this my last warning, tendered unto you, out of my tender care of the welfare of your town. I commend you all to the grace of God, and remain your loving Pastor and Servant, Jo. Duresme."

July 11. The Gateshead accounts this year contain the following items: "Spent at Durham, being caused to witnesse against Mr.

Goore * for preaching at Richard Stocktons on Sunday, July 11°, 4*s*. Spent at Durham by William Snarey [a churchwarden] and Thomas Wilson, being subpenaed in to witnesse against Mr. Goore and commanded to stay 5 days to attend the assize, 1*l*. 10*s*. Repairing the seat on the north side of the church. A larg cushion for the great chaire in the vestery."

July 22. "Before Ralph Jenison, Mayor of Newcastle-on-Tyne. Cuthbert Nicholson, cordwainer, saith, that upon Sunday last there was assembled at the house of *Wm. Dewrant's* in Pilgraham streete, a great multitude of people, consisting to the number of 150 persons or thereaboute, under the pretence of religious worship and service, for he heard them sing psalmes. And after singing was done he did see and heare the said Wm. Dewrant pray amongst the said people. And Robert Fryrer one of the serjeants att mace, being with the churchwardens of the same parish did in the name of Mr. Mayor discharge them there unlawfull assembly, and, upon that, they dispersed themselves. Amongst whom was George Thursbey, draper, and his wife, John Tompson, draper, Lyonell Blagdon, merchant, Wm. Dent, merchant, Suzann Bonner, widdow, Charles Newton, gentlemman, Thomas Smith, barber chyrurgion, &c. &c.—Aug. 4. Before Ralph Jenison, Mayor of Newcastle. Cuthbert Nicholson, cordyner, saith, that upon Sunday last, about five or six of the clock in the morneing, he did see a great nomber of people goe inn to the howse of *Mr. Richard Gilpyn*, minister, in the White Freers. And, afterward, he went to parson Jo^{n} Shaw, and acquainted him with the premisses. Whereupon the said Mr. Shaw, togeither with the churchwardens, constables and serjeants att mace, by the comaund of Mr. Maior, did repaire to the said Richard Gilpin's howse. And when they came there all the dores were shutt and made fast. And after the dores was broken open he did see these severall persons come out, viz. Robert Johnson, merchant, Dr. Tunstall, Wm. Cutter, James Hargraves, merchant, Wm. Hutchinson, Geo. Headlyn, fitter, Charles Newton, gent., Humphrey Gill, gent., John Bittleston, tanner, Matthew Soulsbey, roper, Michaell Jobling, pullymaker, Robert Finley, chapman, and diverse other persons to the nomber of fortie.—The information of Cuthbert Nicholas, cordwainer, against the persons hereunder named for being att meetings and convinticles. *Mr. Richard Gilping*, *Mr. William Deurant*, *Mr. John Pringle*, *Mr. Henry Lever*, preachers. Mr. Geo. Dawson and Katherine his wife, Mr. Geo. Thursby and his wife, Mr. Lyonall Blaigdon and wife, Mr. Wm. Hutchinson and wife, Mr. Wm. Johnson, Mr. John Thompson and wife, Mr. James Hartgrave, Mr. Samuell Powell, Mr. Thomas Powell, Mr. Peter Sanderson, Edward Kirton and wife, Wm. Cutter and wife, Mr. Robert Johnson, Mr. Richard Baker and wife, Mr.

* I presume that he was the old Baptist minister of Newcastle, the persecutor of Mr. Tillam of Hexham.

Thomas Blair, George Hedlam, Robert Cay, Richard Jones, Mr. Geo. Bednall, James Jackson, Wm. Wilkinson, sadler, Matt. Soulsby, Tho. Dawson, Rob. Wilkinson, Mary Bainbrigg, widdow, John Greene, Wm. Sherwood, John Emmerson, potter, David Sherwood, John Ward, Mr. Thomas Ledger and wife, Michaell Jopling, Geo. Waugh, schoolemaister, John Biddleston, John Shacklock, Richard Righ, Richard Readhead, Mrs. Thompson, John Pigg, Humphrey Gill, Mr. John Carr, Titus Pithey, widdow Jefferson, Christo. Gibson, John Hornesby *. (York Dep.)

Aug. 12. Bp. Cosin writes from Duresme to the Corporation. The chapelry of St. Andrew is vacant by the death of Mr. Ashburnham. Recommends Mr. Robert Bonner, born at Newcastle and formerly officiating in that chapelry, consequently supposed to be more acceptable and profitable [vide 1636], unblameable both in life and doctrine. Will dispense with his residence at Harbourne, being assured that he provide a sufficient curate and preacher there. Doubts not of their acceptance of the motion. Was lately informed that Mr. Bonner had declined this place at St. Andrew's. Has since certainly understood that he is willing and desirous to attend it. His desire is seconded by the other ministers of the town. (Printed in full by Bourne, p. 241.)

The Common Council do not regard the letter, for John Weld [see 1665-6.] occurs Sep. 19 as confirmed by the Common Council to preach and read prayers both forenoon and afternoon and do all other duty, at 40*l.*; raised in 1674 to 60*l.* and 10*l.* for lecturing at St. Nicholas'.

Nov. 8. Dr. Basire to Bishop Cosin. "I returned to Newcastle, where I did earnestly entreat the present Mayor, Mr. Davison, a good man, to have a special care of three things, the maintenance of the orthodox ministers, the choice of a good schoolmaster, well-principled, and the suppression of conventicles, whereof one was kept the Sunday before (Oct. 17,) at *Pringle's*† lodgings (Mistress Shaftoe's house) from 4 to 8 in the morn. The Mayor promised me that upon information he will proceed effectually." (Darnell, 282.)

Nov. 9. Amor Oxley, master of the free school and vicar of Kirknewton, died, having by will given books towards a resuscitation of the school library, and desired burial at the entrance of St. Nicholas' choir, near his wife.

* Mr. Clephan remarks that in this list we have the names of five of the sheriffs of Newcastle, John Emmerson (1639), Peter Sanderson (1651), Robert Johnson (1653), and George Thursby (1657); of five mayors, Thomas Ledger (1647); William Johnson (1653 and 1654), George Dawson (1657), John Emmerson (1660), and William Hutchinson (1688). Barnes is absent. The uncompromising Bittleston and Bednall will be observed.

† "If we had the date of the Doctor's imprisonment, we might indulge a guess whether or not it had any connection with the friendly counsel given by the venerable dignitary to Mr. Mayor." (Clephan.)

1670. The Conventicle Act revived, with a penalty against any justice neglecting to do his duty.

May 1. Joseph Rogers, son of Mr. John Rogers, of Lartington, clerk, apprenticed to Mr. Peter Sanderson [vide 1669], of NC., merchant-adventurer and boothman. In the margin of the enrollment is the word *Mortuus*.

May 2. Joseph Hamond, son of Mr. Samuel Hamond, of NC., clerk, deceased, apprenticed to Mr. William Johnson, of Newcastle, merchant-adventurer and mercer [vide 1669]. Set over to Mr. John Carr [vide 1669] to serve the term of his apprenticeship.

1670-1. Gateshead. Three pews built in the North porch at private charges. The erectors paid 12*s.* each to the parish. "Six bearers to carry corpses to church, 1*s.* 6*d.*" A list of 418 contributors, the Rector giving 5*s.*, his curate Mr. John Alcock 1*s.*, towards the redemption of the poor Christians now slaves under the Turks. 5*s.* was the largest amount subscribed. The total collection was 15*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.*

1671. "For a long time their [the Sectaries'] talk was of providence, and their successes. First, their cause was God's cause, which he would prosper for their sakes (his people, his secret ones) and for his promises, whereof they had a large stock in the Old Testament and the Revelations. This had a strong smack of prophaneness. Then God prospered their cause, therefore it was God's cause, a pure Mahometan conclusion. Now that it's at a loss, the note is (and mark it, I beseech you) God in the ways of his providence towards us walks in the dark. The good people must unite till the day appears, and the good hour comes. In the mean time, let us make our appeals to God, as the Newcastle Conventicling Doctour Gilpin held forth, an. 1671, and be very carefull that our zeal to God be not interrupted by our duty to the King; but, above all, be free to support your painful precious preachers, that we want not tongues and hands for the old cause." (Shaw's No Reformation of the Established Reformation. See 1685.)

May 8. Leonard Shaftoe appointed both forenoon and afternoon lecturer of All Saints' with the reduced salary of 70*l.* per annum, p. m. Bickerton.

July 27. Mr. Wm. Mair or Mayer appointed to St. Nicholas' lecture, p. m. Bewick, at 80*l.* only for the same duty that his predecessor performed at 150*l.* The salary was advanced on 18 Jan. 1674, to 90*l.*

Sep. 25. The Barber Chirurgeons of NC. enjoined that none should wash, dress, or trim on a Sunday, on pain of forfeiting 2*s.*

1671-2. Feb. 2. Samuel Hamond, son of Samuel Hamond, clerk, deceased, apprenticed to Mr. Robert Johnson, of NC., merchant-adventurer and boothman [sheriff, 1653.].

1671-2. Mar. 15. Royal declaration suspending all penal laws and granting a convenient number of meeting places to nonconformists. I am enabled by Mr. Dodd to give a licence granted for

a congregation in Newcastle. The original (a printed form filled up) is in his possession.—"CHARLES R.—Charles by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith &c. To all Mayors, Bayliffs, Constables, and other Our Officers and Ministers, Civil and Military, whom it may concern, Greeting. In pursuance of Our Declaration of the 15th of March 1671-2. We have allowed, and We do hereby allow of a Roome or Roomes in the house of George Bendall of Newcastle upon Tyne to be a place for the Use of such as do not conform to the Church of England, who are of the Persuasion commonly called Congregationall to meet and assemble in, in order to their publick Worship and Devotion. And all and singular Our Officers and Ministers, Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military, whom it may concern, are to take due notice hereof: And they, and every of them, are hereby strictly charged and required to hinder any tumult or disturbance, and to protect them in their said Meetings and Assemblies. Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the 5th day of September in the 24th year of Our Reign, 1672. By His Majesties Command, ARLINGTON."—George Bendall here mentioned is evidently George Beadnal, and we may well identify his dwelling with the licensed house in which William Durant (described by Calamy as "Congregational in principle, of unspotted conversation, a man of peace, who did not use to meddle with controversies in his sermons,") is stated to have preached publicly after the Toleration of 1672.

1672. In the time of the indulgence, Henry Lever had a call from "a people" at Darlington, who understood that he was willing to accept an invitation to the public exercise of his ministry again; but his sands were running low. "If God," said he, "had no more for him to do in the world, he could as cheerfully lie down and die, as go to his bed to rest." See his Death in 1673.

Robert Lever, the nephew of Henry, had been ejected from Bolam, and preached, says Calamy, "whenever he had an opportunity offered. In 1672 he was employed in several places in Northumberland, and contracted a paralytic habit by travelling in all weather, and being ill-accommodated in the western parts of the county, among the miners and workers at the forges. But his most frequent preaching was in or near Newcastle." See 1684. "Now also [after the indulgence of 1672], together with Mr. Wilson (who was turned out at Lamesley, in the county of Durham), he kept up a meeting for two years constantly, preaching by turns at the latter's house, a little out of town, for which he took nothing."

1672-3. Dr. John Durant a superviser of Thomas Ledgard's will, with Ambrose Barnes.

1672-3. Gateshead. A "new organ" and organ loft. The instrument itself was made and set up by Mr. Roger Preston at a cost of 51*l.*, and the diet and drink of him and his men "for six months" cost 5*l.* The total expenditure was 82*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* To this the parishioners subscribed 44*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*, the Rector giving 5*l.* "To which

must be added, to ballance the accompt, *freely given to the worke by Thomas Potts the new parish clerke*, 38*l.* 4*s.*, which makes the full summ of 82*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*" [Potts elsewhere signs as a notary public.]

1672-3. Feb. The royal declaration voted in parliament to be illegal, and recalled by the King.

1673. May 2. Archdeacon's Court. Gateshead. 26 persons presented for not paying Easter reckonings and other dues to the Minister.

June 6. Henry Leaver the expelled minister of St. John's was buried. Kennet says that "he was remarkable for his generosity and liberality. Besides his wife's jointure, he had an estate of his own of about 100*l.* per annum, and he had no children." He had been twice married.

July 20. See Granville, Sur. Soc., ii. 225, for Gateshead cases in the Archdeacon's Court. Four persons with their "pretended wives," and a fifth, for not paying church cess, John Hodgshon for teaching school without license, Richard Stockton for opening his shop on holydays, Robert Powell for not paying his minister's dues, and 22 others for not paying Easter reckonings and other dues to the minister.

Dec. 5. Vicar Naylor to Dr. Basire. Compliments him touching his encomium on Bishop Cosin, deceased, ["The Dead Man's real Speech,"] a copy of which Basire appears to have sent to the writer. "For this great favour, as for that title you are pleased to give me in writing yourself my honest friend, I cannot sufficiently return thanks. If the Lord Brooke thought fit to write in his funeral monument that he was friend to Sir Philip Sidney, and that it is the greatest eulogium that Abraham had to be called the friend of God, pardon me if I do a little pride myself in the considerations of a person so worthy as yourself to be called a friend to Mr. Naylor. I shall safely keep this title as a jewel while living, and leave it after my death to my best child, which of them give me most hopes of preserving the memory of your great favours to me. Give me leave (honoured sir) to add to my thanks a petition, which in short is this. One Robert Wouldhave, clark of St. Andrew's, was complained of by me for divers neglects of duty, in that he doth not (as the rest of the clarks in this town do) collect and pay unto me those duties which in that parish or chapelry belong to me; he appeared in Court, but so little satisfaction did he give to Mr. Official, that he decreed him excommunicate. Afterwards Wouldhave came to Mr. William Sissons, and prevailed with him to move Mr. Official that the sentence of excommunication might be suspended, in hopes of his better and more careful performance of his duty for the future, which I consented unto; but since that time he slights me more than formerly he did. Mr. Mayor wrote a note to me about the burial of a poor man at St. Andrew's; I wrote under it to the clark to come to me that we might take order about it; he refused: and except that day he appeared at the Court, hath not seen me, that I remember, this

half year. Seeing he continues refractory, and will not become dutiful to me as he ought, I humbly desire a sentence of excommunication may be sent against him, that I may choose another in his place. I beg your pardon for this trouble, and with my hearty prayers for the prosperity of yourself and whole family, humbly subscribe myself, sir, your affectionate friend and servant, T. Naylor." (Darnell, 299.)

1673-4. Gateshead. "Oake timber for two stiles in churchyard."

1674. "It is notorious that the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle [impropriators], have refused to repair the chancel of St. Nicholas', and, particularly, to allow the late Dean's account, who *de facto* once repaired it." (Bourne, 242.)

"In 1674, the Friends seem to have met in a house of their own. (Mackenzie.) The first place of meeting which this sect had in the vicinity of NC. was in Pipewell-gate, in Gateshead, in a house not many years ago the property of a Mr. Swift, who kept a tavern in it, with the sign of the Fountain." (Brand, i. 340.) Vide 1698.

1674. All Saints'. "Paid for wine for stranger ministers this year, 2*l.* 12*s.*"

About this time Mr. Turner, of Newcastle, visited Hexham, and strenuously aided his Derwent friends in reviving Ord's Hexham church, which was very exile and dispersed in numbers, and had declined from meetings and duties.

Easter. The new churchwardens of All Saints' shall not allow the continuance of the custom of paying 1*s.* per head to persons bringing the heads of foxes slain within the parish, and nailing them to the church door. Such persons shall go to the town chamber, and there demand the old custom. There shall be no further expenses incurred by feasting or collations, &c., by the churchwardens, except for the entertainment of such strangers as preach in the absence of the parish minister, and then not to exceed a pint of sack or other wine.

May 22. Archdeacon's Court, Gateshead: 1 for suffering people to drink in her house in service time: 2 for drinking in service time: 1 for a negligent coming to church: 9 papists: 11 for sectaries and schismatics and such as frequently go to conventicles: 11 quakers. The names may be seen in Granville, ii. 226.

Oct. Nathaniel Crew translated from the See of Oxford to that of Durham. John Cave, who in 1660 conformed, notwithstanding he had been disciplined under Presbyterians and Independents, became chaplain to Dr. Crew, when he became Bishop of Durham, which Doctor bestowing on him the church of Gateshead he afterwards changed it with Richard Werge for Nailston, in Leicestershire. Cave's published sermons are enumerated by Wood, Ath. Ox. ii. 854. Werge was a shoemaker's son, and in 1648 had been made Fellow of Trin. Coll. Ox. by the visitors, "being by them taken to be a godly

brother for the cause, as indeed he was." See Wood's Fasti Ox. ii. 64.

Oct. 27. Visitation at Chester. Dr. Ladler, Rector of Gateshead, preacher.

Dec. 13. Archdeacon's Court, Gateshead. 7 for not paying their church cess: 11 for not paying their Easter dues to the parson: 12 for refusing to pay their portions of assessments for the church. (Granville, ii. 226.)

Dec. 8. William Durant, son of Mr. William Durant, of NC., clerk, apprenticed to Sir James Clavering, bart., merchant adventurer and mercer [his uncle]. He was set over to Mr. Richard Wall to serve out his time. In the margin of the enrolment is written *Mortuus*.

1674-5. Gateshead. "Scaffolds at the new window." Four gentlemen appointed to "goe about with the Parson and Churchwardens throughout the whole parish, to make discovery of all such inmates, strangers, or others that are or may be troublesome to the parish, and the same so found to present to the Fower and Twenty to the end such persons may be proceeded against according to law." "Paid at Durham for the Chancellor's order for settling the organist's wages, 15*s*." [He had 5*l*. a year, and in 1677, his wages were included in the charges to be raised by an assessment of twenty weeks.]

1675. All Saints'. "Paid for wine at several times for stranger ministers when Mr. Shaftoe was absent, 15*s*. 3*d*.—for strewing herbs for the vestry this summer, 1*s*. 10*d*.—John Teisdell for gilding and painting the church, 8*l*."

Jan. 18. The vicar's stipend from the corporation ordered to be, in future, 60*l*. per annum, with 10*l*. more for sermons on Thursday's lecture.

1675-6. Gateshead. "One pinte of sack when Mr. Astell preached, 1*s*. 2*d*. Six quarts of wyne and sack for one communion, 6*s*. 9*d*. [sic.]"

c. 1676. The Corporation contributed 300*l*. towards the erection of the organ of St. Nicholas'. They added a trumpet stop to it in 1799.

In 1676 "the poor, late degenerate, and now through grace, revived plant in and about Hexham," commends to "the church of Christ walking in the order of the gospel at Newcastle," Margaret Atcheson, who had been baptized by Tillam in 1653, and sometimes lived at Newcastle and sometimes at Hexham. (Douglas, 99.)

1676. John Walton, of Gateshead, denies the Church of England to be a true Church. (York Dep. 226.)

1676. Peter Maplisden, stationer, admitted to the freedom of Newcastle.

Feb. 5. The apprenticeship indentures of James Durant, son of William Durant, of NC., *gent*., to Mr. Lyonell Blagdon, merchant-

adventurer and boothman, enrolled. The same day, he was set over to Mr. Benezer Durant. And so, "Benezer Durant, bound apprentice in 1664, is now in business for himself; his brother James is with him as an apprentice; and, with James's enrolment, the records, relating to the families of ejected ministers, contained in the books of the Merchants' Company, come to an end." (Clephan.)

April 6. Archdeacon's Court, Gateshead. 1 for gaming in time of divine service: 27 for refusing to pay their Easter dues to the parson and clerk.

Aug. 30. Wm. Mayer removed from St. Nicholas' lectureship to All Saints', where he was to preach both forenoon and afternoon; salary 90*l.*—Same day. Mr. JOHN MARCH, afterwards vicar, appointed to St. Nicholas' lecture on the removal of Mayer to All Saints'. Vide 1679.

Dec. 19. The Corporation appear to have printed some books by Shaw, of St. John's, against popery, at their own expense. These I presume were his Origo Protestantium, 1677 and 1679, and an Answer to the Jesuit's Letter, and the Letter with it. (See Wood, i. 831.)

1676-7. Gateshead. "Making the two great seats in the churchyard."

1676-7. "A Sermon Preached before the Right Worshipful, the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Sheriff, &c. Of the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne. On the 30th of January, 1676-7, at St. Nicholas their Parish Church. By John March, B.D., vicar of Embleton in Northumberland, and Lecturer to that Congregation. London, Printed by Thomas Hodgkin, for Richard Randell, and Pet. Maplisden, Booksellers in Newcastle upon Tyne, 1677. Imprimatur, Guil. Sill, R. P. D. Hen. Episc. Lond. a Sacris Dom. Feb. 16, 1676-7." Small 4to. pp. 30, title and dedication "to the Right Worshipful, Sir Ralph Carr, Mayor, the Right Worshipful, Sir Robert Shafto, Recorder, and to the Right Worshipful, and Worshipful, the Aldermen, and Sheriff, &c., of the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne." "Your commands, as they will be a just apology for this weak discourse, so they cannot but give it some title to your favourable acceptance. Your attention spake your affection to it in the preaching: and your more than ordinary judgments commanding it to the press will be its best protection against those censures it is now exposed to. I hope it has already received its first impression in the loyal hearts of many that heard it from the pulpit. And I doubt not but this publication will help to imprint it in the hearts of others, who, though they were absent, were more concerned in the design of it. . . . So that such, whose guilt might possibly keep them this day from our public assemblies, may by this means be brought to a kind of ocular confession." So far the Epistle Dedicatory. "We have known this famous town made the Market of our King, men of Belial, like Judas, selling their master, and in this at least more wicked than he, in that they were guilty of far greater

covetousness." "The persons who were the actors of this horrid tragedy were such as disowned the loyal communion of our Church, and were as far from being true English Protestants, as they were from being true and loyal subjects. But it were well if the Romanists could as easily vindicate themselves, as they can find fault with others. The world needs not be informed, that their church allows subjects to take up arms against their princes. . . . Our late gratious Soveraign, who had too much reason to know it, has declared in his answer to the Parliament, that there were three Papists in the Parliament's army for one that was in his. And, when the Independent faction polluted the scaffold with royal blood, more than fourty priests and Jesuits (and they seldom want other company) were seen on horseback flourishing their swords near unto the scaffold. (Prynne's Brief necessary Vindicat. p. 45, and Foulis's Hist. of Pretended Saints.)." "Beware that none betray thee unto wickedness by the fair pretences and colours of religion. . . . Treason may be more commodiously hatched in a conventicle, than in Fauxe's cellar. 'O my soul, come not thou into their secret: unto their assembly or *conventicle* mine honour be not thou united.' . . . (The Hebrew קהל signifies a religious meeting or congregation, *Schindler.*)" "Lastly, let us freely speak our minds, whether all possible endeavours ought not to be used to prevent the like enormities for the future. ('*Merentur quidem cerebrosi illi* [meaning cross-grained Puritans] *gladio ultore coerceri.*' Calvin. Epist. ad Protector. Angliæ.)"

1677. "Origo Protestantium: or an Answer to a Popish Manuscript (of N. N's.). That would fain make the Protestant Catholick Religion Bear date at the very time when the Roman Popish commenced in the World. Wherein Protestancy is demonstrated to be elder than Popery. To which is added, a Jesuit's Letter with the Answer thereunto annexed. By John Shaw, Rector of Whalton, in Northumberland, and Preacher at St. John's in New-Castle upon Tine.—London, Printed for H. Brome at the Gun in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1677." Small 4to. pp. 134, and title, dedication, and preface. The dedication is "to the Right Worshipful Sir Ralph Carr, Mayor, Sir Robert Shafto, Recorder, the Aldermen, Sheriff, and the rest of the members of the ancient Town and County of Newcastle upon Tine." "The Preface. When it pleased God in his great goodness and mercy to this persecuted church and harassed kingdom, by a miraculous Providence to restore his sacred Majesty to his just rights, and the church to her legal and primitive settlement, I also (who was before necessitated to seek shelter elsewhere till the tyranny was overpast) returned to my own native countrey; where I found diverse (whom I left professed sons of our church) turned renegades, having forsaken their own mother in the day of trial, and betaken themselves to that flattering stepdame of Rome. This I reflected on with much regret, and so much the more, because I found that with this defection from their mother, they were also grown cool in their affection to the common father of their

countrey, our sovereign lord the King, as being sowred with republican or protectorian leaven, infused into them by the so much admired Thomas de Albiis, amongst others. I observed further, that the Romanists in these parts grew every day more insolently active to bring more grist to their own mill, and list more men in the Pope's service, not only by printed books, but also by private letters and manuscripts. The first whereof that came to my hands was the short letter subjoyned to this treatise, to which I have (upon my friends request) framed an answer, and here annexed to that letter. The next I met with was a manuscript (that would fain usurp the title of Origo Protestantium) sent me by a gentleman for my opinion thereof, which after having perused and transcribed it, I returned to him again, and have here endeavoured to refute, and therein vindicate the English Reformation. The author seems to be a man in great request amongst them, especially if he be the same N. N. who assisted in the late conference; if not, he is probably that N. N. who was second to Father Knott, as S. W. or W. S. was to Mr. White."

Dæmonologia Sacra. Or, a Treatise of Satan's Temptations. In three Parts. By Richard Gilpin.—London: Printed by J. D. for Richard Randel, and Peter Maplisden, Booksellers in New Castle upon Tine, 1677." 4to. pp. 409 and 216, title, address and contents, 10 leaves*.

April 6. Archdeacon's Court. Gateshead. 8 (including George Airey) for not resorting to the divine service in their parish church: 6 Papists: 9 Quakers: 5 sectaries, for not resorting to their said parish church: Richard Eubanks for inclosing a burial place for sectaries.

May 18. "We saw St. Nicholas Church. There are several pretty monuments therein. We saw a grave made for a poor alderman of the town, old Milbank. His poor widow was in great distress how to defray the funeral expenses, having but 7*l.* in the house. Her jointure was 1100*l.* per annum, and 15,000*l.* in money &c." (Tour of Tho. Kirk of Cookridge, Yks.) The alderman was Mark Milbanke of Halnaby and Seaham, and his wife one of "Cock's canny hinnies."

June 20. Archdeacon's Court. Gateshead. 12 for not paying church cess: 8 for not resorting to the church: 9 Quakers: 25 for not paying Easter dues: 8 for working on holydays.

Jan. 31. Died Robert Ellison. See his M. I. at All Saints', in Bourne, p. 94, who adds, "Several years ago the churchwardens were desired by one Matthew Blount to sell this stone; but they loathed the request, because it bore the name of a mayor of Newcastle, which they knew, after the sale of it, would not be long there."

* The Rev. A. B. Grosart (308, Upper Parliament-street, Liverpool) is reprinting this work with Gilpin's other productions, accompanied by a memoir of their writer. To this reprint the reader is referred.

1678. The parishioners of St. Andrew's petitioned the Common Council to assist them in repairing their church.

June 20. The Common Council paid "Humphrey Waecke, for his care and paines about the keels rowing on the Lord's Day, 10*s*."

1679. April. Vicar Nailor buried in his church.

May 20. Elizabeth Abbott, spinster, a Roman Catholic, who seems to have been flighty, threatened to fire Newcastle. (York Dep. 237.) See the same volume at pp. 238-9, 241, 268, 273 and 276, for political delinquencies connected with the town.

June 25. John March, B.D. occurs Vicar, with a salary from the Corporation of 60*l*., and 10*l*. for his turns on Thursday's lectures, "by the unanimous consent of the patron and others concerned in the donation." He was born in Newcastle about 1640 and educated at the Grammar-school under Ritschell. For several years he was vice-principal of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, and Kettlewell was one of his pupils. In 1672 he became vicar of Embleton, and in 1676, as already noted, he was appointed afternoon lecturer at Newcastle.—Same day, Mr. John Rawlett (see p. 54), succeeded March in the lectureship, at 90*l*., which was raised on Mar. 30, 1682, to 120*l*. "He was a very pious and charitable man. He seemed to have imitated the example of Onesiphorus to St. Paul, in making it his business to find out the sick and needy, that he might have the pleasure and happiness of assisting them." Vide 1687.

Brand "found the following inscription on a stone in a garden belonging to Captain Lampton, near the Middle Glass-house. 'Abigail Tizacke, daughter of John and Sarah Tizacke, departed this life the 7th day of *the* 12*th month*, and in the 7th weack of her age, anno 1679.'"

1680. Mr. Dalgarner occurs as minister at Benwell. "The chapel which Mr. Shafto opens, and supplies, for the good of the people of his village, was the Prior's [of Tynemouth] domestic chapel." (Bourne, 113.) It was supplied by the curate of St. John's till it was pulled down. (Brand, i. 111.)

1680. Presentments. St. Nicholas, Newcastle.—Ambross Barnes and 50 others have not been at church for the last 12 months or have come when prayers were nearly done. Excommunicated 3 times.

April 29. Memoranda for one of Archdeacon Granville's Visitations. "Gateside. 1. How long Rector? 2. Licensed to preach? 3. Preach on afternoons?" (Granville, ii. 44.)

1680-1. Gateshead. "Mr. Saunderson at Mr. Archdeacon's visitation when he came himselfe, 3*l*. 17*s*. 8*d*. For horsehire when we mett him, 9*s*. 4*d*."

1681. William Durant died. Calamy says that he "was buried in his own garden *, not being allowed to be interred in what was

* See the verses quoted in the inscription.

called holy ground." Turner writes thus:—"After his ejectment he continued to live in his own house; which probably was in Pilgrim Street *, forming part of the northern range from the gate leading into Anderson's Place; for in this place Mr. Brand shewed me, before the late alterations, a grave stone with the following inscription:

"Parentis venerandi
Gulielmi Durant A.M.
Ecclesiæ Christi
D.V. hac in urbe
Pastoris vigilantissimi
Officii pietatis ergo
Funeri subjacenti
Sepulchrale hocce marmor
Lu. mæ. posuit
Johannes Durant F.
Joshuæ cap. ult. ver. 29, 30, 32, 33.
1681."

Brand himself says:—"I found the following inscription on a flat gravestone, under a staircase, in one of the stables of the late Sir Walter Blackett's house in Pilgrim-street. The stable appears to have been built over it. The place was long known among the servants by the name of 'The Dead Man's Hole.'" The gravestone was presented by Mr. George Anderson, during the ministry of Mr. Turner, to the church worshipping in Hanover-square. In the ministry of the Rev. George Harris, the congregation erected a church in New Bridge-street; and the stone was then removed from the chapel-yard in Hanover-square, and incorporated in the walls of the new structure, in the vestibule.

The name of Durant occurs frequently among the congregations of French refugees in England and at all dates. At Southampton Emmeri Durant married Marie le Febure in 1568, and Elie Durande was minister of the congregation there from 1619 to 1633, when he died.

Sep. 5. Wedding. "John Phillipson, taylor, and Katherin Rowell, with [by] a lawless minister, at Newcastle." (Jacob Bee's Diary.)

1681-2. Gateshead. "Mr. Michael Taylor for libertie to build a seate in North Porch, 18*s*. Work done at the high grate and stile in the churchyard. Spikes for the grate."

1682. "Richard Werge, rector of Gateshead," was inscribed on the poor east end of Gateshead church before the destruction of the chancel by the explosion of 1854.

Mar. 30. Vicar March's salary from the Corporation was increased to 90*l*.

* The street is mentioned in the account of Durant's service in 1669.

May 3. "The Encænia of St. Ann's chappel in Sandgate, a sermon on Psalm xxxiv. 2, preached before the Mayor &c. on their erecting a school and catechistical lecture for the instruction of poor children," by vicar March. It was published at London in 4to the same year.

1682-3. "The Christian Physician. By H. A., M.D.—London: Printed by T. James for William Leach at the Crown in Cornhill, 1683." Small 8vo. in two parts, pp. 92 and pp. 295, exclusive of titles, &c. The Epistle Dedicatory of the first part is addressed from Newcastle upon Tine, Nov. 2. 1682, by "Henry Atherton" to John Earl of Radnor, Lord President of H.M. Privy Council, who had encouraged the author to proceed upon the topics of the work; that of the second part to Lætitia Isabella, Countess of Radnor. Atherton was the last who held the office of Town's physician at Newcastle, to which he had been appointed in August 1682. He came from Cornwall. Some commendatory verses by John Drake, Bachelor of Physick, are prefixed to the book. The work consists of directions for a religious life. Atherton exhorts his reader to stand in the church at the reading of the Psalms "a custom used by the Ancients and now continued by many good Christians," and to "shew respect to the place and ordinance, by keeping thy head uncovered: I never knew any take cold in the church." The book is extremely rare. The Rev. E. H. Adamson has a copy. Atherton was, "a man very knowing in his profession and of great piety and religion." After the Revolution he was fined 50*l.*, and his wife 200 marks in the King's Bench, 21 Nov. 1693, for words against the Government. He gave the lesser flagon to All Saints' church in 1697. His son Thomas was Rector of Little Canfield, in Essex. Vide Notes and Queries, 2nd Series, iii.

1682-3. March 13. Dean Granville's Diary. "I went a second time to waite upon my Lord of Canterbury.—At dinner—before his Grace had ended his meale, hee asked Dr. Turner whether his brother the Archdeacon could give as good an account of the conformity of Northumberland as I had done of the Bishopprick of Durham. I interposed to doe a good office for my brother Archdeacon, and assured his Grace that Northumberland was very much improved in point of conformity, and that some part of it was more conformable than any diocese in England except the Bishopprick of Durham, especially the town of New Castle, which, without all dispute, I told his Grace, was in as good circumstances as any great sea port town in England. His Grace asked mee whether I would not except Bristow. I answered I conceived I ought not. The good seed sown by Dr. Basire, beginning now by the cultivation of a very able and worthy official and vicar, (both whom had done great things in their respective places) to spring up apace, and that there was not now one publick conventicle in the town, and if there were any that did meet at all, it were some few by night, according to the example of the primitive Christians. To which his Grace

replyed, 'Noe, it was not like the primitive Christians, but like thieves and robbers to doe mischief.'" (Granville, ii. 110.)

1683. "The False Prophet Unmaskt, or the Wolfe stript of his Sheeps-clothing. In a Sermon Preached before the Right Worshipful the Mayor, the Aldermen, and Sheriff, &c. of the Town and County of New Castle upon Tyne; on the Anniversary Fast for the most Execrable murder of K. Charles the first Royal Martyr. By John March, B.D., and Vicar of St. Nicholas in New-Castle upon Tyne.—London, Printed by J. R. for Richard Randall, and Peter Maplesden, Booksellers in New-Castle upon Tyne. 1683." Small 4to. pp. 32, and title and Epistle Dedicatory "to the Right Worshipful and Worshipful Nicholas Fenwick, Esq; Mayor: Sir Robert Shaftoe, kt. Recorder: Sir Ralph Carr, kt., Sir Ralph Jennison, kt., Sir Nathaniel Johnson, kt., Henry Maddison, esq., Henry Brabant, esq., Timothy Davison, esq., Matthew Jeffreyson, esq., George Morton, esq., Timothy Robson, esq., William Blachet, esq., Aldermen: To Nicholas Ridley, esq., Sheriff"; and to the rest of the Common Council of the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne." March begs the Dissenters to consider that he has not "charged their party with all those wild and barbarous principles, which might easily have been collected out of the writings of Knox, Buchanan, Milton, and other authors highly admired by them. I have only insisted on some more modest principles (though in truth villainous enough) which have been notoriously owned and practised by the generality of their party." "Mr. Baxter (though he lives a perfect contradiction to himself) does yet think it his duty to frequent prayers and sermons, and also receive the Sacrament according to the usage of the Church of England." The sermon is from Matthew vii. 15, 16, and is strong against schism and in favour of prelacy.

1683. In the burying-ground for Dissenters, in Sid-gate, hodie the play-ground of the Percy-street academy, was a table monument of blue stone, with *Arms*, a Cross Crosslet, and *Crest*, a Griffin with expanded wings passant, and this inscription. "Mors Christi est vita mea. Johannes Durant, M.D. obiit . . . . 2° anno 1683, ætatis 35. Vixi dum volui, volui dum, Christe, volebas,—Christe mihi spes es vita corona salus." Paper and printing ink are better than blue stones.

April 3. "A gentleman in Dr. Beveridge's congregation informed me of a certain piece lately published, called 'Parish Churches turned into Conventicles,' which condemned all variations from the established rule of worship, the Common Prayer Book, and more particularly the reading the Communion Service, or any part thereof, in the desk; which I bought that day at Mr. Clavel's, and read much to my satisfaction, sending one of them away that very post, inclosed in a cover, to the Vicar of Newcastle, at which time I sent away four other pamphlets against pulpit prayers, (called 'The Old Puritan &c.') one to Mr. Rawlett, lecturer of All Hallows' in the

same town, a third to the official of Northumberland &c." (Granville.)

May 27. "Being Whitsunday, I dined with Mr. Secretary Jenkins, where I met with Sir William Dugdel. . . . Sir William did voluntarily inlarge very much upon this point of Bidding Prayer, and confessed that the contrary practice was a shiboleth whereby to distinguish the fanatick party. . . . After this, we had some discourse concerning Newcastle; and upon my informing him that it was brought to a very great degree of conformity by the zeal and diligence of the Official of Northumberland [Isaac Basire, esq.] and Vicar [March], whereat he did heartily rejoice, he demanded some questions concerning Mr. Isaac Basire, whether he was a man of parts, &c." (Dean Granville.)

"A Sermon Preached in St. Maries Church at Gates-head, in the County-Palatine of Durham. Upon Hosea v. 12. Therefore will I be to Ephraim as a moth. By Richard Werge, A.M. Rector of that Church. London: Printed for Joseph Hall, Bookseller and Bookbinder on Tyne Bridg, Newcastle upon Tyne, and Robert Clavell at the Peacock in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1683." Small 4to. pp. 36.

"A Sermon preached in St. Maries-Church at Gates-head in the County-Palatine of Durham, at the Funeral of George Johnson, gent. Deceased, May 29. Anno Dom. 1683. By Richard Werge, A.M. Rector of that Church. Whereunto is added, An Elegy by a Friend. Of whom the world was not worthy, Heb. ii. 38. London, Printed by Henry Clark, for Joseph Hall Book-Seller and Book-Binder upon Tyne-Bridge, Newcastle upon Tyne, and Robert Clavel at the Peacock in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1683." Small 4to. pp. 32 and title. "I cannot but say something of this worthy person deceased, whose body is now brought to be inhumed." "He had a strong body and a solid judgment, an excellent dispatch of business, not apt to be elevated, or dejected. By his vigilance, care, industry, and activity, God blessing his endeavours, he hath done many and great things for the good of himself and others in this place. He was clothed with humility, of an obliging temper, of a most sweet disposition; seldom seen to have an angry countenance; nor did I ever hear him speak evill of any man. He was a peace-keeper, and a peace-maker." "His assiduity in waiting upon ordinances, and his love to the ministers of the Gospel was admirable; especially to those whom he found to be the orthodox and loyal." "His zeal was great, in endeavouring that loyal and faithful subjects might be elected to sit as members in parliament. He was an excellent subject, husband, father, and friend. He frequently appeared at this font, as a god-father, to the children of the poorest persons. He was ready to entertain strangers: the blessing of them that were ready to perish was upon him." "He was Gates-head's darling." "He shined as the morning star among the living, and, dying, as the evening star among the dead." "We have reason

to believe that his soul is now beholding the face of God in glory ; that it is warbled in the quires of ever blessed spirits, in that vortex of eternity ; and that his body shall be raised in glory, and, being reunited to his soul, shall enjoy happy immortality, and immortal happiness." The elegy is signed J. T. and will not bear criticism. Canon Raine's copy was "Dorcas Werges Book."

These two sermons by Werge in 1683 and other two noticed in 1684 and 1685, are, says Thomas Bell, in that on Hosea v. 12, "extremely rare. The only set I know of is in the library at Bradley, co. Durham ; which set appears to have belonged at one time to 'Dorcas Werge,' a christian name common in the Matfen family of Newcastle, and, through them, in the Simpson family, to whom it is not improbable the Reverend Richard Werge was related.—From the Gateshead Register it appears he married Dorcas Rutter 6 July, 1686."

June 18. "During my stay at Oxford, I had frequent occasion to discourse with the Bishop, and many others, concerning the worthy zeal and diligence of the Official of Northumberland and Vicar of Newcastle, in having brought that town to an exemplary state of conformity, considering it is a seaport town, and a corporation ; which is a topic that I much oftener discoursed on than is noted in this book." (Dean Granville.)

Aug. 7. The grand jury of Northumberland at Newcastle pray for execution of the laws against recusants of all sorts, that certificates of the conformity should only be under the hand of the ministers of the dissenters' parishes, "we being informed that it is their practice to go from their own parish church to others, where they come in for scrapps of sermons at the latter end or after divine service, and so procure certificates for their coming to church, and in the mean time the divine service and their own parish church are utterly neglected, and their minister despised." John Pigg has been removed from the office of surveyor of the highways for the county, chiefly upon the account of his nonconformity. George Barkass of Quarry-house is recommended as his successor. He is loyal and a good churchman. (Dep. York, xxvi.)

Sep. 15. "There was a man, a glazier by trade, came from Gateshead, that stood in the pillory in Durham about one hour and one half, his name was Simpson, for taking a bribe from one —— a Quaker." (Bee.)

1683-4. Gateshead. A new table of the stalls or pews, with the rates paid at first entry. The men and women are still mostly separate. At the North side was a pew for "Saltwelside," and two pews for "Redheugh and servants." In the North porch [transept] were four new seats occupied by men and their wives, for which they had paid, in one case by consent of Sir Francis Liddell. The gallery was wholly occupied by men. It had two seats, one for 21, the other for 15 persons. Among the pews on the South side we have the place of the old gallery stairs, the

minister's wife, the curate's seat, the clerk's seat, and a pew for Thomas Atkinson of the Whinney-house and his family. The South porch or transept is blank, but among the receipts it appears that the servants of Sir Gilbert Gerard, Bart., had a seat there. This year there are charges "with the Commissioners for pious uses: at Michaelmas Sessions about the Quakers: when wee caryed the Quakers to Durham; when wee leavyd the Quakers' goods and councells fee 10*s.* 4*d.*: at the Goate and Naggs-head with Mr. Archdeacon 3*s.* 6*d.*: watching the Quakers."

1684. "The Excellency of Man's Soul, set out in a Sermon, Preached in St. Mary's Church, at Gates-Head, in the County-Palatine of Durham: Upon St. Matt. xvi. 26. By Richard Werge, A.M. Rector of that Church. London, Printed for Joseph Hall Book-seller and Book-binder on Tyne-bridge, New-Castle upon Tyne, and for Robert Clavel at the Peacock in St. Paul's Church-yard, MDCLXXXIV." Small 4to, pp. 22 and title.

April 7. The salary of St. Andrew's fixed at 100*l.* in all, on the appointment of Daniel Potenger, minister.

1684. May 29. A sermon preached by Vicar March before the Mayor &c. afterwards published and dedicated to them.

1684. Robert Lever (see 1672) preached in Newcastle "to some young men, with such privacy that he knew not where he was to preach till one came to conduct him to the place, which was continually altered. These were the young men who afterwards were cited before Lord Chief-Justice Jefferies in Newcastle, for meeting together for prayer and Christian conference, who are taken notice of by Mr. Bennet in his Memorial of the Reformation, page 362." (Calamy.)

July 29. Jeffries at Newcastle. Vide p. 196.

1684. "A number of young men in the town of Newcastle (about thirty) met together once a week for mutual assistance and improvement in religion; for which purpose they spent some time in prayer and conference, having subscribed a paper containing rules for the better ordering such a society, and the work to be done in it; taken out of a book of Mr. Isaac Ambrose's. One of the society, upon what inducement he best knows, turns informer; and having a copy of this dangerous paper, with the names of the subscribers, makes a discovery, and the whole matter was laid before Judge Jefferies at the assizes. By which it appeared to his Lordship, that about 30 young fanaticks met together weekly to pray and talk about religion, &c. His Lordship, whose business lay as much with such as these, as with felons, &c., resolved to make examples of them. When he was prepared to proceed against them, he ordered the doors of the court to be locked up, and kept locked, till such of the young men as were in court were secured; and at the same time dispatched the sheriff with the proper officers to apprehend the rest, the doors being still kept closed, which made no small noise and stir in the town. His Lordship, as his manner

was, began to breath out threatenings against the Dissenters; and whereas some of the elder of them, with whom his Lordship would have taken an occasion to have talked, were withdrawn from the town, he said 'He would take the cubs, and that would make the old foxes appear.'

"The offenders (some of whom are found in court, and others of them brought in by the sheriff) are presented before his Lordship's tribunal. Such as know his Lordship's character, will easily imagine (and some well remember it) with how much indignation and contempt he would look down upon these young men. One of them, Mr. Thomas Verner, who had but a mean aspect at best (and the work he was taken from made him appear at that time meaner than ordinary) his Lordship was pleased to single out, no question, to triumph over his ignorance, and thereby expose all the rest. 'Can you read, sirrah?' says he. 'Yes, my Lord,' answers Mr. Verner. 'Reach him the book,' says the Judge. The clerk reaches him his Latin Testament. The young man begins to read Matt. vii. 1, 2, (it being the first place he cast his eye upon, without any design in him, as he affirmed afterwards) 'Ne judicate, ne judicemini,' &c., 'Construe it, sirrah,' says the Judge; which he did: 'Judge not, lest ye be judged; for with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged.' Upon which, it is said, his Lordship was a little struck, and sat in a pause for some while (and he had occasion, methinks, to pause more upon it in the Tower a few years after).

"The issue of the matter, in short, was this: that the young men, though never tried, were sent to jail, where they lay above a year (i.e. from the assizes, in 1684, till Feb., 1685), when they were admitted to bail. And, at the next assizes after, viz. 1686, were called upon and set at liberty with this reprimand by the Judge, 'Go and sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto you;' adding, that the King's coming to the throne had saved all their lives.

"How they came to escape the trial, which the Judge said he would bring them to, is not very certain. It is said the reason was want of time. However, it was a good providence to the young men; for, had he proceeded against them, it had been much if they had come off with their lives. The crime charged upon them was no less than high treason, and a jury was provided that would have answered his Lordship's expectations, and followed his directions. One of the jury being asked what they intended to do with the young men, answered, 'There remained nothing for them (the jury) to do, but to bring them in guilty; for that a paper produced in court, and acknowledged by themselves to be subscribed by them, was by the Lord Chief Justice declared to be high treason.' So that, if they had been tried, it had been for high treason; and it is known his Lordship seldom saw cause to acquit any such traitors as these." (Bennet's Memorial of the Reformation, 2nd edit., 346.)

Aug. Robert Lever apprehended at his inn in Gateshead, for being the preacher at a conventicle at Mr. George Horsley's, of Milburn Grange. (Calamy.)

Aug. St. Nicholas'. "Erbs and flowers for Mr. Major's pew two times, 3*s*."

Feb. "Most children born in the town of Newcastle, though no necessity urgeth thereto, are christened privately in houses, and, when they are so christened, the lawful christening of the same is never afterwards certified in the parish church, so that whether they be duly and lawfully baptized is not certainly and publicly known. And when children are brought to the church to have public Baptism administered they are brought too late, and are christened when divine service is ended and the congregation gone, and are sometimes brought when the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper is to be administered, to the occasioning of great disorder in the house and service of God." Mandate, reciting the law, enjoining observation thereof. See it in Granville's Remains, Sur. Soc., 130.

Feb. 6. All Saints'. A marble communion table presented by John Otway, merchant. The donor's name appears to have been kept secret for some time. Bourne (1732) says :—"A few years ago the chancel was beautified. It is panelled round with wainscot. The table is a large curious marble stone, which was given to the church for that use by an unknown hand *." Bourne then describes and expounds the figures "on the large panel immediately above the altar," viz. I.H.S. with a cross proceeding from the H., a dove above that, and the Hebrew name of God in a golden glory above that again. "On the top of the east-end of the altar, above the things now mentioned, are the representations of three large candles, which are an emblem of the light of the Gospel, which either is, or should be, read at the altar. On the south-side of the altar is a prothesis, or side-altar, that the priest, according to the rubric, may more conveniently place the elements upon the altar." Bourne was the perpetual curate at All Saints' from 1722.

Reign of James II., 1684-5—1688.

1684-5. Gateshead. The Four and Twenty order that certain wayleave rents &c. shall go for "erecting new seates in the chancell † for the convenience of hearing God's word, and receiving the holy Sacraments." Rector Werge covenants :—"I will

* And yet we find in the church books :—"1684. Paid for bringing up a communion table of marble given by Mr. Jo[n] Otway, 3*s*."

† Bishop Crew's arms are on the chancel stalls, but the date upon them points to a later year of his episcopate. The figures are 1695 elegantly entwined.

not dureing my time make any private advantage of the said new seates in the chancell by letting or disposeing of them, but that the same shall be for the publique and common use and advantage of the parishioners." The accounts for these seats including the "turning the ball," tin sockets, ironwork and gilding of a candlestick, and "candles in winter for the dayly prayers" follow. The year's expenses are partly incurred "for one pint of sack when Mr. Shakespear preached: carrying Mr. Leaver to the goale: at Durham when wee had a hearing before my Lord Bishopp about the seates and for councell, 1*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*: carrying 26 Quakers to Durham." On the Coronation day, Apr. 23, we have "Two barrells gunnpowder, one hogshead of ale, bringing up and carrying downe two great gunns," and "mending the churchyard wall which was pulled downe for the guns." Do we find the name of Cannon Street applied to the row of houses fronting into the churchyard on the south before this time?

1685. "No Reformation of the Established Reformation. By John Shaw, Rector of Whalton in Northumberland.—London, printed for Charles Brome, at the Gun in S. Paul's Church-yard, 1685." Small 8vo. pp. 250 and title, dedication to Bishop Crew, and preface. "I have been a priest for full 48 years, ordained by one of your Lordship's predecessors; for this I have suffered, and do yet suffer in some sort." "There hath not in any age, in any part of the world, in that space of time, appeared such a race of kings, as our five reformed princes, for all manly, kingly, and Christian accomplishments." The Nonconformists are described as, thanks to the laws, coming to church, but many "as countrymen do at fairs and markets, some sooner, some later; and with the same reverence that they enter their inn, some not at the beginning, or not till sermon begin, some go out in an hurly burly after the sermon is ended." "Yea, but many come early, neither loll nor lubber, nor hang down their heads like a bulrush, as too many do, but hold out to the last.—This is confessed—but many of them dispute, scruple, deny and undervalue the authority of the church, rebel against its governours, associate, pack juries in a design to ruin the church, and, as opportunity serves, take to a conventicle." "Church-Papists and Church-Puritans do undermine the Church, while others profess an open hostility against it." "The Three Apostles of the Covenant, Henderson, Dickson, and Cant." "The Genevians, in their Annotations on the harmony of confessions, are well content every particular church should use her liberty—; particularly they make mention of kneeling at the Communion, and use of all such ceremonies as now are observed by the Lutherans, copes, organs, &c. and had been used before by Papists."

1685. "The Fall of Angels laid open. 1. In the greatness of the sin that caused it. 2. In the &c. Sermon before the Mayor, Recorder and Sheriffs of Newcastle upon Tyne. London. 1685, 4to." By Tho. Davison, M.A. (Wood's Fasti, ii. 153. Vide 1663.)

1685. "The Trouble and Cure of a Wounded Conscience set out in a Sermon Preached in St. Mary's Church at Gates-head, in the County Palatine of Durham. Upon Isaiah 57. verse 21.—By Richard Werge, A.M. Rector of that Church. London: Printed for R. Clavil, at the Peacock in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1685." Small 4to, pp. 36 and title. Raine's copy was "Dorcas Werge her Book."

1685-6. Gateshead. "The brass candlestick and hanging it, 6*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* Mending the second bell broke in the cannons. Mending an arme of the brass candlestick."

1686. St. Nicholas'. "Paid for presentment for want of letany desk, pulpit cloth, &c., 2*s.* 6*d.* Paid Renton rininge the sermon bell, 2*s.* 6*d.* Washing cirplis, 10*s.* Skooring eagle and broom, 11*s.* 6*d.*" Did the sermon bell occupy the little turret, like a sanctus-bell-cote, which appears in the old views of St. Nicholas?

1686. "A Jocoserious Discourse, in two Dialogues, between a Northumberland Gentleman, and his Tenant, a Scotchman, both old cavaliers:" By George Stuart, licensed June 12th, 1686. Small 4to, pp. 76, exclusive of dedication, preface and anagram. The Dedication, signed "George Stuart" is "To Sir Henry Brabant Knight, Mayor of New-Castle upon Tine." He was mayor in 1685-6. There follows "The Preface, in a Dialogue between the Author, and the Censorious Reader." "I was at New-Castle upon Tine, Feb. 11. 1684-5, when the doleful news of the death, if such can be said to dye, of the best and one of the greatest monarchs upon earth first filled that place with lamentation. All appeared in a sorrow suitable to the great cause there was for it. Immediately, they proclaimed our present dread Sovereign (upon whom Heaven shower down the choicest of his blessings) solemnizing his welcome access to the imperial crowns of his royal ancestors, with magnificent splendour. Their new charter was to come in the next day but one after; and to illustrate the royal goodness in so ample a grant, another stately preparation of the same stamp was set on foot. Having for that while sequestered myself from all business, resolving to see the far end of it, the maggot all of a sudden struck. I had but little time, and so I taskt myself accordingly, and got what I intended long enough ready, before their charter came in, which was upon the 13th, as above. *Reader.* Now I remember something of it; and, if I have not been misinformed, the entertainment that both it, and you for its sake, met withall, from the person you presented it to, that day, might have sufficiently cooled your fancy." The Author replies "Quite contrary: for I never had thought of a second dialogue, till the first was so treated.—After I had smelled the rat, I changed not the humor, but the scene, and fitted some conceits as well as I could for Durham, against the coronation." Much troubled "for perusals, readings over, or, which was harder, giving copies," and annoyed with the faulty recopies, Stuart sent his pieces to London in June 1685 for the opinion of "a

very judicious and ingenious gentleman there to know whether they contained any thing offensive to the publick, or disgustful to any loyal person. The unnatural rebellion of the West being then in the zenith, he was taken up in higher matters, and they lay by him forgot till September next after. I met with a good report of this gentleman, who got them printed; I impowered him to receive them, and get them licensed and printed, if it would turn to his advantage. After he had perused them, he returned them (with thanks, tho I say it,) assuring me the tenant's language would prove inexplicable in the Southern parts; besides, the characters of several persons were so darkish, that they would scarce be apprehended. I now reckoned my self at ease, but it was returned upon me, by such as prest me for printed copies, as a contrivance of mine to avoid appearing in print, a vanity I never was fond of." In conclusion, the author had "such profers" that he could not decline them, after Christmas he altered the book and added the common English of uncouth Scotch words with explicatory notes as to the characters. On the first occasion, Feb. 11, when men seemed both merry and mourning, there were bells ringing, minstrels playing, cannons thundering, and "instead of fair water their fountains sprang claret." At night the town was all in a flame with bonefires. The landlord remarks "What?—thundering of cannons?,—there was no such thing. 'Twas the Cock of the North" [Newcastle is the chief town in those parts,] "was clapping his wing." On the second occasion "What was't they fetcht in with sike pomp and pride?—Their charter, their rule, their light, and their guide." The scene of the first dialogue is laid on the Highway, the second at an inn at Durham after "a most splendid solemnity" on the coronation day, 23 April, 1685. A few passages might be worked into a history of Durham city, but the whole tract is coarse and indecent, and its loyalty runs into blasphemy. It contains some songs set to music and is very rare. Mr. Robinson, of Houghton has a copy. See the evidences as to the charter collected on p. 176.

Oct. 4. Jonathan Davison, B.D. appointed Lecturer at St. Nicholas, p.m. Rawlett, at 120*l*. He was son of Alderman Thomas Davison, and was a nonjuror. He resigned.

Nov. 2. "I doe nominate and appoint Mr. Nathaneel Ellison M^{r} of Arts in the University of Oxford to be my Preaching Curate in the Chappelry of All-Saints in the parish of St. Nicholas in the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tine. In testimony whereof I have set to my name this twenty & 2^{don} day of November in the year of o^{r} Lord God 1686.—John March Vicar of NewCastle upon Tine." (Hunter's MSS., vii. 157.) Brand adds that Ellison was appointed p.m. Mayer, with a salary of 130*l*., to preach both forenoons and afternoons, and in his turn on Thursday's lecture. He was to allow 20*l*. per annum out of his salary for an assistant. The appointment by the vicar is observable, and we shall find March's

proceedure alluded to in his correspondence with Dr. Welwood in 1688-9. Ellison was son of Mr. Robert Ellison, a considerable merchant at Newcastle (see the pedigree under Hebburn, in Surtees's Durham), who had been in arms against Parliament but afterwards zealously conformed to its proceedings. Nathaniel Ellison, as fellow of Corpus Christi Coll. Oxford, instituted declamations, or commemoration speeches in praise of Charles I. and Laud, which have continued to our own days. He was "a man of learning and piety, and an excellent preacher," and made extensive collections for the history of Newcastle, the withholding of which from the sight of Bourne was one of his "grand disappointments." Brand had the use of them. The Rev. E. H. Adamson has collected what is known of Ellison in a little memoir printed by Richardson, and he occurs again here. In Bp. Nicolson's correspondence, i. 181, ii. 463, will be found two letters from him, one on the Religious Societies then arising, the other on Robert Rhodes. Alderman Hornby remarks that the numerous books in Dr. Ellison's library all had accounts of their authors and references to other works in their blank pages.

1687. April 4. Declaration of Indulgence.

July. Brand mentions a tradition that when the Duke of Somerset quitted the Court, on his refusing to appear in his official character at the public entrance of the Pope's Nuncio, and was retiring to his estates in Northumberland, he took off his hat, and remained uncovered while he passed the statue of his master James II. on the Sand-Hill. This story cannot be supported. The statue was not ready until 1688, and whether it was ever really erected on its pedestal seems doubtful. See the whole subject laboured by Mr. John Bell, in Arch. Æl., 4to, ii. 260.

1687. July. Richard Werge, Rector of Gateshead, died about Michaelmas and was buried in St. Mary's Church. He was succeeded by John Cock, who was deprived. Robert Brograve, mentioned by Wood, Fasti Ox. ii. 211, came next. He was chaplain in ordinary to William and Mary, published a sermon preached before them on 12 May, 1689 on Matt. v. 16, and went as chaplain to William III. into Ireland in June, 1690.

1687. "Poetick Miscellanies of Mr. John Rawlet, B.D. and late Lecturer of S. Nicholas Church in the Town and County of New-Castle upon Tine.—Licensed Novemb. 22. 1686. Rob. Midgley. —London, printed for Samuel Tidmarsh, at the King's-Head in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange. 1687." Small 8vo. pp. 144, exclusive of title, &c. Prefixed is "An Epitaph on the Reverend and truly pious Mr. John Rawlet, B.D. made by his sorrowful friend J. M." At the end is a list of "books written by Mr. John Rawlet, B.D. and sold by Samuel Tidmarsh, in Cornhill." These are—1. "A Treatise of Sacramental Covenanting with Christ, shewing the ungodly their contempt of Christ, in their contempt of the sacramental covenant: with a preface chiefly designed for the

satisfaction of Dissenters, and to exhort all men to peace and unity." This was published in 1682 at London. 2. "An Explication of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, with the addition of some forms of prayer." 3. "A Dialogue betwixt two Protestants, (in answer to a Popish catechise called 'A short Catechism against all Sectaries'), plainly shewing, that the members of the Church of England are no sectaries, but true Catholicks, and that our church is a sound part of Christ's holy catholick church, in whose communion therefore the people of this nation are most strictly bound in conscience to remain." 4. "The Christian Monitor, containing an earnest exhortation to an holy life, with some directions in order thereto; written in a plain and easie stile, for all sorts of people." 5. "Poetick Miscellanies." Mr. J. R. Smith in one of his catalogues mentions two other editions of the Miscellanies in 1691 and 1721. Besides these works, Rawlet is also stated to have published, in 1685, "Solomon's Prescription against the Plague."

Dec. 2. George Tully appointed to the lectureship of St. Nicholas'. He was subdean of York, collated 9 Oct. 1680. See Wood, ii. 925. He died 24 April 1695.—Same day, Thomas Knaggs appointed afternoon lecturer of all Saints. Salary 70*l.* (Common Council Books.)

"After this (1687) I happened to be at a christening (as we called it) of a relation's child."—"When the priest came to say the prayer, which is a part of the service on that occasion, a great fear and surprize came over my mind; (as I gave a more close attention than usual) so that I could not pay that regard to it as formerly. For, by way of introduction and foundation to the work, the priest reads part of Mark x."—"Upon this I note, That—the people brought their children to the Lord Christ, not to be baptised, but that he might touch them; and he declared their innocence and aptitude for the kingdom of God, without such baptism; and did not baptise them."—"After this ceremony was over, I privately asked the priest, whether he did believe that that ceremony, for which there is not any foundation in Scripture, either for making little children the subjects of baptism, signing them with the sign of the cross, promising and vowing in their names, believing and confessing in their stead, sprinkling them only with water &c. did really then, or at any time to come, regenerate those children? At which he only smiled, and said, No; but it being an established order in the Church, the practice could not be omitted. Why then, said I, you do but mock God, in giving him thanks for that which you don't seriously believe he hath effected." (Story's Journal, 5.)

1687-8. Vide note on p. 176.

1687-8. Gateshead. "A coffin for a laborer." St. Nicholas'. "Erbs for the church, Easter, Whitsuntide, and Lammas, 6*s.*"

"In the year 1688—came the news of the Queen's being with child; and the Papists, being greatly overjoyed thereat, made bone-

fires in the Market-place, [at Carlisle,] and, in a publick, exalted, and triumphant manner, drank health, to the young prince: and I being a spectator, with many other young men of the town, the officers called several of us to drink the health with them; and then I took occasion to ask one of the captains, how they knew the child would be a prince; might it not happen to be a princess? No, replied he, Sir, that cannot be, for this child comes by the prayers of the church; the church has prayed for a prince, and it can be no otherwise. And, when the news came of his birth, they made another great fire in the same place; where they drank wine, till, with that, and the transport of the news, they were exceedingly distracted, throwing their hats into the fire at one health, their coats at the next, their waistcoats at a third, and so on to their shoes; and some of them threw in their shirts, and then ran about naked, like madmen: which was no joyful sight to the thinking and concerned part of the Protestants who beheld it; and it brought such a concern upon my mind that I could not go near them." (Story's Journal, 7.)

"A Sermon preached before the Right Worshipful the Mayor of the town and county of Newcastle upon Tyne, on the 29th of January, 1688, being the Day of Thanksgiving, at the catholick chappell, by Phil. Metcalfe, P. of the Society of Jesus, with allowance." It is dedicated to "The R. W. Sir William Creagh, mayor of the town and county of Newcastle upon Tyne," and is printed at London by H. Hills, 1688. The thanksgiving was on account of the Queen's proving with child. Brand describes the discourse as "most extraordinary," containing many very curious passages, calling the King "James the Just *," and much labouring the conversion of Protestant hearers. He also notes the close proximity of the following items in St. Andrew's accounts. "Paid for ringing for the Queen's conception, 1*s.* 4*d.*—Paid for bells ringing for deliverance from popery, 1*s.* 4*d.*" "Before 1688 the place of worship for Roman Catholicks at Newcastle was in a chapel down a court-yard in the Flesh-Market, adjoining to what is at present the White-Hart Inn." As to those in 1746 and afterwards, see Brand, i. 329.

1688. Mar. 30. A messuage in Trinity Chare is described as "late in the occupation or possession of Dr. John Pringle." (Arch. Æl. vi. 162.)

Oct. 8. Mr. William Drake and Mr. Andrew Bates presented by the Common Council to the parish of St. Andrew's for their probation, in case Mr. Charles Maddison, appointed Aug. 27, 1688, should refuse to officiate.

Oct. 27. Will of John Pigg, leaving a charity for those "who fear God and are of the Protestant religion, and have not cast themselves into poverty by their idleness nor reduced themselves to

* This epithet occurs also in the Joco-serious Discourse already noticed.

beggary by their own riotous prodigality, but are by age, sickness or decrepidness disabled from work; or where men have children too numerous for their work to maintain; for I have always observed if men will be not idle, they need not want." See an account of this charity, and of John Pigg generally, in Richardson's reprint of Thoresby's Tour.

Dec. 6. Lord Lumley, encouraged by the reception of the Prince of Orange's declaration at Durham, "sent to the magistrate of Newcastle, to demand reception there, but was refused admittance." (Dean Granville.)

1688. "A few soldiers, as drunk with loyalty as with liquor, assisted by the busy hot-headed genius of Sandgate," pulled down the copper statue of James II. on the Sandhill and threw it into the Tyne. It was taken up again, and part of it cast into a set of bells, the property of All Hallows' Church. (Bourne.) See July, 1687.

"A List of several of the clergy and others in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, who were thought not to qualify themselves upon the Revolution.—Durham.—Mr. Grey, Curate of . . . . in Newcastle, went into France and changed his religion." (Life of Kettlewell, 1718, Appendix.) Ralph Grey, curate of All-Saints' in 1683, was succeeded by Joseph Bonner in 1688.

Reign of William and Mary, 1688-9—1694.

1689. "A Vindication Of the present Great Revolution in England; In Five Letters Pass'd betwixt James Welwood, M.D. and Mr. John March, Vicar of Newcastle upon Tyne. Occasion'd by a Sermon Preach'd by him on January 30, 1688-9, before the Mayor and Aldermen, for Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance. Licensed, April 8, 1689. London: Printed, and sold by R. Taylor, near Stationers-Hall, 1689*." Small 4to. pp. 36, exclusive of title and preface. The preface is dated "London, April 1, 1689" and the Doctor states that he heard the sermon in which March called King William's enterprize, and the actings of the nobility and gentry, rebellion, and rudely attacked Bp. Burnet for "An Enquiry into the measures of Obedience," &c.: that he was a friend of Dr. Thomas Burnet, physician, the Bishop's brother: and that the consequents of his first letter to March a stranger could scarce believe. This first letter is dated at Newcastle, Feb. 1, 1688-9, and is addressed "to the Reverend Mr. John March," "lest your narrow acquaintance in the world, and the retirement your humor obliges

* This sermon was published. (Ornsby.)

you to, should occasion your ignorance of the sentiments the most thinking part of your hearers have of your other days sermon." It states that March called Burnet "a man that has made a great bustle in the world, an apostate from the Church of England, a seditious inquirer, a scandalous pamphleteer" and the like, and repeated such expressions 17 times in less than three quarters of an hour: that he termed self-defence "an old fanatick principle:" "that whoever medled with the King's forts, castles, militia, and revenue, were, in the sense of your text, guilty of damnation." Welwood asks for a copy of the sermon to be answered at length. March replies, stating his ignorance that Burnet was the author of the pamphlet, but justifying himself in any case, denying that he meant self-defence in the general, but only resistance to the higher powers: and offering to send a copy of the sermon to Burnet himself if he would answer it, speaking of the modesty of Welwood in threatening an answer. This letter is directed "to Mr. James Welwood," and commences: "Newcastle, February 11th, 1688-9. It's certain I never knew till this morning that you had given yourself the trouble, and my meanness the honour and satisfaction of a letter, and to make the earliest acknowledgments I could, of so particular a favour, I set myself to the writing an answer as soon as I had leave from the company your messenger found me engaged in." Welwood replies on Feb. 13. "If you had taken the degree of Doctor in any university of England, you would have found the good manners in any civilized nation of Europe, to be designed as such, and albeit no man has a greater veneration for the two great luminaries of Oxford and Cambridge then I, yet the university where I commenced Doctor, would take it ill to be placed in a much lower degree." He proposes a question "Whether or not he that pays the stipend should, *jure divino*, present to the church? This is a question may concern you, and I am positively for the affirmative, till you convince me of the contrary." On Feb. 19, March addresses a letter "to Dr. Welwood," and begins "Good Doctor." He however explains that Welwood, as he may satisfy himself by "consulting the Herald's office," has no claim to M.D. until admission *ad eundem* in an English university. The letter is long. "I come now to the close of your tedious letter, and since you admonish me that I ought of Christian charity to pity your ignorance, I shall be more favourable to you than you have been to several of the clergy of this town. . . . There is a ruled case in our law books, called the case of the Vicar of Halifax, where it is determined that every vicar has the right of nominating his own curate, though the inhabitants of the parish pay the stipend. And if you dare to say the law of the land is contrary to the law of God, I shall leave you to be chastised by the gentlemen of the long robe. . . . . And now, Sir, that I have undergone all this drudgery, if for the future you trouble me with your cholerick impertinences, I shall commit them to the flames, *et sic extinguere ignibus ignes;*

but, if you are willing to be civil and peaceable, I shall remain, Sir, your humble servant, John March." Welwood's reply, with which the tract concludes, is dated March 3, and commences thus:—"Sir, after your so unusual method of exposing your second letter at your stationer's shop, and thereby to most of the town, I might have expected it myself, especially considering my so often sending for it. But your delaying it from day to day and, at last, absolute refusal, put me upon the necessity of getting a copy of it another way. I cannot much blame you for this conduct. The writing and dispersing such a letter required indeed the denial of it to the person for whom it was designed." "I had reason to expect a designation you refuse not to some who scarce ever saw an university. Neither have I lived so obscure, or been so little employed, as not to be known for what I am by most of the gentry and people of quality in the place. And you notably contradict yourself in saying 'you was ignorant of my quality,' since you name expresly my profession in your first letter. But we shall not fall out upon that head, since the Herauld's office is not like to be much troubled with either of our escutchons." "You would fain fix upon me a contradiction in first asserting passive obedience to be the darling principle of the Church of England, and then denying it. Certainly, this is to try how far you can push forward an untruth without lying. I did indeed call passive obedience your darling, meaning Mr. John Marches, but that it is the principle of the Church of England, I have evinced the contrary. The next time I have occasion to name any thing that belongs to you I find I must play the Quaker, and use the word *thine*, otherwise you will father it upon the whole Church." "In the late age have we not seen a northern prince invite his whole nobles aboard his ship, and order them all to be murdered before his eyes. It is true we have been blessed with a better race of kings in England than to find any such monsters in our annals. But how proper it was for a divine to take notice of what I told you upon this head 'How far a prince may fall under this category, who endeavours to introduce a religion inconsistent with his people's eternal happiness' I am willing, (as well as you,) to appeal to your parishioners." The letter, like March's, is long on the general subject. "Is it a falsity that you neither preached yourself, nor would allow your pulpit to others on the Thanksgiving day * appointed for the late mighty deliverance? when you cannot but know that all honest men of the place exclaimed against you for it. And you know best what it meant, instead of a sermon on that day, to have read in one of the churches the Homily against Rebellion." "As to our law question I am not much concerned on either side, being in no great hazard of being either a vicar or his

* Jan. 31, the day appointed by the Convention for a thanksgiving unto Almighty God "for having made the Prince of Orange the glorious instrument of the great deliverance of this kingdom from Popery and arbitrary power."

curat. You know the reason why I proposed it, and you may do in it, as your Christian wisdom shall dictate to you. But what a wretched notion have you of the term *Jure Divino* when you confound it with *not being contrary to the Law of God*." "Thus I have done with you and your letter, and never any of Loyolla's sect injoyned a more nauseous penance on their votaries then I or my self in giving you an answer. Take it as the last you shall be troubled with from, Sir, your humble servant, James Welwood."

A second edition was printed for Dorman, London.

"It seems (vide Life of Kettlewell, p. 216) that he [March] was one of those who upon the new settlement after the Revolution took the short oath of allegiance to the possessors of the throne, with such a declaration or limitation as should still leave him free to serve the abdicated King, whose right he acknowledged, whenever his Majesty should be in a condition to demand his allegiance within any of these kingdoms." (Adamson.)

1689. St. Nicholas'. "Paid for holland and juniper and yerbs for the vestry and church, 2*s*. 2*d*."

May 22. John Shaw, of St. John's, died, aged 77, "Deo, ecclesiæ, patriæ, regi, pie fidelis." (M. I. before altar, St. John's.) "He was of good learning, and of an unblameable life; a strict observer of the orders of the church; somewhat warm in his temper; equally zealous against popery and presbytery, with its brood of sectaries, as appears by his writings. The gout confined him to his house, and at last to his bed, some years before his death." (Walker.)

May 29. A sermon preached by Vicar March before the Mayor &c. and afterwards printed by him.

"A Sermon preached in Alhallows Church in New-Castle upon Tine, the 19th day of June, 1689, being the Fast-day. By Tho. Knaggs, A.M. and Preacher in the Afternoon to that Congregation. London, Printed for Richard Randell and Peter Maplisden, Booksellers in New-Castle upon Tine, 1689." Small 4to. pp. 30 exclusive of title and dedication. "To his much-esteemed friends the parishioners of Alhallows in New-Castle upon Tine. Gentlemen, It was no ambition of being in print, but in defence of myself, I sent this sermon to the press. A few hot, inconsiderable men among us were very angry after I preach'd it. I do not see any cause I have given them why they should rail, or think the worse of me for it. But let them say what they please, I lament their malice, and pity their ignorance: and, seeing wiser men than they were highly satisfyed with the sermon, their peevish reflections shall never trouble me. Gentlemen, you all know what an huge number of people were my auditors, and how solemnly the fast was kept: and I think I may modestly say it, I preached to above a thousand persons; all which, except a few angry men, went home my friends." The sermon is from 2 Cor. 13. 11, the occasion of the meeting to implore a blessing upon the forces of William and Mary in the war against the French. The discourse is strongly protestant and loyal, against divisions in

the church and against meddling with public affairs which are to be left to the representatives in parliament "unless the people make use of them only as noses of wax."

July 25. Andrew Bates, "of good sound principles, and an excellent parish priest," appointed lecturer of St. John's, at a salary of 90*l.* and 10*l.* for his Thursday's turn. Brand supposed that the font there might be his gift, the arms of Bates appearing on it. See p. 145 as to Dr. Gilpin's 'scuffle' with him.—Same day. The Common Council appointed Mr. Wm. Richards to St. Andrew's, at 100*l.* and ordered 20*l.* to Mr. William Drake for having officiated, at the same time. Mr. Richards was son of Ralph Richards, minister of Helmdon, co. Northampton, who subscribed and gave his testimony to the lawfulness of the covenant, in 1648. He was born there about 1643, "and at length became rector of his native place, and lecturer of St. Andrew's church in Newcastle upon Tyne, where he now (1693) resides *a nonjuror*." See Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ii. 1072, for his works.

In Sep. 1689 the Baptists held a General Assembly in London to consider the revival and constitution of the churches, on which a new era had arisen. Another such assembly was held in 1690, and it probably recommended the formation of district associations of churches, as a list of them occurs in 1691. The names of the associations in Northumberland and Durham are Newcastle and Bitchburn. It is however recited in the London proceedings of 1692, that "for *some years* past the churches have had several associate and country meetings and one general one in London annually." Whatever may be the meaning of the expression "some years," it is certain that the Northern Association had met in 1690 and queries of the Assembly had been answered "by the messengers of the churches." The Bitchburn association included the churches of Muggleswick and Tyneside [Hexham]. The associated churches have generally met at villages. Previously to 1715, they assembled at Newton Cap, Bitchburn, Bridlington, Broughton, and Hamsterley. Mr. Richard Pitts occurs as minister of the Baptist church at Newcastle from 1689 to 1698.

1689-90. Jan. 15. 1 Will. & Mar. "A meeting-house for the people of God, called Quakers, in Gateshead, nigh the Tolbooth," registered at Durham Quarter Sessions, under the new act "for exempting their Majesties' protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of certain laws." Brand (i. 486) had been informed that there was formerly a Quakers' meeting-house where Powell's Alms-house (built 1731) stands. The Toll-booth stood in the centre of High-street a few doors south of the Almshouse.

1690. St. Nicholas'. "Whitners and whitning and red collouring 15*l.* Peter Edward, blacking the monuments, 7*s.* 6*d.*"

1690. Robert Lever (see 1672, 1684) died. "He desired to be buried in the church where he had been stated preacher, but the old

incumbent would not allow it; though I am informed he paid him his fifths very regularly." (Calamy.)

"1690. After all this, a deep consideration returned upon and entered into my mind, concerning the states of many persons in the National way of worship, as also among the Dissenters from it, of divers denominations; some of whose preachers I had occasionally heard, particularly Dr. Richard Gilpin of Scaleby-Castle, an able physician, and ancient celebrated preacher among the Presbyterians; and I had observed many others who seemed to have sincerity and good intentions in their respective modes of worship; whence a question arose, whether it might not be through my own fault, for want of the true knowledge of God in myself heretofore, that I did not enjoy his presence among them, as I had done, through his grace, since I had been visited by the Lord, and drawn into retirement by the comforts of his secret presence? Upon which I determined to go again and see, whether the good presence of the Lord would be manifested in me there, as alone in my retirements. And the place I went to was that called St. Cuthbert's, in the city of Carlisle; there being usually prayers and a sermon there in the afternoons of the first-days; but not with that pomp, noise, and show, as at the cathedral, and therefore I rather chose it. And, being seated there, as I had been often, and my mind retired inward, to wait upon the Lord, as he himself had taught me, the Lord would not own that worship by his sensible presence, (though in himself omnipresent) nor me in that place; but my mind became filled with darkness, and overwhelmed with trouble, to so great a degree, that I could hardly stay till the time was over.—I thus declined all outward worship, or that which was called so, determining to follow the Lord wheresoever it might please him to lead me." (Story's Journal, 30.)

July 15. Mr. Mayor &c. ordered by the Common Council to acquaint Mr. March, vicar, that his salary [90*l.*] will be stopped unless he pray for King William and Queen Mary by name.

Oct. 13. "Thanksgiving-day for his Majesty's safe return from Ireland, being on Sunday next, ordered, that Mr. Mayor have a feast dinner at the town's charge, and, after evening service, that they come to the court and take a glass of wine, and have bonfires, as is usual."

1690—1700. Between these years, the total population of Gateshead was computed at about 7000. In 1710, Gateshead appeared to compose a third part of Newcastle, 260 persons having died there that year. (Dr. Ellison's MSS.)

1691. Mr. Deodatus Thirkeld receives 42*l.* 3*s.* for erecting a new clock with two painted dials in the steeple of All Saints'.

1691. George Tullie, Rector of Gateshead, p. res. Brograve.

"Sometime after this (still 1691) Dr. Gilpin, before mentioned, sent his son, a counsellor, under whom I had been initiated into the study of the law, and was one of those at the tavern aforesaid

[where the writer had been invited to drink King William's health, and said he would drink no health any more] and still retained a great affection for me, to invite me to his house at Scaleby-Castle, and desired to see some of the Quakers' books, supposing I had been imposed upon by reading them ; and I sent him, as I remember, all that I had. Soon after I had parted with these books, I observed a cloud come over my mind, and an unusual concern ; and therein the two sacraments (commonly so termed) came afresh into my remembrance, and divers Scriptures and arguments, pro and con ; and then I was apprehensive the Doctor was preparing something of that sort to discourse me upon ; and I began to search out some Scriptures in defence of my own sentiments on those subjects : but as I proceeded a little in that work I became more uneasy and clouded ; upon which I laid aside the Scripture, and sat still, looking towards the Lord for counsel. For I considered the Doctor as a man of great learning, religious in his way, an ancient preacher and writer too, famous in Oliver's time, and a throne among his brethren; and that he might advance such subtilties as I could not readily confute, nor would concede to, as knowing them erroneous, though I might not be suddenly furnished with arguments to demonstrate their fallacy, and so might receive hurt. And then it was clear in my understanding, that, as he was in his own will and strength, though with a good intent, in his own sense, searching the letter, and depending upon that and his own wisdom, acquirements, and subtilty, leaning to his own spirit and understanding, I must decline that way, and trust in the spirit of Christ, the divine author of the holy Scriptures. And as this caution was presented in the life and virtue of truth, I rested satisfied therein, and searched no farther on that occasion. When I went to his house, he entered into a discourse on those subjects ; and had such passages of Scripture folded down as he purposed to use : and, when I observed it, I was confirmed that my sight of him, in my chamber at Carlisle, and of his work, some days before, was right ; and my mind was strengthened thereby. But, before he began to move upon the subject, he dismissed every other person out of the room ; so that himself and I remained alone. The first thing he said, was in a calm manner, to admonish me to be very cautious how I espoused the errors of the Quakers ; for he had heard, of late, and with concern, that I had been among them, or seemed to incline that way. I answered, that I had not been much among them ; nor seen any of their books, but those I had sent him ; and knew not of any errors they held. Yes, said he, they deny the ordinances of Christ, the two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper ; and then opened his book, at one of his downfolded leaves." [Gilpin quoted 1 Cor. i. 2., and 1 Cor. xi. 23-26, and argued that though the Corinthians were then sanctified, they still needed the ordinance of the Lord's Supper and were to continue in it till Christ's coming at the end of the world. Story replied that though some had obeyed the call of God,

others had not, but remained in sin. They had been heathens, and according to the beginning of 1 Cor. ii, and 1 Cor. xv, the apostle, among the saving truths he preached to them, had not mentioned the ordinance, but considering their weak and carnal state had related to them the sayings of Christ on the subject and they had practised or rather abused it. That it was optional, "This do, as often as ye do it, in remembrance of me." That at Babylon, the passover could not be celebrated in form, and bread and wine were administered by the chief of each family, with blessing to God for his gifts. Here he quotes Goodw. Ant. Tit. Feasts, Lib. 3. That succeeding generations continued the practice as incident to the passover. Story then quoted John i. 29, vi. 32-35, 48-58, 63. Luke, xxii. 16, Mat. xxvi. 29, stating that Christ celebrated it as chief of his flock, but directed them to himself as the antitype of all figures ; that eating and drinking in the kingdom of God could not relate to material bread and wine, that the outward body and blood of Christ profited nothing, and that the passover or any relative to it could be of no further use or obligation to his disciples than till they should experience in themselves his divine and spiritual appearance and coming in them. He then quoted John xiv. 17, 6, John i. 1, 1 Cor. i. 24, 30, 1 Cor. xii. 7. He explained the Apostle's conduct by Rom. ix. 3, Gal. ii. 7, 1 Cor. ix. 19 &c. and x. 33, Acts xxi. 18 &c. xvi. 3, and xv. 2., Gal. ii. 3 and v. 2., supposing that from the abuse of the rite (1 Cor. xi. 21 and iii. 1, 2, 3.) he was endeavouring to supersede it, addressing 1 Cor. x. 15 to those already sanctified.] "To which he made little other reply, than by telling me, in a very calm and familiar manner, that as he had always believed it to be an ordinance of Christ, he had solemnly used it as such, and found comfort in it. To which I returned, that I did not doubt but that he might have some satisfaction in it, since he believed it a remaining ordinance, and did it under that apprehension. Whosoever in his heart believes any thing to be a standing duty in the Church of Christ, which ever had any countenance in it by practice, and believes in it faithfully, according to his belief and understanding, may find a satisfaction in it. But since God, in mercy, is pleased to afford the living substance, without the use of those means which are supposed to lead to an end already attained, they can be no more a duty to such ; and that is the real case among the true Quakers, who love and fear the Lord sincerely. As to the other point, viz. Baptism, he said but little about it ; for he knew very well that, in strictness, they were not so much as in the form of water baptism. And I only asked him this question, whether he did believe it necessary to salvation? He answered, that he did not think it absolutely necessary. Then, said I, we shall not need to say any more about it. Then he said something concerning the books I had sent him, speaking slightly of them ; but thought that about prayer writ (I think) by George Keith, the best." [Story then explained the views of the Quakers as to the preacher

attending to God's Holy Spirit and making the application to every state in every person, which no instrument of himself was able to do, and praying rightly by the aid of the Spirit of Christ the Mediator.] "The Doctor did not oppose this; but only said I had given him better satisfaction in that point, than he had found in the book; and afterwards he was much more free and familiar with me than before or than I expected; and so we parted in friendship, and I returned in peace and gladness. From henceforth I was easy as to everything any of that sort could say." (Story's Journal, 43-45.)

In Dec. 1691, and Jan. 1692, Story and Andrew Taylor, a powerful and able minister, went a short journey and travelled through parts of Northumberland and Durham. From Steel they proceeded to John Hunter's, at Benfieldside, Jeremiah Hunter's at Newcastle, Caleb Tenent's at North Shields, Robert Wardell's at Sunderland, Shotton, Anthony Robinson's at Hawthorn, William Highinton's at Durham, Auckland, Robert Corney's at Stockton, Yarm, Robert Trueman's at Darlington, and William Pickering's at Raby, departing thence to Cutherston. Only at Benfieldside and Hawthorn is their attendance at meetings not expressly mentioned. (Story, p. 52.)

In November 1692, Story proceeded from Justice-town to "George Marshe's at Healy-Hall not far from Newcastle upon Tyne, where he met with John Bowstead by appointment the next day," and proceeded to Shields, Benfieldside, Hexham, Benfieldside again, back to Newcastle, having meetings at those several places, and thence by Morpeth, Horsley, Framlington, Whittingham, and Wooler-Haugh, to Kelso. (Story, p. 54.)

About 1692 "some of the parishioners of Scaleby, in Cumberland, were convinced of truth; and Nathaniel Bowey, being priest incumbent there, wrote a letter to them, containing several invectives." (Story, 77.) I insert this in consequence of the connection of Gilpin with Scaleby.

Nov. 27. Sunday. Vicar March's last sermon, from Hab. ii. 3.

1692. Dec. 2. Vicar March died.

Dec. 3. Order of Common Council to take off the stipend of 90*l.* per annum, and not pay it to any future vicar, upon any pretence or account whatsoever*.

Dec. 4. Sunday. Vicar March buried in St. Nicholas' church.

"Sermons preach'd on several occasions, by John March, B.D. late Vicar of Newcastle upon Tine. The last of which was Preach'd the Twenty Seventh of November, 1692. Being the Sunday before he Died. London: Printed for Robert Clavell, and Sold by Joseph Hall Bookseller in Newcastle. 1693." Prefixed is a portrait engraved on copper †, inscribed:—"I. Sturt sculp: Iohn March.

* Observe the haste. Observe also the result of March's assumption of patronage and of his opposition to the Revolution.

† "Three original portraits of him are known to be in existence; one, it is

B.D. Vicar of Newcastle. Sold by Ioseph Hall on Tine Bridge Newcastle." Imprimatur dated 3 Jul. 1693. Post 8vo. pp. 288, exclusive of title and preface. "The reverend author of the following sermons was a person of that great worth and excellency, that among those who knew him, they need no other recommendation than his own name. . . . . Every Lord's Day, in the evening, he generally spent a considerable portion of time in instructing the youth of his parish, (from which pious and charitable exercise he very rarely suffered himself to be diverted, even by the visits of his best and greatest friends) besides which, I say, his known abilities in resolving cases of conscience drew after him a great many good people, not only of his own flock, but from remoter distances, who resorted to him as to a common oracle, and commonly went away from him intirely satisfied in his wise and judicious resolutions; . . . . JOHN SCOTT."* In sermon i. we read that "the infamous author of the monstrous 'Leviathan' has sadly debaucht this unhappy age of ours, by teaching 'That the wicked after death shall have no resurrection: no,' as he tells them, 'they shall return to their primitive Nothing; and have no more sense of pain than they had before they received their being.'" The sermons are strong against popery and the notion that the godly were not on death admitted to happiness. "Sermon xii. preached Novemb. 27. 1692, the Sunday before the Author died. Heb. ii. 3. How shall we escape, if we neglect so great a Salvation?"

Feb. LEONARD WELSTEAD inducted to the vicarage. "He came in by option."

Feb. 15. Dr. Gilpin to the rev. Mr. Thompson, of Stockton. "Your absence from our meeting was excused by all upon your wife's account; but we had business of concern before us. Particularly, Mr. Harle had laid before us the necessity of his ordination; and, to forward it, Mr. Gill [see 14 Sep. 1704] and I had given him the question *de gratiæ irresistibilitate*, which he managed exceedingly well yesterday to our great satisfaction. We have appointed his ordination to be at Newcastle, on Thursday, the 21st of this month. Your attendance is required, all excuse set aside, because the ordained ministers are so few—Dr. Pringle being dead, and Mr. Harvey being gone.—You are also named to preach in the afternoon of that day." Jonathan Harle married Mary, daughter of Thomas Ledgard esq. merchant and alderman of Newcastle. He died in 1729. Horsley the antiquary wrote his life. Hodgson in 1832 says "the only copy of which that I have been able to see wants one leaf, and, consequently, the account of his parentage and early education. I have, however, been told that he was born in Newcastle, and studied medicine in

believed, at Blagdon, another in the Vicarage House at Newcastle, and a third mentioned by Brand as belonging to Ald. Hornby, for which a subscription is now being raised by some gentlemen of the town, with the view of placing it in the Thomlinson Library." (Adamson.)

* Author of the Christian Life.

Germany. The account of his life says that 'he preached for some time at Brigg, in Lincolnshire, and afterwards settled at Morpeth.' While he was at Brigg he officiated, I suppose, in the capacity of a licentiate, for, by the letter from Dr. Gilpin, it is plain that he was not ordained till 21 Feb. 1693.—'It was not long after his ordination that he received a call to Alnwick, for this was the 10 Sep. 1693. He continued for some time to preach one Lord's-day at Alnwick and another at Morpeth; but when Morpeth was provided for he left it altogether and settled at Alnwick.'" Mackenzie (1827) would almost appear to have had knowledge of the missing leaf. "Jonathan Harle, M.D. was a native of NC. upon Tyne. When seven years old, he was placed under the care of Mr. Pell at Hull, where the proficiency he acquired in the languages excited general surprise; and a copy of Latin verses which he made was hung up in the school-room, as alike honourable to the master and scholar. When about 17 years of age, he returned to Newcastle to pursue his studies, and where he first began to preach. Here he was much esteemed and encouraged by Dr. Gilpin. He next preached for some time at Brigg in Lincolnshire, and afterwards settled at Morpeth. He was ordained at Newcastle Feb. 21, 1692-3, and shortly afterwards received a call to Alnwick" &c. He took his degree of M.D. at Edinburgh in 1710, but never would accept a fee, though he practised (before as well as after his degree, of course) for nearly 40 years, making medicine subservient to religious instruction. He was well acquainted with Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Italian, and Spanish. From his infancy he never tasted fermented or spirituous liquors, yet his sedentary habits brought upon him racks and tortures, gout and gravel.

1693. The communion cups of the congregation which removed from Hanover Square to New Bridge Street have this inscription:—"Church Plate—Dr. Richard Gilpin, Pastor—1693."

"Dr. Gilpin, having outlived all the ministers of his own age and time, many his superiors and most of them his equals, became the leading man of these Northern parts, and was by some styled the worst of the best and the best of the worst sort of ministers." (p. 147) But Calamy gives a more glowing description of him. He enlarges on Gilpin's great natural parts, unwearied industry, fine and delicate fancy, his good accent, strong but sweet and well modelled voice, good memory, sincere and warm heart, and unblamable character. His learning was digested and in readiness, he had no notes, but preached wholly extempore, with graceful and expressive gestures. He spoke from a serious mind, from his very heart, pursuing a subject with a vast and noble design on various texts, entering on his moving applications with some rousing lively preface, and then pungently offering his motives, his earnestness increasing with the vehemence of his voice. In easy but moving expressions he would with pathos plead with sinners sometimes for a whole sermon without flagging in his affections. In prayer he was solemn and

fervent, using scripture-language extensively and with a flood of affection which often forced him to silence until he had vented it in tears. He had a discerning spirit in understanding a work of grace upon the hearts of others. Majesty and sweetness, affableness and gravity, met in his countenance, which was alterable at ease. He kept up a serious temper at all times and in all places and company, but this did not sour his temper, which was cheerful though grave. "His skill in government appeared in the managing a numerous congregation of very different opinions and tempers." "He was much respected by many for the good he had done them as a physician. Among persons of rank and quality, in the parts where he lived, all necessary means were scarce thought to have been used if he had not been consulted. He went doing good to the souls and bodies of men. This world was not in his eye: none could charge him with any thing like covetousness."

Nov. 5. Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London at Bow Church, on Ps. lxiv. 9, by Thomas Knaggs, M.A. Lecturer in Newcastle and Chaplain to the Rt. Hon. Ford, Lord Grey. It was published and dedicated to Sir Wm. Ashurst, knt. Lord Mayor.

Feb. 13. Married, at St. Nicholas', "John Craister, gent. and Mrs. Mary Ayton, having been marryed sometime ago by a nonconformist minister. This was done to satisfy the scruples of the gentlewoman." (Sharp.)

1693-4. Gateshead. "Hors hyre and expences when the Bishopp went a way. Inviteing the clergie to dine with the Bishopp. Expences when wee consulted the Bishopp's entertainment. Entertaining the Bishopp, 7*l.* 17*s.*"

1694. All Saints'. "Given to a poor Scotch minister at the request of ours for throwing the snow off the leads, 3*s.*" The church being very ruinous, a cess of 100*l.* ordered. Not being collected, it was, in 1695, increased to 150*l.*

Sep. 20. Thoresby at Whitehaven, where he walked "to Sir John Lowther's stately house at the Flat, where we were most obligingly entertained by William Gilpin, esq., the Doctor's son, of Newcastle, a most ingenious gentleman, who showed us the pictures and curiosities of the house and gardens, wherein is placed the original famous altar, Genio Loci, mentioned by Camden, p. 770., for which Sir John gave 20*l.* This ingenious gentleman, who is an accurate historian and virtuoso, presented me, out of his store of natural curiosities, with a very fair piece of Marchesites, and obliged me extremely with his pleasing converse, till pretty late at night with Dr. Jaques and Mr. Anderton, (one of Mr. Frankland's pupils, and the nonconformist minister there) with much good company."

Oct. 11. Gateshead. "Mr. Stephen Owen to have the mannor of the Parson's middin, he building a wall betwixt the churchyard wall and the other side of the way, together with a convenient gate

and wicket for all such as have occasion to pass that way by carriages or otherwise upon their lawful occasions."

Nov. Vicar Welstead died on the 13th, and on the 15th he was buried in the chancel of St. Nicholas'.

Nov. 22. Nathanael Ellison, D.D., instituted Vicar. Inducted Dec. 5. Appointed by the Council Apr. 30, 1695, when with consent of the patron, his salary from the Corporation was to be 80*l.* with 10*l.* more for Thursday's lectures. He already was Archdeacon of Stafford, and became Rector of Whitburn in 1704, and a Prebendary of Durham in 1712.

About 1694, Dr. Gilpin received as his assistant one of the most learned men in England, William Pell. Refer to p. 141. for several details respecting him. Calamy states that he was a tutor at the new college of Durham when Cromwell was attempting to set it up, and that he had to vacate Easington living (which he can only have held a very short time) for the return of the old incumbent in 1660. On 20 July 1660, he was presented to the Rectory of Stainton-le-Street, by Charles II., but was ejected by force of the Bartholomew Act in 1662. After his ejectment, he occasionally preached at Durham on Sunday, in a house not far from a tavern. On one of these occasions, some Justices of the Peace were drinking together in the tavern and overheard Pell's people singing a psalm. One of them proposed to disturb them. Another replied that if any of them conscientiously thought that singing psalms and hearing a sermon on Sunday was worse than drinking at a tavern they might go and make the congregation forbear, but he would not be one to do so. And so the proposition fell through. Sometime after, Pell was imprisoned at Durham for nonconformity, but removed himself to London by Habeas Corpus and was liberated by Judge Hales. He then followed the example of so many of his brethren and practised physic in North Yorkshire. Afterwards he preached publicly at Tattershal, being preserved by his office of steward in the Earl of Lincoln's family. Upon James's liberty (1687) he was called to a congregation of Boston, of which place he is described in the Lilburn pedigree. Here he remained 7 years and then removed to Newcastle. He was a "grave solid preacher," in his sermons and prayers "excelled by few." He was often urged to teach academical learning, but he always declined because of his university oath on becoming M.A. His skill in the Oriental tongues was very great and he would repeat off-hand the various readings and interpretations of Scripture given by Jewish writers. Three reams of paper were bound up for his collections out of eastern authors, but his unsettled condition prevented their completion. Mr. Pell had often preached in London and there became acquainted with a Mr. Pell a merchant, who was very kind to him for his name's sake.

Reign of William III., 1694—1701-2.

1695. St. Nicholas'. "Maccrorones for the bishopps entertain, 9*d*."

All Saints' to have the metal belonging to the horse of the statue of James II. towards the repair of their bells, except a leg thereof which must go towards the casting a new bell for St. Andrew's. "Taking down the front and washing it, 2*s*."

Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Robert Thomlinson, appointed Lecturer of St. Nicholas' at 120*l*. He died 1748, having created the Thomlinson Library at the church. "On the north-aisle, answering to the nave or body of this church, is a large gallery, which is chiefly for the use of the boys of the Grammar-school. At the east end of which an addition was made to it by the Rev. Dr. Tomlinson, for the use of his successor, the Lecturer of St. Nicholas, and his own family." (Bourne.)

George Tullie, Rector of Gateshead, died Apr. 24. John Smith, the famous editor of Beda's Historical Works, was collated June 12, and on his resignation Dr. Theophilus Pickering succeeded in December.

Jan. 7. 'Augustin Lumley, chaplin to Sir Wm. Blackett,' buried at St. Andrew's. (Sharp.)

1695-6. Gateshead. "Received of Francis Cornforth for building his pew 8*s*."

1696. The five old bells in the steeple of All Saints' taken down and six new bells cast.

"A Sermon preacht at Alhallows in Newcastle upon Tyne, on the 16th Day of April, 1696. Being the Thanksgiving-Day To Almighty God, For Delivering and Disappointing a Horrid and Barbarous Conspiracy of Papists, and other Trayterous Persons, to Assassinate and Murder His most Gracious Majesty's Royal Person, and for Delivering this Kingdom from an Invasion intended by the French. By Thomas Knaggs, M.A. and Chaplain to the Right Honourable Ford, Earl of Tankervile. London: Printed for Richard Baldwin, near the Oxford-Arms Inn in Warwick-Lane. mdcxcvi." Small 4to, pp. 28, exclusive of title and dedication to the Earl.

1696. Oct. 15. Story's Journal.* After visiting Sir Thomas Liddell (see p. 163) "the same evening I visited Dr. Richard Gilpin, formerly mentioned, having still a great respect for him and all his family. He was an eminent physician, and preacher among the Presbyterians at Newcastle; to which place he had removed

* At West Allendale, Story had met with his "ancient and honourable friend Cuthbert Featherstone: and as we were conversing together in that friendship which the Lord begets in those who are his, he drew our minds under the canopy of divine silence; in which, remaining for a time, we had a heavenly visitation of his soul-melting goodness together. And I, observing the tears to trickle down from the eyes of our ancient friend, through his long white beard upon his cloaths, was greatly affected with love towards him."

from Cumberland after the Revolution. And with him also I had some discourse about matters of religion ; in which he discovered more passion and prejudice than became his high profession or years, and could not bear any contradiction; but I advised him to beware of that spirit, for it wanted mortification. And this I did in a calm and respectful mind, which reached the better part in him, and brought it over the evil ; and then I left him in a loving temper. For though he was naturally high, and the most eminent and celebrated preacher of that profession in the north, and, from his very early days, deeply prejudiced, and almost envious against Friends ; yet he heard me with more patience (though that was little) than he ever did any other."

Mar. 6. St. Nicholas'. "Mr. Swanston for entering caveat that the Chancellour might not confirm or grant pews to those who have no right according to custome in this parish, 5*s.* 6*d.*"

1697. Sep. 21. Ralph Emmerson, A.M. appointed afternoon lecturer at All Saints', salary 80*l.* (Common Council Books) on the removal of T. Knaggs. "At All Hallows', was Mr. Knaggs, who, quarrelling with Dr. Atherton, a strong passive obedience man, got himself many potent enemies, removed to the rectory of St. Giles', London." (p. 145.)

1698. The Friends, after being disappointed of premises in Denton Chare, purchased some in Pilgrim Street, to which they removed from Gateshead, though they retained their meeting-house there until 1699. They have interred their dead in about a quarter of an acre attached to their Meeting house in Pilgrim Street. "They have erected no head or other stone, neither have they made any hillock or elevation of earth over any of the graves. The whole of the ground, therefore, presents an even surface, and exhibits nothing that would lead a stranger to suppose it to be a grave yard, unless it be the indexes on the walls by which the registrar determines the place of interment of each individual. They have buried without reference to what are called burial places : each dead body, as it was brought, has been committed to the ground close by that which had been last enterred." In 1825 they had occupied its entire surface once, and were about half way over it a second time. The average number of interments then was 3 or 4 per annum. (John Fenwick's Speech, 1825.)

May 26. Thomas Barnes ordained minister of the Independents. He is stated to have died June 30, 1731, and would appear to have been identical with the youngest son of Ambrose Barnes.

July 14. Leonard Shaftoe, son of the morning lecturer of the same name, appointed morning lecturer at All Saints', salary 100*l.* and 10*l.* for Thursday's lecture. See 1731.

Dec. 2. "The reverend and pious Mr. Pell died." (Stockton reg.) This learned assistant of Gilpin was buried at St. Nicholas' on the 6th, being described as from the Close-gate. The old Meeting house of Gilpin's congregation was outside of the Close-gate between it and

the Skinner-burn. It is marked on Corbridge's plan of Newcastle, 1723. In 1669, as we have already seen, Gilpin was performing service in his own house in the White-Friars', within the Town-Walls and near the Close-gate. It is observable that the Friars' was the property of Dr. Jennison the Puritan vicar of Newcastle, and seems to have belonged to a Mrs. Jennison in the memory of a person still alive in Brand's time. In 1727 we shall find the congregation moving into the precincts of the White Friars'. Mr. Pell's widow was buried 30 Jan. 1707.

1698. Feb. 5. St. Nicholas'. Received for Mr. James Hargreeve's layer stone, he was buryd in the quire which is the Vicar's, 6*s.* 8*d.* Paid Mr. Hargrove layre ston to Mr. Vicar 6*s.* 8*d.*

1699. All Saints'. The old wall at the east end falls and damages the house of John Ogle, esq., in Cowgate. He receives 12*l.* compensation from the parish. The rebuilding of the wall costs 35*l.* 16*s.* "Binding King Charles I. his works and putting in two quire of large paper, 7*s.* 6*d.*"

1699. Thomas Rudd, the editor of Symeon of Durham, was master of Newcastle school until 1710.

A second edition of March's sermons. The portrait is the same as that in the first edition. The title, after the word "died," runs thus :—"With a preface by Dr. John Scott. The Second Edition. To which is added, a Sermon * Preach'd at the Assizes, in New Castle upon Tine, in the Reign of the late King James. London : Printed for Robert Clavell, at the Peacock in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1699." Small 8vo, pp. 325.

June 30. St. Nicholas'. "Paid for a tar barrel to burn in the church, 8*d.*" In the same year we have "By cash restored to Madam Atherton which she paid for a pew when out of the parish, 20*s.*"

Aug. "Timothy Manlove, preacher at Close-Gate," died of a contagious fever on the 3rd. †, and was buried in St. Nicholas' church on the 6th., aged 37 years. He had been minister at Durham ‡ and Pontefract, and afterwards at Mill-Hill, Leeds. Like Gilpin, he cured both souls and bodies. Mrs. Manlove was in 1694 designated by Thoresby as the doctor's "modest wife," and in the same year Manlove prescribed for Mrs. Thoresby, "inter alia, the Jesuits' bark, which seemed to do her much good." Thoresby (who eventually entered the communion of the Church of England) had been instrumental in taking him to Leeds. "No little time was spent in collecting and receiving what others also had collected, and paying it to Dr. Manlove. Yet, instead of thanks for my pains and charge,

* "That proves, however reluctant he was to transfer his allegiance at the Revolution, he was not afraid, before that event, to caution his parishioners against the errors of Rome." (Adamson.)

† 1699. Aug. 3. "The late reverend and worthy Mr. Manlove died." (Stockton reg.)

‡ See Life of Dean Comber, 33.

was frowned upon, and downright told, except a greater stipend was advanced, which I and a few more were constrained to advance besides our usual quantum, else he threatened to leave the town. He also expressed a particular disgust at my practice in going to hear the Vicar and Mr. Robinson, two excellent preachers, in public, which was a further uneasiness to my spirits." He seems to have succeeded Mr. Pell at Newcastle in 1698.

Gilpin wrote and published a funeral sermon for him. He also wrote a preface to a treatise by this young man on the Immortality of the Soul, and published it and the treatise after Manlove's death. The work was strangely animadverted upon by Henry Layton, Esq., an Essex gentleman, as laying such a stress upon the natural arguments as might seem to make a gospel revelation of life and immortality unnecessary.*

Oct. 12. "A day of thanksgiving, for the plentiful and seasonable harvest, among the congregations of the ministers in Newcastle, Northumberland, Durham county and city." (Stockton Reg.)

Manlove appears to have been succeeded, as Dr. Gilpin's assistant, by the famous Mr. Thomas Bradbury, then aged 22. He was born at Wakefield, and his father was a member of the church at Alvethorp, of which Mr. Peter Naylor, an ejected minister, was pastor. Naylor and old Bradbury used to send Thomas to a public house in Wakefield, where one newspaper was read aloud for the public, to hear and report to them, before he himself understood that a man-of-war meant a ship. Such was his memory that he performed his task with sufficient accuracy to enable them to understand the state of public affairs. Naylor had been often imprisoned, and was afraid to appear. He began to preach about 1696, at the age of 18. One of the country congregation said to him "Pray, master, do you know who is going to preach to-day?" On finding that he was to be the preacher, the person expressed, at least by his countenance, so much dissatisfaction, that it extremely discomposed this young Timothy, who mounted the pulpit for the first time with extreme timidity, perceiving that the apostolic injunction had not prevented men from "despising his youth." He soon rose above his fears and convinced his hearers that he was a boy only in appearance. "I bless God (said he afterwards) from that hour I have never known the fear of man." "In 1697, he went to Beverley, though not as a candidate, and continued there *two years*, when he became assistant to Dr. Gilpin, at Newcastle upon Tyne, where he continued *three years* with almost unbounded popularity." (Bogue and Bennett, iii. 491.)

1699-1700. "The Magistrates Obligation to Punish Vice. A Sermon Preach'd before The Right Worshipful the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriff, &c. of the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne. At the Parish Church of St. Nicholas, October 8, 1699. Upon the

* Turner. "See Archdeacon Blackburne's Historical Survey of the Soul-Controversy. Works, iii. 125."

Election of the Mayor. By Nathanael Ellison, Vicar of Newcastle. Published at the Request of the Mayor and Aldermen. London: Printed by W. B. for Richard Randell, Bookseller in Newcastle upon Tyne: And sold by Luke Meredith, at the Star in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1700." Small 4to, pp. 34, and title and dedication to the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Sheriff, "few corporations (if any in the kingdom) voluntarily contributing as you do, out of your public revenue, above 800*l.* per annum towards the maintenance of the clergy and schools." The sermon gives a wretched account of the wickedness of its period, and mentions that some sober persons, even of different persuasions, had associated themselves for the reformation of manners, approves their Late Account, printed 1699, and compliments the corporation on their orders for a more strict observation of the Lord's Day.

1699-1700. Feb. 4. Sunday. Dr. Gilpin went into the pulpit for the last time, "under a feverish indisposition, and preached from 2 Cor. v. 2. 'For in this we groan earnestly' &c. and to the surprise of all he rather groaned than spake this sermon. His lungs being at that time too tender for his work, his disease seized that part, and he was brought home in a peripneumonia which in ten days time put a period to his life." (Calamy.)

Feb. 13. Tuesday. About 8 a.m. "Dr. Gilpin, that eminent servant of God, died much lamented by all." (Stockton Reg.) He was buried at All-Saints' on the 16th. Mr. Richmond of Stockton informs me that Mr. Turner was mistaken in supposing that there was an entry in the Stockton Register of a baptism by Dr. Gilpin.

1700. Benjamin Bennet succeeded Dr. Gilpin. "He was born [in 1674] at Willsborough near Market Bosworth in Leicestershire, where a dangerous illness, he had while young, contributed to make the most serious impressions on him.—He made it his business to awaken, in other young persons in the neighbourhood, a serious concern for their souls—wherein he so far succeeded that he prevailed in several to join with him often in solemn acts of devotion, for which purpose they used often to meet in convenient retirements. When it was time for him to think of some employment, he showed a mind intent on higher matters than those of trade, for which he was at first designed.—He first exercised his ministry at Temple-Hall which adjoins to the place of his birth, upon the late worthy Mr. John Sheffield's remove to London [in 1697]; and for some time he ministered with great acceptance there to a very serious people, till Providence, intending him for a higher sphere, and more public service, called him to Newcastle, where he succeeded that very valuable person Dr. Gilpin,* and continued to be eminently useful to

* Gilpin, as we have seen, died in Feb. 1699-1700, and not in1698-1699 as formerly supposed. Mr. S. Palmer's memoir of Bennet prefixed to Devout Meditations from Bennet's Christian Oratory, published in 1812, after noticing his ministry at Temple Hall and his call to Newcastle "where he was invited to succeed Dr. Gilpin deceased," proceeds thus: "Mr. Bennet, who had hitherto preached only as a pro-

his death.—His person was of the larger size, but graceful and agreeable *; he had a very comely aspect and commanding countenance. —Taking him in all respects I hardly ever knew his equal.—It appears from his diary, that, *notwithstanding his numerous avocations in the public post he filled, he constantly devoted fifty, sometimes sixty, hours a week to hard study.*—Though wrote in a character chiefly of his own inventing, yet it is so far to be understood as serves to show his eminent and very exemplary piety.—His course was, the first thing he did in the morning, to spend an hour in secret converse with God and his own soul, in reading the Scriptures, meditation, and prayer. And at night he did the same.—It was his custom too, if at home, to retire before or after dinner for a short prayer, and, if abroad, he sent up an ejaculatory one." His abilities, temper, charity, and hospitality are largely commended.—A passage he sometimes told, and said, he often thought of. Being one time solicited to preach in London, Mr. Timothy Rogers, † who was in company, broke out into some such expressions, as that, "Oh! preach, by all means preach. I would fain preach, but cannot. And what do you know but you may do some good, which you may never hear of till the Day of Judgment." It appears that he administered the Lord's Supper every month with exceeding affection and enlargement. Days of fasting and prayer he often observed in secret, others "he solemnized sometimes more privately in his own house with the

bationer, was now called to the whole pastoral charge, and on *May* 30, 1699—[*note the date,* which is not of the confusing months of January, February and March]—he received ordination, by prayer and imposition of hands, at Oldbury chapel, in Shropshire, from five of the ejected ministers. Three other young ministers, according to the usage of the day, were ordained at the same time. These were Mr. John Reynolds, afterwards an eminent minister at Shrewsbury, Mr. Hand, and Mr. Warren." Now, if this date is right, the ordination may not have been connected with the Newcastle call, but preceding it. I am not even sure that Bennet was not a co-pastor with Gilpin for a short time after Manlove's death, notwithstanding Bradbury's presence. He seems to have been a connection by marriage of Manlove.

Palmer refers to the Memoir of Bennet by Dr. Toulmin, Monthly Repository, iv. 342, which still less connects the ordination with the call. "Here [at Temple Hall] he officiated, with great acceptance to a serious people; till he received an invitation to succeed Dr. Gilpin, a gentleman of eminent talents and name at Newcastle upon Tyne; which station he filled with great usefulness to the time of his death. On the 30th of May 1699, he was, with three other young ministers, Mr. John Reynolds, Mr. Hand, and Mr. Warren, ordained and set apart by prayer and imposition of hands, to the ministerial office at Oldbury Chapel, in Shropshire, by five ministers, who had been ejected from their livings by the Act of Uniformity, in 1662. (Memoirs of Mr. John Reynolds, p. 27.)"

* The above quotations in the text are from Worthington's Funeral Sermon upon him. Does Palmer quote from a second edition? "'In his person (says Mr. Worthington) he was tall and stout, and there was something in his appearance at once venerable and graceful.' This idea of him is not conveyed by the portrait prefixed to the 8vo. edition of the Christian Oratory, 1760, so strongly as by that in a former one, though said to be taken from an original picture in the possession of his son, Thomas Bennet, M.D." Noble mentions two engraved portraits of him, one by J. Pine, in the 1725 edition of the Oratory, the other by Walker.

† For several years oppressed with melancholy. (Bogue and Bennett.)

members of his church, and sometimes more publicly in the congregation.—He was, one time and one way or other, concerned for almost all the churches in these northern parts of England," and that at a time of the greatest interest, as his works, mentioned further on, indicate.

All Saints'. "Painting the font-cover and gilding, with the pulpit. In all 9*l.* 6*s.*, of which was received a gift of part of it 4*l.* 6*s.*"

"Of Confirmation. A Sermon Preach'd before the Right Reverend Father in God, the Right Honourable Nathanael Lord Crewe, Lord Bishop of Durham, At the Parish Church of St. Nicholas, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, June 23, 1700. By Nathanael Ellison, Vicar of Newcastle.—London, Printed for John Wyat, at the Rose in St. Paul's Church yard; and Richard Randell, Bookseller in Newcastle, 1701." Small 4to, pp. 24, and title and dedication to Lord Crewe. "Such is your Lordship's pastoral care, that you make not confirmation an appendage to your triennial visitations, but your yearly business in some part or other of your diocese; and this year particularly, your Lordship was pleased to go to many small villages, as well as larger towns." "It shows true greatness of mind, that your Lordship is not exalted by that accession of honour which is devolved upon you, though it be an honour peculiar to yourself, the mitre and coronet scarce having before met together in any other person." Crew made Ellison his chaplain.

Dec. Mention of a Sandgate Society of twenty keelmen for "preventing tiplers upon the Lord's day, and keeping Sandgate free of inmates."

1701-2. Gateshead. "Ordered by the Rector and Twenty Fouer, that the litell bell [a curious ancient bell] now in the bellfry in the parish church of Gateshead be presented to Robert Ellison Esq., for the use of Heworth Chappell [where it remains], in leiwe of the arrerages due to the said Robert Ellison for the Blew Quarry spring."

1701 to 1718. The population of Newcastle estimated at 18,120. (Arch. Æl. 8vo. iii. 64.)

1702-14. t. Annæ. Dr. Ellison writes:—"There is no one of all the churches endowed but St. Nicholas's; but such is the generosity of the Corporation, that for several years last past they have allowed the clergy of these churches 671*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum out of the revenue of the town, besides 180*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* which they give to the schoolmasters and the chaplain of the gaol, which is very generous. But all this is gratuity."

1702. The three years during which Bradbury is stated to have been assistant minister in Dr. Gilpin's congregation would expire at the end of this year. "He then removed to Stepney, near London. Here Mr. Tong became his kind director, and prudent faithful friend. He was chosen in 1707, to succeed Mr. Benoni Rowe, whom death had removed from his pastoral care of the church in Fetter Lane, London." (Bogue and Bennett, iii. 491.) But from the evidences given under 1704, and 1706, it seems doubtful whether Bradbury's

connection with Newcastle was altogether severed between 1702 and 1707.

1703. May 19. Thoresby at Newcastle. "To inquire for Mr. John Cay, brother to my late ingenious friend and kind benefactor, Dr. Jabez Cay, whose death was a public loss, as well as to me in particular. Then to visit good Mrs. Manlove, (who gave me some original papers of the late Doctor's), to *her brother Bennet;* and after, to visit the widows of Dr. Gilpin, (the pious author of Dæmonologia Sacra &c.) and his son-in-law Dr. Cay.—Went to visit Mr. Hutchinson, Parliament-man for Berwick, almost purposely that I might once again see the house where my honoured uncle, George Thoresby and his virtuous consort, lived exemplarily, and died piously."—The historian's "aunt Thoresby," relic of Alderman Paul Thoresby, of Chester-le-street, told him concerning "my good uncle George Thoresby," who was Sheriff in 1657-8, that, visiting him in his last illness, she "hearing his sighs and groans into her lodging, went early into his chamber to condole his bad night." "No, *aunt*," says he, "it has been a good night, for I hope I have got a step nearer heaven. It is better for me to have such weary nights, to disengage me the more from this transitory world." "A dear friend of his and my father's, was the holy and mortified Mr. Elkana Wales, of Pudsey."

July 7. "*Timothy*,* son of the reverend Mr. Bennett baptized, at Newcastle, on July 7, 1703, discoursing from Acts 2, 39." (Stockton Reg.)

Aug. The tragedy of Elizabeth Sharper. Vide p. 238.

1704, April. All Saints'. "There is mention made before the vestry for the erecting and building of a new gallery between the east and north galleries and no objection made. Also there is mention made about the placing of chimes and no objection made."

April 4. The Common Council agreed to contribute 60*l.* towards the building of a church at Rotterdam in Holland, wherein divine service was to be celebrated according to the liturgy of the Church of England, which sum was ordered to be paid March 27, 1705, after they had received a satisfactory account that the church was nigh finished and would be well supported.

April 5. St. Nicholas'. "Let unto Joseph Barnes Esq. a burial place and a blew stone formerly belonging to Mr. Oswald Chapman having *the steps of the quire on the north*, Mr. James Clavering on the south, Mr. Surtees Swinburne on the east, as also another length joining to the same stone westward, from Roger Nicholson's stone on the south, *to the quire wall on the north*, and Mr. Henry Chapman's on the west, some part of the said burial place being under the seats, for which he has paid 13*s.* 4*d.* Roger Matfen, John Bailes, Lodowick Carruth, churchwardens. Test. Edward Kirton, Peter Potts." The query in the note at p. 82 may therefore be answered

* Named after Manlove?

in the affirmative, the stone having been removed on the alterations in the church.

Sep. 14. Codicil to the will of Thomas Sanderson, gent. of Hedley-hope, co. Dur. He leaves 10*l.* to the poor of that church which did late belong to the pious Dr. Gilpin ; and to Mr. Gill [see 15 Feb. 1692-3], Mr. Bennett, and Mr. Bradbury, 1*l.* 1*s.* each.

In 1704 and 1706, the case of the church at Newcastle is urged on the Baptists at their associations. Mr. Pitts would therefore appear to have been dead in the former year.

1705. All Saints'. "For a fox head placed ch. door, 1*s.*" [A number of items from 1670 to 1731 at least, for the heads of foxes, old and young, brocks or badgers, otters, and foomarts.]

1705. Papists. St. Nicholas', 15 ; St. Andrew's, 12 ; St. John's, 20. All Saints' not mentioned.

Leonard Shaftoe, Rector of Gateshead, p. res. Pickering.

Apr. 11. Nathanael, son of the Reverend Mr. Bennett baptized. (Stockton Register.)

July 23. St. Nicholas'. "Paid for making Mr. Thomlinson's hood, 5*s.*"

Feb. 20. Mrs. Eleanor Allan founded a charity-school for 40 boys and 20 girls born in the parish of St. Nicholas', and in the chapelry of St. John's. The children on leaving had a Bible and Common Prayer bound up together, a Whole Duty of Man, and Mr. Lewis's Explanation of the Church Catechism. "Charity Schools, founded with the view of opposing and defeating the pernicious effects of the seminaries set up by the Papists during the reign of King James the Second, first began in this kingdom about 1688."

1705-6. Gateshead. "Mending the surpliths and new hollin to them."

1706. Gateshead. A new table of the seats or pews, with the rates payable on first entry. The men and women still mostly separate. To Mary Clark's name is added "Gone to the meeting." "Paying poor moneys" sometimes added as a condition. Saving clauses for former seat-holders if they come to church again, and the substituted persons to have their money back. Jonathan Bell "has no right" to "the half-seat for his childer and servants" "for he owns he never paid for it." "Four standing posts to the steple—coulering them.—30½ ft. of oak timber for the gallery frame—building four pillars to the gallery frame—three pitt cutts to stay the gallery—making a new frame to the gallery."

1706. All Saints'. "¾ years herbs for the vestry, 2*s.*"

"A speech delivered at Madam Partis' in the year 1706, by Mr. Thos. Bradbury." A MS. in which he complains bitterly at not being admitted by the majority and the minister as a co-pastor. The tract is understood to refer to the Close-gate meeting-house. He "appears" or "is supposed" to have separated and established a new congregation at the Scotch Arms, by whom a meeting-house was erected on some leasehold ground in the Castle-garth. The register

of baptisms commences in 1708, when Mr. Dawson was minister. The congregation in some way joined in communion with the Church of Scotland, through the Newcastle presbytery. Its subsequent chequered history is beyond my province.

Bradbury, as already noted, settled in 1707 at Fetter Lane, London. He died in 1759. His sermons were distinguished by the devotion of satirical witticism to the shaming of what he considered to be errors. He lampooned Dr. Watts' performances. He knew how to say No. He converted a Papist who attended his services to make himself fully acquainted with his person, with the view of carrying out a commission to kill him. Had he had as much judgment as quickness of wit, and as much temper as zeal, he would have been a man of much greater consideration. During the Arian controversy at a conference of ministers at Salters'-Hall, after contending that those who really believed the doctrine of Christ's divinity should openly avow it: he said, "You, who are not ashamed to own the deity of our Lord, follow me into the gallery." He had scarcely mounted two or three steps before the opposite party hissed him, when, turning round, he said, "I have been pleading for him who bruised the serpent's head, no wonder the seed of the serpent should hiss." He gloried in being the first man who proclaimed King George. John Bradbury, his brother, was employed to watch the event of Queen Anne's illness, and when he received, from the Hanover resident, information of her death, which happened on a Sunday morning, he immediately went to Fetter Lane, where Thomas Bradbury was preaching, and by holding up a white handkerchief, the appointed signal, announced the glad tidings. The preacher immediately offered up to heaven the sincere prayer "God save King George," and closed the service by giving out an appropriate part of Psalm 89, in Patrick's version. Going to court with other dissenting ministers to congratulate the King on his accession, he "was accosted by a nobleman (said to have been Lord Bolingbrooke) who seeing them dressed in cloaks, as the rule then was, at court, asked, with a sneer, 'What is this, sir, a funeral?' To which he replied, 'No, my lord, it is a resurrection.'" (Bogue and Bennett, whose work may be referred to for his writings and more particulars of his character.) Noble says that his sermons were tedious to an extreme. Mr. Granger saw a friendly letter from Archbishop Wake to this Patriarch of the Dissenters. He was rich and mirthful, and was supposed to sing "The roast beef of England" better than any other man. "Such was brave old Tom Bradbury, a good preacher, and a facetious companion." There is a 4to portrait of him in his own hair, by H. Burgh.

July 17. The Common Council address Queen Anne after the battle of Ramilies. "Then your Majesty arose like another Deborah."

1707. The floor of the body and the aisles of St. Andrew's flagged, which before they never had been.

1708. One of the two clerks at All Saints' dying, it was thought

more convenient, both for parishioners and minister, to have an assistant curate instead. (See the vestry minute below.)

The Corporation gave 10*l.* towards the reparation of St. Andrew's church, a rate of 6*d.* being insufficient.

John Bell traced a stone on the Ballast Hills Burial Ground of this date. "From a paper in Mr. Bell's possession, he is of opinion that the Ballast Hills were first used as a burial ground about the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth or the beginning of that of King James I., when the foreign glass makers, who had emigrated to this country, and settled at or near the chapel of St. Lawrence, availed themselves of this spot as a place of interment." (John Fenwick's speech, 1825.)

May 23. All Saints'. "At a vestry, where Mr. Vicar and the Four and Twenty were present. Whereas, on the death of the upper clerk, on consultation it is thought more advisable for the good of the parish that there be two curates and only one parish clerk, therefore we do consent for ourselves that it be so, and be it ordered accordingly." The signature of N. Ellison, vicar, and of several parishioners attached.

Nov. Mention in St. Andrew's register of "the Quigs buring-place, near the Swirll in Sidgate." This burial ground is described in 1825 as "the private property, as it is generally understood, of the Hudsons of Whitley. Mr. Hudson of Brunton, [vide pp. 110, 111.] Dr. Durant, [the son of the ejected minister of All Saints',] the Rev. Messrs. Mann, Ogilvie, and Gibson, the wife of the celebrated Dr. Hutton, and many others, were buried in it. It is said, that, when the late Mrs. Hudson sold this ground, she reserved the part where some members of the Hudson family had been interred. The further end of the premises, however, now forms the *Campus Martius* of the young gentlemen belonging to Mr. Bruce's Academy." (John Fenwick's speech, 1825.)

1709. All Saints' Charity School set up by a voluntary subscription.

April. Calamy visited "Newcastle, a close and smoky place, remarkable for traffic, and the riches and plenty usually attending. We stayed here but one night, yet saw the Town-house, Exchange, and Custom-house. Next morning we went forwards for Scotland. Mr. Bennet, minister of the chief congregation in that town, bore us company. We passed through Morpeth and Alnwick, in our way to Berwick, and there had some free conversation with Mr. Horsley* and Dr. Harle, the Dissenting ministers."—"Mr. Bennet, indeed, went no farther than Edinburgh, and returned from thence to Newcastle. But the rest of us who came together from London, went forward, and had the company of Dr. Dickson of Whitehaven, who

* Qu. if this was Horsley the antiquary. Who was Mr. John Horsley stated, by Calamy, in his Autobiography, to have conformed about 1727?

The latest notices of Horsley the antiquary are in a tract by Mr. George Tate, of Alnwick, and a paper by Mr. Hodgson Hinde in Archæologia Æliana.

came to us at Edinburgh, bringing with him Mr. Sorey, a young gentleman, grandson to Dr. Gilpin."

April 7. The Society of the Sons of the Clergy established in Newcastle. Mr. Nathanial Clayton, merchant, and Mr. Deodatus Threlkeld were its chief promoters and first stewards. At the first meeting, Sep. 5, the subscription amounted but to 5*l.*

1709-10. "The Obligations and Opportunities of doing Good to the Poor. A Sermon Preach'd before the Right Worshipful, the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Sheriff, &c. Of Newcastle upon Tyne, at All Saints Church, on All Saints-Day, 1709. Upon the opening of a Charity-School there. By Nathanael Ellison, D.D. Vicar of Newcastle. Publish'd at the Request of the Trustees. London: Printed, for Richard Randell, Bookseller in New-Castle upon Tyne, 1710." There is an appendix giving an account of some charities to the poor.

March 23. Ambrose Barnes died.

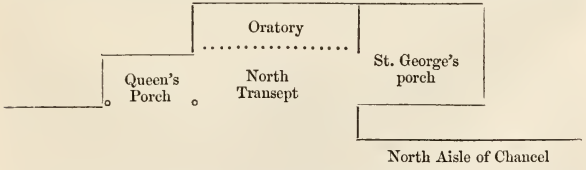
1710. The "back front" of St. Nicholas' organ finished, at a cost to the corporation of 200*l.*

1710. The Porch of St. John's rebuilt. Robert Percival, pinmaker, then built the north gallery for 33 persons, and beautified the altar at his own expence. (Bourne.)

April 24. The Common Council gave leave for the Glass-makers to erect a gallery at their own charge, at the west-end of St. Ann's chapel.

Sep. St. Nicholas'. "To the money lodged in Alderman Ellison's hands by the town for rebuilding St. George's porch,* 100*l.* Expences of repairing St. George's Porch.—Paid John Gill for drinks given the masons by the Alderman's order upon the turning of the arches, 5*s.*—Drink delivered the day the church was first supported, 2*s.* 4*d.*" (Total cost of masons &c. 252*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*) The same year the churchwardens "received for a piece of silver cut of the cover of the chalice, 3*s.* 6*d.*"

* An old plan in John Bell's collections in St. Nicholas' vestry shows that, previous to the alteration of 1710, the North Transept and its adjuncts stood thus:—



The walls between St. George's Porch, the Transept, and the Aisle of the Chancel, were taken down, and the East wall of the porch continued to the north wall of the aisle. The porch thus enlarged now opens to the transept and aisle by arches. The work is not bad and it has its interest. At St. Andrew's there was some still later Gothic until last year. The above sketch is not to scale.

1711. A 'beautiful gallery' built at the West end of St. Andrew's; at the charge of the parish.

Nov. 1. All Saints' Day. Sermon preached at All Saints' Church by Mr. Charles Ward, Lecturer there, before the Mayor and Aldermen, at the anniversary public examination of a charity-school there. It was published. Bourne says that he was an excellent preacher.

"A Sermon preached to the Sons of the Clergy, upon their First Solemn Meeting at St. Nicholas Church, in Newcastle upon Tine, Sept. 10th, 1711. By John Smith, D.D. and Prebendary of Durham. Published at the Request of the Society. Entered according to Law. Newcastle upon Tine, Printed and Sold by John White (Printer to the Society) at his House in the Close."

1712. Gateshead. "Mending the gate and saxons bell."

All Saints'. The gallery at the West end of the church built. An organ procured and placed in the middle of it at the same time. "It is a very long gallery, and by much the most beautiful in the church. On the North end of it are the seats of the children belonging to the Charity School." The Town contributed 15*l.* towards its erection in connection with the accommodation of the charity children.

St. Nicholas. The chancel wainscotted &c. at the expence of the corporation. It cost them 126*l.* viz. Joiner's work for the altar-piece, 45*l.*: wainscotting the outside, 17*l.*: books and velvet over the altar, 21*l.*: the carpet 38*l.*: the painter's charge 5*l.* Bourne says that thereby the altar was "sumptuously and yet decently adorned. At the top is the word *Jehovah*, and, under that, in a glory, a part of the name of Lord which he himself proclaimed before Moses. *The Lord God merciful and gracious.* What is below that again, see in the altar of All-Hallows."

Robert Crow, merchant, gave the communion table of S. John's.

Oct. 7. Henry Reay, Mayor, with the Recorder and Aldermen, wrote a letter of thanks to Lord Crew, Bishop of Durham, on his promoting Vicar Ellison to a prebend at Durham.

Oct. 8. "I joined with my reverend brethren, at Newcastle, in the ordination of Mr. Fancourt and Mr. Hope, two very hopeful men. My text 2 Cor. 6. 1. Mr. Bennet's 2 Cor. 4. 5." (Mr. Thompson's Stockton Register.)

1713. St. Nicholas'. "George Wilby for yerbs for the somer season, 10*s.* 8*d.*"

"A Sermon Preached in the Parish Church of S. Nicolas, in Newcastle upon Tine, On the 9th Day of August, 1713; Being the Assize-Sunday. By W. Hartwell, D.D. Prebendary of Durham. Published at the Request of the High Sheriff, and Grand Jury of Northumberland. Newcastle upon Tine, Printed by John White, and Sold at his House on the Side and at Mr. Randel's, Bookseller at the Bridge-end, and at Mr. Freeman's, Bookseller in Durham. (Price Six Pence.)"

1713 to 1716. Bennet was preaching alternately with Fancourt. (MS. notes of his sermons, in the Unitarian Library.)

1714. "Several Discourses Against Popery, viz. The humane Doctrines, The idolatrous Worship, The Hypocrisie and Pharasaism, The Immorality in Practice, The Persecution and Cruelty, The Policy and Arts, Of the Church of Rome. By Benjamin Bennet.—Printed for John Lawrence at the Angel in the Poultry, Dan. Midwinter at the Three Crowns in St. Paul's Church Yard London ; and Jos. Button Bookseller on the Bridge Newcastle upon Tine. MDCCXIV." Small 8vo, pp. 516, besides title and preface. "Upon the review of this work, I find it so grossly abused in the press, that I think it scarce worth while to collect the errata. Some of the more material are these." "What shall we think of the wofull state of Religion amongst us ? Could one take a view of it, in most of the country towns in England, it would shock a serious mind. A man would be ready to ask What, has the Bible ever been here ?" The preface is addressed "To the Protestant Readers, especially the Auditory before whom these sermons were preached." (Unitarian Library, B. 23.) These discourses appear to have been "his first publication." (Monthly Rep., iv. 453.)

Aug. 1. The Schism Act to take effect. Queen Anne dies that day, and it becomes a dead letter. See p. 455.

1715. Neale's List of Dissenting congregations *. Newcastle stands as follows. *Presbyterians :* 1. Benjamin Bennett and Nathaniel Fancourt †, 700 hearers : 2. John Lowe, 800 hearers : 3. William Holbrook, 200 hearers ‡ : 4. William Arthur, 200 hearers §. *Independents :* 5. Thomas Barnes, 100 hearers ‖.

Oct. The discrepancies in the chronology of the movements of the rebels this month I leave to others to reconcile. At Warkworth Mr. Ion, the clergyman of the parish, declined to pray for the Pretender, and went to Newcastle to give information of events, Mr. Buxton, a rebel, taking possession of his reading-desk and pulpit (Patten). Bennet's Memorial (see 1721) should be consulted on the subject. He mentions that at Warkworth the rebels promised 12*d.*

* In Northumberland there were 27 congregations, in Durham 9. If the summary in Bogue and Bennett (ii. 98) is to be relied on, there were no regular Baptist congregations in either county. In 1772 there were 14 congregations (of whom 2 were Baptist) in Durham, and 40 (the Baptist ones being 3) in Northumberland. (Ibid. iii. 330.)

† There was a Samuel Fancourt whose works were advertised by John Gray of the Cross Keys in the Poultry near Cheapside in 1732.

‡ One of the Presbyterian congregations met at the Castle Garth, as already noticed. "There is a Presbyterian meeting-house in Silver-Street, of which Mr. George Ogilvie, who died April 21st, 1765, aged 57 years, was minister." (Brand, i. 359.) It was afterwards purchased for the Primitive Methodists.

§ The Groat-market meeting-house of the Scotch Presbyterians appears to have been built about that time, as the books mention that Arthur the minister was then absent collecting money.

‖ "Not far from this [the Wall-knoll meeting-house] is a place of worship used by the sect of Dissenters called Independents, of which Mr. William Leighton was minister." (Brand, i. 400.)

a day to all persons entering their service, except "only the Presbyterians, whom they expressly excluded from that honour." "I know not of any remarkable piece of chivalry they did in any of these places, only their taking prisoner one Thomas Gibson, a white-smith in Newcastle, who fell in with them between Morpeth and Seton, and was carried captive from place to place, as the first fruits of their warfare. From Warkworth to Morpeth they set him on the bare horse pinioned; and it seems, as he was riding through Morpeth in this condition, some of the company took occasion to divert themselves with the prisoner, pointing at him, and calling him names, he crying out, 'For the hope of Israel I'm bound with this chain.'" (Bennet.)

1716. All Saints'. "For a 20 minute glass, 1*s.*—for a large prayer book for the organist, 15*s.*"

Jan. 20. The Trinity House ordered that prayers should be read every month-day in their chapel, before they entered upon secular business, and that a sermon should be preached in it every quarter-day in the forenoon. "The Chaplain's salary (says Brand) is 8*l.* per annum, with 2*l.* 2*s.* given by the master for a sermon preached before him on the first Monday in the year, vulgarly called in the north Handsel Monday."

March 6. Tuesday night. A remarkable Aurora Borealis, said to have been interpreted by the Jacobite party as an omen of God's displeasure against the ruling powers for beheading the rebel lords. A pleasant countryman declared it to be "an illumination and publick rejoicing in the heavens for the defeat of King George's enemies."

1717. St. Nicholas'. "Repairing a pillar, 64*l.* 12*s.* 5*d.*"

1717. John Gee of NC. gent. devised 6*l.* yearly to the person who at the time of his mother's (Barbara Gee's) death should be minister of the Protestant Dissenting Meeting House without the Closegate, and to his successors, chargeable on messuages or tenements and entry or passage to houses in Pilgrim Street. The sum after the removal of the congregation to Hanover Square continued to be paid to their minister, and in 1852 was paid by Messrs. Rd. Grainger and Rob. Wilson [in trust for the Society of Friends].

June 31. Story arrives at Newcastle, "and on the first of the seventh month was at their meeting forenoon and afternoon; and it was pretty large, and open, and the Lord refreshed us together in his goodness. And here I staid at Joshua Middleton's; where I lodged, and visited some of my old acquaintance and friends till the fourth day morning."

Nov. 16. Story came from Haltwhistle to NC., and lodged with his old friends Joshua Middleton and wife.

1718. Gateshead. "Hollin and stocking the surplices, and silk for the hoods, 13*s.* Two hour glasses. The pulpit cloth, 17*l.* 3*s.* 3½*d.*"

St. Nicholas'. "An umbrella for the churches use, 25*s.*"

1719. Nathaniel Fancourt went to Salisbury as minister, and died there in 1720, being succeeded by Samuel Fancourt, the institutor of the first circulating library.

1719. The curriers of NC. ordered that no Quaker should be taken apprentice, on pain of forfeiting 100*l.*

"A Memorial of the Reformation (Chiefly in England) and of Britain's Deliverances from Popery and Arbitrary-Power, Since that Time, to the year, MDCCXIX. Wherein is contain'd, Some account of the Apostacy of the Church in its Rise and Progress, till Popery was Established in the World. The State of the Reformation under King Henry VIII. Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth : with the Principles and Endeavours of those that have from time to time stood for a further Reformation ; as a short History of Nonconformity, A Particular Relation of all the Plots and Conspiracies of Papists and others against the Reformation, and Civil Liberties of the Land ; Some short Memoirs of the Civil War in King Charles the First's Time ; And a distinct answer to the Question, who cut off the King's Head ? * By Benjamin Bennet.—The Second Edition, with large Additions. London : Printed for John Clark, at the Bible and Crown in the Poultry, near Cheapside. MDCCXXI." The memorial was dedicated in noble and independent language to Lord Barrington, a Presbyterian, father of Bishop Barrington. Lord Barrington, then a candidate for Berwick, was much opposed, on account of the pacific measures he had urged in the violent debates on the doctrine of the Trinity. Bennet approves of them, has heard his lordship declare that he was in his settled judgment against Arianism, thinks that the voters of Berwick have nothing to do with the matter †, and that, even in religious societies and churches, we have no obligation to pry into our brethren's sentiments. "You are against any laws that may fetter the consciences of Christ's disciples, but would leave them in a free and undisturbed subjection to their own master." "The controversy, of late revived in this nation, was begun in the established church."

Where the Baptists worshipped from the Restoration to 1720 is not clear. At that time an old building on the east side of Tuthill stairs, opposite the Mansion house, was purchased for the use of the society by Mr. George West, a wealthy member. The lower part of it was a large room, with a highly ornamented ceiling and wainscotted walls, on which was a wooden tablet marked 1588‡. It

* The party, not the person, is the subject of inquiry. The Presbyterians are vindicated, and the Independents and Papists brought in guilty.

† "We don't choose parliament-men to make or correct creeds, but to be guardians of our civil liberties."

‡ At which time it belonged to the Chapman family. See more of its history in Archæologia Æliana, 8vo., i. 140. And see p. 177 of this volume. Alvey, I think, only occupied a back portion of the property, "a tenement or burgage at or near the north part of the orchard belonging to the same messuage."

"There is an Anabaptist meeting-house, with a well for the immersion of adults

contained pews, and to one of them was affixed two hands, supposed to have been for holding the sword and mace of the Corporation. The Baptists now converted this lower room into a meeting-house and the upper part of the building served as a dwelling-house for the minister. (Douglas.)

1720. Gateshead. Pew list. Men and women still separate to a great extent.

William Wilson is said to have been Mr. Bennet's assistant from this year to Mr. Bennet's death. (See 1721.)

The Sailors' gallery, belonging to the Trinity House, in the north aisle of All Saints' Church, was beautified with four devices on its south side. "One pannel has the picture of St. Paul's shipwreck; another, our Saviour's being asleep in the storm; then there is the Arms of the Trinity House; another draught is that of our Saviour's taking Peter by the hand when he was sinking in the waves; and the other is that of Jonah vomited up upon the dry land."

"Officium Eucharisticum, or Directions to the Devout Communicant in Time of Celebration. Newcastle-upon-Tine: Printed by John White, MDCCXX." Demy 8vo., pp. 46, including title. Some copies have a leaf following the title, thus inscribed to Sir George Wheler's parishioners:—"To the Young Communicants of the Parish of Houghton-le-Spring, Grace, and Peace, and Glory in Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour, is wished and prayed for by their unworthy Pastor G. W."

1721. Gateshead. "Two new seats, churchyard."

May 4. Vicar Ellison died, aged 64. On May 7, he was buried under the east window of the south side of St. Nicholas'.

July 20. The Common Council made the following orders:—"*Aberdeen.* Upon a petition and representation of those of the Episcopal persuasion in Aberdeen, who for their pastor, a divine of the Church of England that has taken all the oaths and is of known probity and affection to the Government, and has qualified himself in every particular which the laws direct: It's ordered that 10*l.* be paid out of the revenues of this town towards building a church at Aberdeen aforesaid. *Hartlepool.* It is also ordered that 10*l.* be paid out of the revenues of this town towards building [extensively repairing] a church there. *Penrith.* It's also ordered that 10*l.* be paid out of the revenues of this town towards building a church there."

Aug. 2. William Bradford, aged 25, presented to the vicarage. He married Mrs. Ann Barnes. (Vide p. 83, where the year of his appointment is erroneously copied from Brand, as 1728.)

"Mark Akenside, born the 9 November 1721, baptized the 30th of the same month by the Rev. Mr. Benjn. Bennet." This poet and physician received his education at NC. in the grammar school, and

in the Tuthill Stairs. There is said to be another meeting of this sect held at a private house in the town." (Brand, 1798.) A new chapel was erected there near the old one in 1798.

afterwards in an academy kept by a learned dissenter, Mr. William Wilson, where many of the neighbouring gentry were taught. Akenside, on relinquishing the idea of being a minister, repaid the assistance he received from the Dissenters' fund. Wilson's "two sermons published are highly creditable to his abilities and truly Catholic spirit. Some scruples about baptism are the cause assigned why he declined accepting the pastoral office." (Mackenzie.)

1722. Gibson's Camden, 2nd. edition. "[Newcastle] was heretofore beautified with four churches; but now there are, besides St. Nicholas (the parochial or mother church), six other churches or chapels, whereof one was rebuilt at the public charge of the corporation, A.D. 1682, and endowed with 60*l.* per annum, one-half of which is for the maintenance of a catechetical lecturer, who is to expound the catechism of the Church of England every Sunday, and to preach a sermon every first Wednesday in the month. 20*l.* are assigned to a schoolmaster, and 10*l.* to an usher, who are to prepare the children of the parish for the said lecture. Besides which, the town very honourably pays 580*l.* a year towards the maintenance of their vicar and those lecturers and curates who are under him; a pattern very fit to be imitated by other towns and cities."

1722. Garth Heads Presbyterian Meeting-house behind Sandgate, on the top of the hill, and adjoining the New Road, opened. The Rev. ROBERT STODDART [see 1726] was chosen minister. See its history in Mackenzie, i. 384.

1722. Henry Bourne (the Historian of Newcastle), taught by the Rev. Mr. Thos. Atherton, licensed to the curacy of All Saints'. He was the son of a tailor and had been bound apprentice to a glazier in the Side.

1722. "Irenicum: Or a Review Of some Late Controversies about the Trinity, Private Judgment, Church Authority, &c., Wherein the Right of Christians to judge for themselves in Matters of Religion is vindicated, and Objections to the contrary answered: Some Remarks concerning Fundamentals are offered; and the certain and only Terms of Peace and Union are laid down. With an Appendix, vindicating the Apostle Paul, and the Rights of Conscience, from the Misrepresentations of the Dean of Worcester, in his Scripture Vindicated from the Misrepresentations of the Lord Bishop of Bangor. By Benjamin Bennet. 'In Necessariis Unitas, in non Necessariis Libertas, in utrisque Charitas.' London: Printed for James Mac Euen, at Buchanan's-Head, over against St. Clement's Church in the Strand; to be sold by J. Roberts in Warwick Lane; E. Bell, at the Bible and Cross Keys in Cornhil; J. Clark, at the Bible, and R. Ford, at the Angel, in the Poultry, M.DCC.XXII." 8vo, pp. viii. and 124. Of great rarity. There are copies in the Thomlinson Library, NC., and Sands' Library, No. 6929. Turner only knew of the copy in the latter repository. The copy said in the catalogue to be in the Unitarian Library, NC., could not be found for me.

The Introduction of this remarkable tract laments the effects of

the controversy about the Trinity, "begun in the Established Church, carried on among the Dissenters, and continuing among both," mentioning "the irreverence and rudeness with which so sacred a mystery has been treated, not only in taverns and coffee-houses, but too often in the pulpit and from the press;" and stating the substance of the argument to be "That Christians, being united in the essential fundamental points of religion, charity, and mutual forbearance, must moderate all their differences in lesser matters, and preserve the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace." The body of the work consists of the illustration of the following propositions:—"1. Every man that has the use of his rational faculties, and pretends to any religion, is bound to employ his thoughts about it, in order to understand its principles, doctrines, and rules.* 2. As all are bound to think about religion, it is impossible they should think alike, but their thoughts will unavoidably issue in different sentiments, and opinions, in a great many particulars relating to the religion they profess.† 3. It is the undoubted right, I add, and duty of all Christians, notwithstanding the unavoidable variety of their sentiments consequent upon it, to think and judge for themselves in matters of religion, and not to receive for doctrines (i. e. as necessary articles of faith, or rules of practice) the commandments of men; but, taking the Scriptures for their only rule, to profess, believe and practise, according to the light and conviction of their own minds.‡ 4. Whatever variety of opinions, and different apprehensions, in the lesser matters of religion, there may be among Christians, they are, notwithstanding, obliged, by the express laws of their Great Lord and Master, to avoid animosities, discords, schisms, and inviolably to maintain unity and peace among themselves.§ 5. The only possible way of preserving unity and peace among Christians, in their variety of opinions and sentiments, and different measures of attainment, is

* Luke xii. 57, Jer. ix. 24, are mentioned.

† Rom. xiv. 1, 2, 5. Eph. iv. 12. Phil. iii. 15, 16. Heb. v. 13, 14.

‡ Rom. xiv. 4, 5, 14, 23. Matth. xvii. 5. Matth. xxiii. 8, 9, 10. 1 Cor. iii. 3. 2 Cor. xii. 20. Rom. xiv. 13. Several objections are answered. Bennet's views are shortly these. Men are to judge as well as they can. They are not called to judge at all on points above their capacity. If they cannot judge for themselves, how can they judge who must judge for them. Good men are preserved by Christ from mistakes. They must judge what was the faith delivered in the sacred writings to the Saints before varying doctors and councils got the business of creeds upon their anvil. God appeals to our reason; in his transactions with us, we are to beg divine illumination of it; but why shall I renounce my own reason for that of another man. The ministry is not useless, but there is a difference betwixt teaching and dictating. The sameness of mind and judgment enjoined by Paul refers to charity, not to opinions. If the unlearned cannot understand what is meant by such passages as 'This is my Body,' authority doth nothing for him, the authorized sense for the first 1000 years being heretical for some hundred years after. I am glad to find such a text in its naked terms as Christ left it. I am thankful for the assistance of the learned, and would attend to their reasoning on it. If, after my best care, I cannot understand it, I must desist.

§ Rom. xvi. 17. 1 Cor. i. 10. Phil. ii. 1, 2, 3, 14. 2 Cor. xiii. 11. John xvii. 20, 21, 23, xiii. 34, 35, xv. 12.

charity and mutual forbearance*. 6. This charity and forbearance, with the consequent peace and unity, is to take place, and be extended towards *all* the members of the Christian *peculium* and Church, *that retain the fundamentals of religion*, and appear sincere in the practice of it†. 7. Whatever difficulty there may be in stating fundamentals, fixing their precise number, or the certain criterions by which they may be infallibly distinguished and known, it may be concluded, I think, with great assurance, that no impartial, sincere inquirer after truth ever

* Acts i. 15, ii. 42. Rom. xiv. 1—5, 12, 13. Acts xv. 28, 29. Rom. xv. 1, 2, 7. Phil. iii. 15, 16. 2 Tim. ii. 23, 24. Eph. iv. 1, 2, 3. 1 Pet. iii. 8. Phil. ii. 2, 3. 1 Cor. i. 10. I again abridge Bennet. As the first church continued stedfast in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and prayers, the same harmony and unity should be kept up among the whole Body of Christians in all ages. Though they cannot, by reason of numbers and distance, unite in the same worshipping assembly, they are still obliged to a union of love and affection, and occasionally, when they have opportunity, to an external communion in all the parts of worship, particularly in the Lord's Supper, that great badge of the common Christian relation and profession. The contrary to which is schism. Councils have, instead of healing, inflamed the Church's wounds. God will have conscience left to the jurisdiction and government of its proper Master, and will not allow any sort of men to step in here, with their discernimus's and articulamur's. I can't think any men wise, merely because they happened to live 1000 or 1400 years ago. If they spoke weakly, and acted to the prejudice of the Christian church and disgrace of religion, it should be no discouragement to an impartial examination of their conduct, that they are called saints and fathers, and placed before us in red capitals, with a glory about their head.

† Tit. iii. 10. 1 Tim. vi. 3, 5. John ii. 9, 10, 11. 1 Cor. v. 11. Rom. xiv. 1, 3. 1 Cor. xii. 12—22. Matt. xviii. 10. Mark xvi. 16. Eph. iv. 3, 4, 5, 6. 1 Cor. xvi. 22. The Church, which is the Body of Christ, is one universal church. We are to love and own all that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. God only knows what is necessary and fundamental to this or that person. Nothing can be a fundamental or a necessary article of faith to all Christians which requires a strong head, for this would be to set salvation out of their reach. Consequently none of those points wherein wise, great, and good men have differed and continue to differ, can be among the fundamentals. A person may embrace Christianity, and be in a state of salvation, that has but little acquaintance with many of its doctrines. If he have further opportunities of learning he makes further progress. This I take to have been the case of many of the first proselytes. I shan't take upon me to determine what is the lowest degree of knowledge consistent with Christianity. A few truths, by the influence of the Spirit, may sanctify the heart and govern the practice. The following passage is unabridged. "In short, Christians are, I think, agreed in such articles as these, which may be reckoned among the fundamentals: 'That God is, and is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.' That the Scripture is the Word of God. That Jesus of Nazareth is the promised Messiah, and is come in the Flesh. That there is but one God, and yet that there are three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to whom the Scripture ascribes Divinity. That the soul is immortal. That there is a future state of rewards and punishments. That the interest and happiness of the soul is to be preferred to that of the body; and the affairs and concernments of eternity to those of time (which is the grand principal and foundation of practical religion). That all our intercourse and our acceptance with God is through a Mediator who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, who ever lives to make intercession for us. That God treats with sinners upon terms of faith and repentance. That without holiness no man shall see the Lord. That it is appointed for all men once to die, and after that the judgment. I had almost added That we take Christ for our only Master in religion, and depend on his favour alone for our encouragement therein."

did, or ever shall, err in fundamentals*. 8. The not observing the distinction between errors fundamental and not fundamental, and pronouncing men hereticks for their differing opinions and mistakes (supposed or real) in matters of little moment and consequence in religion, has been the main source of animosities and schisms, and the great occasion of oppression and tyranny in the Church, from age to age†. 9. Though, as has been granted, it is not easy to determine what are fundamentals, and to define heresy, it is less difficult to determine *what are not fundamentals;* and it may certainly be concluded, from what has been said, that many of those doctrines, about which we have had the warmest and most uncharitable contests, are not fundamentals‡.

* Psal. cxix. 105, 68, 64. Luke xi. 13. Isai. xxxv. 8. Phil. iii. 15. John vii. 17.

† 2 Pet. ii. 1. Tit. iii. 2, 10. 2 Tim. ii. 18, as to real heresies.

‡ 1 Tim. iii. 15. Bennet laying it down that nothing can be fundamental, unless contained in Scripture, *plainly* and *obviously*, confines himself to the Jus Divinum of Diocesan Episcopacy and the disputed part of the doctrine of the Trinity. "I can't think it (the disputed part) has the importance of a fundamental.—Particularly the Arian scheme can't be fundamental.—The Scripture characters of the Son, viz., The True God, The Mighty God, The Great God, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, Lord of Glory, the A and Ω, The Beginning and End, The Almighty, Jehovah, and the like, furnish such arguments against this hypothesis, as require more skill in criticism to answer, than most Christians are masters of. And how great a prejudice against this scheme is it, that the Jehovah of the Old Testament, (who transacted with the patriarchs and Jews, as legislator, and with all the marks of sovereign authority, and whom they constantly worshipped in the most solemn manner, without once being charged with idolatry, however tender God was of his honour in that respect,) that this glorious Jehovah is the Κύριος or Lord of the New Testament, as appears from several texts of the Old Testament, which mention Jehovah, applied in the New to Christ as Lord.—Nor can it be denied, without gross partiality, that what we have learnt to call the Orthodox Scheme is attended with very great difficulties." "There are a great many things in this controversy, which can't be placed among the fundamentals; many things, of which few have any certainty, the most have no notion at all, and consequently that the faith of Christians, the peace of the church, and salvation of souls, is not concerned in them. Of this nature I may reckon the idea and notion of Persons in the Trinity, of generation and procession, as applied to the Son and Holy Spirit; the distinction and unity of the three Persons, the perichoresis, or mutual in-being of the Divine Persons in each other, according to that of our Saviour, 'I am in the Father, and the Father in me.'" Bennet proposes: 1. That Scripture be strictly adhered to, especially in this doctrine, which depends entirely on revelation. 2. That we cast out all terms and definitions, not furnished thereby. 3. "That none shall be censured as erroneous, who own the doctrine, as contained in Scripture, and own all the Scripture saith about it, though they don't agree with this or that schemist. 4. As every necessary fundamental doctrine is not only revealed in Scripture, but *distinctly and clearly* revealed there; what is fundamental and necessary *in this doctrine*, must be *so* revealed, which rule will cut off all troublesome questions—will reduce the doctrine to its primitive simplicity, and leave nothing in it but what's easy."

"1. The Scripture represents that there are three Divine Persons in whose Name we are baptized, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, concerned in the great work of our redemption. I call them *Persons*, because the Scripture speaks of them as we do of persons, and with personal characters; and I reckon them really distinct Persons, i.e. *distinct intelligent agents*. (*Note.* I would not be understood to determine what is precisely fundamental in this doctrine; particularly, that

10. The method proposed, leaving Christians to the liberty they have an inalienable right to, and are bound to use, of judging for them-

the word *Person* is so, or the distinction I suppose between the Persons. Indeed I reckon the *real* distinction exceeding plain in Scripture, and highly necessary; but am far from thinking he's no Christian, that can't discern, and won't allow such a distinction, but thinks it necessary in order to preserve the unity of the Godhead, to assert an identity or sameness of numerical essence, though this to me appears downright Sabellianism.) The Scripture manifestly supposes this, by the distinct offices it ascribes to them.—And indeed it appears to me so necessary, in the whole scheme of the Christian religion, that I am inclined to think, had not some notions touching the unity of the Godhead (not so consistent therewith) obtained a sanction in the church, there had been no debate about it. 2. The Scripture represents the Father, in the great business of our redemption, as Supreme Legislator, asserting and maintaining the rights of the Deity, and honour of his law and government; and therefore though the Divine *Philanthropy*, love and grace to man, was the spring and rise of our salvation; yet Divine Wisdom directed it should be upon satisfaction or atonement made, as an honourable compensation for the affronts offered in the apostasy and a proper means of declaring God's righteousness, justice, holiness, &c., and securing man's obedience for the future. 3. The Son is represented as Mediator, interposing in our behalf, offering himself a publick victim. He gave himself for us, a sacrifice, and having made peace and reconciliation, ever lives to make intercession. 4. The Holy Spirit is represented as making application of all to the souls of men, as discharging the office of Paraclete, i.e. convincing of sin, enlightening, sanctifying, sealing, comforting. 5. We are assured that the Son and Holy Spirit are every way sufficient for their office. This may be concluded with certainty from the Father's appointment of them thereunto, and is abundantly intimated in Scripture. Whatever dignity and excellency of nature was requisite to qualify the Son to be a propitiation, this we are assured he had. Whatever was requisite to the government, protection, and defence of his church, and a final conquest over all his enemies, this he has, as power, wisdom, universal knowledge of persons, things, thoughts, and inward affections, omnipresence. In a word, he is able to save to the uttermost. And a like fulness of capacity for his office is ascribed to the Spirit. 6. The way and method of intercourse with God, in all the particulars of Gospel worship, the Scripture represents to be a coming to the Father through the Son and by the Holy Spirit.—We are to come boldly to the Throne of Grace, through our great High Priest, the Son interceding in Heaven, and the Holy Ghost in our hearts. The Father is the original and fountain of all our blessings, the Son the medium of communication, the Spirit advocate or inward operator in the souls of believers. 7. Whatever uncertainty we may apprehend touching the precise nature of these three glorious Persons; their unity and distinction, the Scripture account of them is such, that every Christian may with confidence depend upon them in their respective offices, and in all that work they are represented as performing for the church. It is not necessary that we know particularly their essential absolute perfections, and their relations one to another (nor *can* we know more of that matter than God has been pleased to reveal). It is enough that we know *their relation to us*, and what offices they sustain, in which we may trust them with security. The believer can leave his soul, and all his concerns, in the hands of his Redeemer, and rely on him for protection, defence, final victory and salvation (on him as the Purchaser, and on the Spirit as efficient) looking for the mercy of the Lord Jesus to eternal life. 8. As this general account of the doctrine of the Trinity is plain in Scripture, and it may be all that's plain there, so I reckon it is sufficient for all the purposes of Christian faith and practice. If we know and heartily believe these general and uncontested truths concerning the Son of God, believe his ability and full sufficiency as a Saviour, chuse him as such, receive his doctrine, depend on his mediation, resign to the conduct of his Spirit, in a course of obedience according to the laws of the Gospel, no doubt we shall be accepted of God; though we are not among the Apoptæ; have not been initiated

selves in matters of religion, bearing with one another in lesser matters, and uniting in fundamentals, (which may be exprest by the single term, *Catholicism*) as it is the certain and only possible way of peace and union, so it will be found, in many other respects, highly advantageous to the Christian Church and interest of religion *."

1722. Sep. 24. The Common Council granted 30*l.* towards building a new church at Leeds in Yorkshire.

1723. "A Defence of the Memorial of the Reformation, Against the Exceptions of Presbyterian Prejudice, display'd by an Hearty Wellwisher of the Establish'd Church: With a Particular Enquiry into the Authors and Abettors of the Irish Massacre. A Vindication of Mr. Baxter, and others, with Reference to the Story of the Marquis of Antrim, against the Accusations of Mr. Thomas Cart of the Bath, in his Irish Massacre set in a clear Light. And A Detection of the Forgeries publish'd by Dr. Hollingworth, concerning Mr. Henderson's Recantation, and Character of K. Charles on his Death-bed. By Benjamin Bennet.—London: Printed for J. Morley, at the Cross-Keys in the Poultry, 1723. Price 2*s.* 6*d.* bound." Post 8vo., pp. 172. (Unitarian Library, NC., B. 26.) At the end is a list of "Books printed for, and sold by, J. Morley, at the Cross-Keys, in the Poultry." Amongst them are "A Caveat against the pretender, being a short but impartial history of some of the assassinations, murthers, &c. committed by papists upon protestants, with a particular account of the massacre of Ireland and Paris, and of bloody inquisition; and also an estimate of the proportion of lands of the nation, formerly possessed by the Church of Rome, and which would

into the secrets of one or another scheme; and know little of Eternal Generation, Procession, Personality, Perichoresis, &c."—"If, after all, any that are sure they themselves are wise, shall arraign what has been said, and give it such names as bigotry and passion may dictate, I shall appeal from them. The matter is *coram non Judice*. 'Be patient, Brethren (in this sense) to the coming of the Lord.'"

* 1. This Catholicism reduces things to a simplicity in which agreement is easy. 2. It will lessen the differences, the union contemplated disposing to union in other matters, after the opportunity afforded of free debate, promoting truth, and letting light into the church. 3. It would rescue the discipline of the church from its prostitution, and would restore it to its proper office. It would "make the Christian church look like itself, and the several societies little paradises; an emblem of the church above, and an happy introduction to it." Three things are proposed: 1. "That all invidious names of sects and parties might be utterly abolished." 2. "That the general and important doctrines of religion were more studied.—It is a sorry preparation for the pulpit, for a young man to have his head filled with little but the subtilties of the supra-lapsarian and sub-lapsarian scheme; with questions about the extent of Christ's death, the possibility of the heathen's salvation, the necessity of a regular succession, baptism, orders, the nature of schism, &c.—Did we apply ourselves to the weightier points, were we under the power and influence of the great doctrines I have mentioned, and such like, we should soon discern the vanity of a religion, that is taken up in repeating creeds, wrangling about uncertain speculations, and that evaporates into ceremonies. 'All the art and power in the world, (says a grave conforming minister) cannot make trifles in religion seem matters of importance to them that relish heaven.'" 3. "That God would afford a more abundant effusion of the Divine Spirit. Nothing but the light and influence of the Spirit can revive religion in its present state of horrid schism and carnality."

again be in their hands, should popery return: To which is premised some account of popish principles, showing that they necessarily lead to all this barbarity; and particularly, that if ever a popish prince usurp the British throne, he is bound by all that is sacred, to extirpate and destroy his protestant subjects, upon pain of damnation.—Occasional hymns, chiefly for the Lord's day, and Lord's table, being a collection from others, with an addition of new hymns. *These two by B. Bennet.*" The Hearty Wellwisher had expressed his surprise that though the Memorial had made its second appearance in the world, no one had vouchsafed it the favour of an answer. Mr. Bennet thought, that as this writer, "in his greater condescension and goodness had resolved to do it, he himself must not be so defective in point of manners, as not to pay him his acknowledgments." To Mr. Bennet's Defence, in the same year, appeared a rejoinder entitled "A Letter of Thanks to Mr. Benja. Bennet, For his Moderate Rebuke of the Author of an Insolent Pamphlet, entituled, Presbyterian Prejudice Display'd, &c. In which the great Candour, and distinguish'd Moderation of that Worthy Presbyterian Teacher, are set forth, and His polite Language, and Flowers of Rhetorick, put in one View, for the Diversion and Satisfaction of the Reader. By one who is neither Jacobite, nor Republican, Presbyterian, nor Papist. — London: Printed for Tho. Osborne, in Gray's-Inn, next the Walks, 1723." Post 8vo., pp. 42. (Unitarian Library, B. 26.) This piece is signed "Your Wellwisher."

1723. The steeple of St. Nicholas' repaired at the expense of the Corporation, William Ellison, Esq. mayor and Robert Sowersbie, Esq. sheriff. The steeple of St. John's new pointed at the same expence, Matthew Featherstone being mayor, and the body of the church pointed at the charge of the parishioners. (Bourne.) "It appears by the Common Council books, September 20, 1724, that the names of the mayor, M. Featherstonhaugh, &c., engraved on a stone, were set up in the steeple of this church, with an order 'that lest it might be claimed as a precedent for such repairs, that the said steeple ought to be repaired by the parishioners.'" (Brand, i. 110.)

Nov. The Town gave public notice for all Papists to take the oaths of allegiance, &c. to his Majesty; and for this purpose adjourned the sessions. (Brockett's MSS.)

"Copies in Verse, For the Use, of Writing Schools, and Hymns for Charity-Schools. Never before Extant. Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed for the Author, and sold by Mr. Shaw, Bookseller, at the Bridge-Foot, 1723."

1724. "A Sermon Preach'd before The Right Worshipful The Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriff, &c. of Newcastle upon Tine, at the Parish Church of St. Nicholas, on the 30th day of January $172\frac{3}{4}$, Being The Anniversary of the Martyrdom of King Charles I. By Henry Fetherstonhaugh*, A.M. Newcastle, Printed and Sold by John

* Appointed afternoon lecturer at All Saints' in 1731.

White." Small 8vo., pp. 24, title, and dedication "to the Right Worshipful Matthew Fetherstonhaugh, Esq.; Mayor; the Recorder, Aldermen, Sheriff, &c. of Newcastle upon Tine." "This discourse, which was preached by your permission, was never designed to have gone any further than the pulpit, had not the persuasion of some (to whom I cannot but have a particular deference and veneration, and rather deny my self, than deny them any thing) forced it to the press; though, I am persuaded, it was their undeserved respect to me, and not any peculiar liking of the composition that made them require it." "Whoever endeavours to lessen the worth, or palliate the sin in the murder, of the Royal Martyr, it is not any principle of conscience, but that sordid one of fear, which preserves his allegiance to the royal offspring of his sister." "Newcastle, as a last struggle for expiring monarchy, made one strenuous effort, and, though unsuccessful, yet well became the bravery of her motto, (Fortiter Defendit Triumphans), *Still to triumph in unfortunate Loyalty.*" The above passages are from the dedication. "Could the histories of former ages afford us one instance of such abhorred barbarity, the English name, which was once the glory and envy of the nations, would not have become, as this act really has made it, the only proverb of reproach, a detestation, and a hissing among all people." "May we never make that of not perpetuating this fast an additional provocation." The sermon is a ludicrous panegyrie on Charles I. "O that the malice of these perseeutors had ended here! that God had pleased to have preserved the remains of the royal family from exile, and from the infections of a foreign and popish country, where it is scarcely to be imagined that young and exasperated princes, driven from their native country, and hereditary thrones, of which they saw the best of fathers, and best of kings, unnaturally deprived, should have the resolution to escape." "This was the unhappy fountain of all the miseries, to which we of this nation have ever since been exposed."

St. Nicholas'. The upper clerk dying, it was thought more beneficial to have an assistant curate, paid out of the fees of the clerkship.

"A Caveat against Mr. Benjamin Bennet, A meer Pretender to History and Criticism; Proving, from some of his late Performances, how little qualify'd he is, to be either an Historian, or Critick. By a Lover of History.—London, Printed by T. Payne near Stationers-Hall. 1724. (Price 6*d.*)" Post 8vo. 36 pages. (Unitarian Library, NC., B. 26*) The writer takes exception to Bennet's passage in his Defence: "Rash sentences against persons of whom the world was not worthy, pronounced by men of the Cretian character, γαστέρες ἀργαί." "His lexicon was not at hand; otherwise we might take it for granted that he could not have mistaken the last part of

* In the MS. list of contents prefixed to this volume of tracts, the letters M.V.D. are appended to the names of Bennet and of Worthington who preached his funeral Sermon.

the character for the first; the γαστέρες ἀργαί, slow bellies, for ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, always liars." Mr. Turner however adds a marginal note :— "Might not Bennet mean to mean some reference to the character of Mr. W. W. whom he might know to be 'some rosy prebend with cherubic face.'"

Mar. 7. Thomas Dockwray A.M. appointed lecturer at St. Nicholas', on the resignation of Dr. Thomlinson. On the same day Mr. Joseph Carr was appointed holiday preacher there with a salary of 20*l.* On Aug. 28. Dockwray was licensed to have 70*l.* per annum during the life of Dr. Thomlinson, and 30*l.* per annum additional afterwards.

1725. "The Christian Oratory; or The Devotion of the Closet displayed. By Benjamin Bennet." Advertised in 1727, by John Chandler, at the Cross Keys in the Poultry. The third edition (6*s.*) published in 1732, by John Gray the Cross Keys in the Poultry, near Cheapside, contains 680 post 8vo. pages besides title, preface, table, and indices. (Unitarian Library, B. 20) See 1728 for the posthumous Second Part. In 1760 a Society of gentlemen subscribed for a new edition of above 700 pages in 8vo. to be sold at 2*s.* 9*d.* in sheets, "for the more easy distribution among the poor." The diffuse style having repeatedly suggested an abridgment, the intention was carried out in 1812, shortly after another new edition of the whole in two volumes had been published at 18*s.* The 1812 edition was abridged and newly arranged by the Rev. Samuel Palmer and appeared in both 12mo. for the pocket, and 8vo. Turner calls the work the Dissenters' Whole Duty of Man, and through it Bennet is best known. By the title (he says) "is not meant, as it has often been understood to do, the art of illustrating and publicly enforcing the principles duties and hopes of the gospel; but it is grounded upon a custom in our Saviour's time, as is shown by Mede, Prideaux, and others, of building προσευχαί or Oratories, in remote and desert places, to which the shepherds, and other solitary persons, might retire, for private prayer and meditation. This book, therefore, is intended as a Companion and Directory to the Christian in his Oratory."

Joshua xxiv. 26, Mark i. 35, Luke v. 16, Luke vi. 12, and Acts xvi. 13, are quoted. "We should endeavour to have our oratories or closets furnished for all the purposes of devotion, as a Bible, a Psalm-book*, a Commentary and Concordance, with other religious

* "I mean by Psalmody the singing of Psalms, not aloud, for that can't become retirement and secrecy. Nor yet is it merely mental singing that I intend; but singing with the voice, a low, suppressed voice, by which we may go through all the notes of a tune with as much advantage as if we sung never so loud, as any one may be convinced that will make the experiment. We may either make use of the Psalms of David, or Hymns of human composure."

The book will repay attention. Benjamin Bennet was thoroughly in earnest. "His Christian Oratory, wherein you may observe much of the noble breathings of a pious soul winging for Heaven, was only a transcript of his own, and the rules there laid down were copied from his practice." (Worthington.)

tracts,—the notes of such sermons as you hear—a Diary or the account you keep of the state of your own souls." A separate apartment is considered desirable if circumstances will allow, but is not of that importance as to require great solicitude about it. But "methink I would rather chuse to want the ornament of a few pictures, and a cupboard of plate or china, than these helps for my soul?" "A curtain may serve to make a sort of an oratory, or the rest may withdraw and leave the room to one, which may be done in turns, and sometimes you may choose Isaac's oratory, which was the open field."

"Antiquitates Vulgares; or, the Antiquities of the Common People. Giving An Account of several of their Opinions and Ceremonies. With Proper Reflections upon each of them; shewing which may be retained, and which ought to be laid aside. By Henry Bourne, M.A. curate of the Parochial Chapel of All-Saints in Newcastle upon Tyne. Newcastle, Printed by J. White for the Author. MDCCXXV." Crown 8vo, pp. 232, and pp. 20 of title, dedication, preface and contents.

Aug. 8. Story went to the widow Jean Middleton's at Newcastle, with whom he had been acquainted many years. On 10 Aug. he was at meeting there. Joseph Jordan, son of Robert Jordan of Virginia, was there. When Story was last at his father's house, after a dispute with the French priest Burtell, at his uncle Thomas Jordan's, he was but a boy.

Aug. 24. The Bishop of Durham visited here, and preached next day. (NC. Courant.)

1725-6. Gateshead. "Gunpowder formerly when the Bishop was here."

1726. "A most Pleasant Description of Benwel Village, In the Country of Northumberland. Intermix'd with several diverting Incidents, both Serious and Comical. Divided into Two Books. By Q. Z. late Commoner of Oxon. Newcastle upon Tyne. Printed and Sold by John White, M,DCCXXVI. Price 4*s*." Small 12mo., pp. 581, printed in whole sheets of 12 leaves or 24 pages each. Many copies want 2 or 4 leaves of the insets to some of the sheets, and also the dedication of the second part to Ralph Jenison of Elsewick, Esq. M.P., which after a quarrel with him was torn out of the remaining copies by the author, Cuthbert Ellison, Curate of All Saints'. So sayeth John Bell. Ellison, who had been curate of All Saints' in 1708, was then vicar of Stannington, and in 1745 he published "The Babler, in two sermons on Acts xvii. xviii., preached in St. Nicholas' Church, before the Corporation of Newcastle, May 15th, and Nov. 27th, 1726, by Cuthbert Ellison, A.M. vicar of Stannington in Northumberland.

All Saints'. "Paid the bell-ringers on All Saints' day, 2*s*. 6*d*."

The old porch at St. Andrew's taken down, and a new one built. The bells taken down, and six procured by a collection in the town.

"Mr. Benjamin Bennet's Presbyterian Prejudice Further Display'd; or, his Unjust Reflections on King Charles I. and his Doctrine of Resistance Considered By a Gent.—Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed

by John White, and Sold by the Booksellers of London, York, Durham, Newcastle, &c. and at the Printing-Office in Newcastle, aforesaid MDCCXXVI. Price 1*s.* 6*d.*" 12mo., pp. 136, including preface.

Bennet's congregation had deemed it necessary to procure a better place of worship than that outside of the Close-gate. A piece of ground, parcel of the conventual possessions of the White Friars, having been secured, a new chapel arose, forming the centre of a place intended to be a square, and, in grateful acknowledgment of the benefits to Dissenters arising from the accession of the reigning house, called Hanover Square.

Aug. 27. Saturday. It had been intended to open the new chapel on Sunday, but, the day before, Mr. Bennet was seized with a fever. "When the cruel distemper first seized him, it was with so much violence as to leave but little room to look for his recovery. He professed with an air of great satisfaction that he was at the same time seized with the hopes of having got his discharge as he expressed it. 'Death (said he) is no more to me than it is for a weary traveller, after a hard day's journey, to undress and go to bed. Some considerations, I confess, might plead for my stay in the world a while; but they cannot prevail with me to desire to live. I only desire that if Providence sees fit to continue me, I may submit.' At another time, he declared he had not one uneasy thought about himself: 'Death is no awful thing to me, (said he) but will be a happy remove to the Church above, where I have long been desirous to be.' He told his own son-in-law, (L. Latham, M.D., of Sunderland) who attended him as physician, and desired leave to call in other assistance, that he was willing he should use what means he apprehended necessary; but then added, 'Doctor, I shall pray against you.'—He designed to have left behind him a solemn testimony to the great truths of the Christian religion, but found himself unable to dictate what he had a mind to say; he was so infeebled, and his spirits so weakened by the severity of his disease. It attacked him on Saturday, and carried him off early on Thursday morning after. He was perfectly sensible to the last, and then died, not only with peace and comfort in his own mind, but almost without a struggle and without a groan.—He was about 52 when he died." (Worthington.)

Sep. 1. "Died, the rev. Mr. Bennet, of Newcastle, in a fever about the eighth day. [?] The good Lord teach me to die, and prepare me for death. Many of my juniors in the ministry are gone before me." (Mr. Thompson's Stockton Register.) Bennet left a son and a daughter. The daughter was Mrs. Latham. The son, Timothy Bennet, baptized in 1703 (who afterwards settled as a physician at Norwich), conveyed the ground on which the chapel had been erected, to John Cay, Thomas Turnbull, Reginald Hall, Isaac Cookson, John Anderson, Abraham Anderson, John Shaw, *Joseph Airey*, Joseph Watson, *Thomas Airey*; Gabriel Hall, and David Landell, in trust for the Congregation of Protestant Dissenter at Newcastle assembling for the worship of God in the said meeting-

house*. (Petition in Chancery, 1852.) "Isaac Cookson, Sen. Esq. presented to the vestry library of this chapel six quarto volumes of MS. notes of Bennet's sermons, written out by his father, John Cookson, when apprentice to Mr. Joseph Airey." (Mackenzie.)

1726-7. Gateshead. "Mending the under-saxton's badge."

1727. "A Sermon Occasion'd by the Death of the Reverend, Pious, and Learned Mr. Benjamin Bennet, Late Minister of the Gospel in New-Castle upon Tyne, Who died September 1, 1726 (Ætat. 52). By J. Worthington (Dissenting Minister at Durham).—London: Printed for John Chandler, at the Cross Keys in the Poultry, 1727. Price 6*d*." 8vo. pp. ii. and 32. "In the space of three years, several ministers have died in the neighbourhood of Newcastle, and in it; as Mr. Turnbull of North Shields, Mr. Stiry of Greenside, Mr. Wilson of Sunderland, Mr. Stodhart, Senior, at Newcastle, Mr. Stodhart, Junior, at South Shields, and now Mr. Bennet."

1727. "There are five or six churches in Newcastle, I mean on the town side, being north by Tine, besides meeting-houses, of which, I was told, there are also five or six, including the Quakers, some of which are thronged with multitudes of people, the place, as has been said, being exceeding populous." (Tour ascribed to De Foe.) "The venerable face of antiquity has something so pleasing, so surprizing, so satisfactory in it, especially to those who have with any attention read the histories of passed ages, that I know nothing renders travelling more pleasant and more agreeable." (Ibid.)

Mar. 26. Hanover Square chapel opened by Bennet's successor Dr. Ebenezer Laurence, from Newcastle under Lyne, who had practised medicine. The old meeting-house was in 1728 advertised for sale as "the large building without the Close-gate," and in 1789 was one of several glass-houses.

1727. "Several others about this time conformed, of which number were Mr. John Horsley &c." (Calamy's autobiography.) This can hardly be John Horsley the antiquary who is said to have succeeded Harle at Morpeth who d. 1729, and who preached Harle's funeral sermon.

All Saints'. "Paid William Bettie, painter for a new dial plate and painting the broach of the steeple as per note, 5*l*."

"The Harmony and Agreement of the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, as they stand in the Book of Common-Prayer, From the First Sunday in Advent, to Trinity-Sunday, what Relation they bear

* The surviving trustees in 1764 were Thomas Airey and Gabriel Hall. They conveyed to new trustees, among whom were Joseph Airey, Henry Airey, and Jonathan Airey. In 1795, Henry and Jonathan Airey and others conveyed to Thomas Airey and others. When another deed was made in 1833, Airey was dead. In 1757, Mrs. Ruth Airey had bequeathed to her brother Thomas Airey &c. 200*l*. in trust. One half of the interest was to be "for the minister of the meeting-house for Protestant Dissenters lately built at or near the head of the Tuothill-stairs on a piece of ground heretofore belonging to the Rev. Dr. Jennison." The other was to go to the Charity School in connection with it. The legacy was still to the fore in 1852. (Petition in Chancery.)

to their respective Times and Seasons; and from Trinity-Sunday to Advent, how they agree with each other. Proper to be bound up with the Common-Prayer, and looked into every Sunday, and Holy-day herein taken Notice of, and compared with the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel of the Day. By Henry Bourne, M.A., Curate of All-Hallows, in Newcastle upon Tyne. Newcastle upon Tyne, Printed by John White, for the Author, and sold by Mr. Bryson in Newcastle, Mr. Waghorn in Durham, and by the Booksellers, in London and York. MDCCXXVII." 8vo.

1728. "The Second Part of the Christian Oratory: or the Extraordinary Devotion of the Closet Display'd. With Discourses on several other Subjects. By the late Reverend and Learned Mr. Benjamin Bennet. Publish'd from his own Manuscripts, By L. Latham, M.D." London, John Gray, 8vo., price 4*s*. The second edition, published by Gray, contains 376 pages, besides 8 of title and preface. Latham, as we have seen, was Bennet's son-in-law. In the preface he states that he had recovered these pieces from their obscurity, caused by their being written in the character peculiar to Bennet himself. The second part of the Oratory consists of two discourses on secret fastings and thanksgivings, being extraordinary as opposed to ordinary secret devotions, in the same way as public exercises of the same kind are to the current services of the sanctuary. Bennet himself kept days of fasting and thanksgiving in secret, usually every month and sometimes more frequently. "No comforts (says he in his Diary) like those of Religion. I find it a great deal better to have my mind warmed and enlivened by serious prayer, than by any other means." The other discourses, considering Bennet's position in date and in connection with the history of the old Presbyterian congregations, are of great interest. They are: Of joining in Publick Prayer (1 Cor. xiv. 16); Of the Unity of the Church (1 Cor. xii. 13); 'For by one Spirit we are all baptized into one Body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free, and have been all made to drink into one Spirit*;' Of the

* "Understand the one body of the visible church, and then the meaning is, that as all Christians receive in Baptism the same common badge of their Christian profession, and in the other sacrament partake of the Cup of Blessing as a publick token of their relation to Christ, and union one with another, they are hereby declared one, and sacramentally made one. But as the text speaks of being baptized by the Spirit into His Body, and drinking into one Spirit, I would rather chuse to understand by the Body the church invisible (as we distinguish) the community of real Christians. All these are by the Spirit of God signified in Baptism, and not only signified, but conveyed, in the Lord's Supper (to both which sacraments the text alludes) entered and formed into one Body." "The ministry of men may be sufficient for a common profession and outward call into the church. They may by Baptism *admit* into the Body of Christ, as that signifies the church visible; but it is the Spirit's office to impress the heart and change the inward frame; and when he accomplishes this upon any, they are *then baptized* into the one Body—'a spiritual house, a royal priesthood, called to offer up spiritual sacrifices.'" (2 Pet. i. 5.) "Though they have one Baptism, they may not agree in the mode of it; and though they partake of one Bread, they may not do it in the

Exaltation of Christ (Phil. ii. 9, 10), 'Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a Name which is above every name: that at the Name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth*;' Of Receiving Evil as well as Good at the Hand of God (Job ii. 104); Of Charity (1 Cor. xiii.)†.

same gesture.—One man sits, another kneels, and another stands, while he receives the Lord's Supper; in the mean time every real Christian affectionately remembers his Redeemer." "All true Christians know so much of God, of Christ, and of religion, as is sufficient to build a Christian practice and hope upon." The Spirit which unites Christians to the Body, will lead them "into all necessary truth." They have one Lord—that Spirit they are under the conduct of teaches them to say that "Jesus is the Lord." "In this I reckon all Christians are united; they can say, as the Apostle did, when Christ was about to set up his throne in his heart, 'Lord, What wilt thou have me to do?' They are prepared to receive every thing they are convinced he has taught, and to resign to every thing they apprehend he has commanded."

* "We are not to understand by this name any particular title, as Lord, Christ, Jesus, or the like. Several besides the Son of God have borne these names. We read of more than one who had the name of Jesus. Joshuah in Hebrew signifies Jesus, and therefore the Apostle expressly calls him Jesus, Heb. iv. 8. Lord was the common title of persons of distinction, and Christ or Anointed was applied both to kings and priests." Then Gen. xi. 4, 1 Chron. xvii. 18, 1 Kings iv. 7, and Ephes. i. 20, 21 are quoted to prove that Name means honour, dignity, and fame. It is so far from being the whole of the meaning, that it is no part of it, that we should bow at the mention of the name Jesus.—The Name we are required to bow at was not given him till after his sufferings—"*wherefore* God hath given him a Name."—Further, it is not said we shall bow at the *name Jesus*, but at the NAME OF JESUS, τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, i. e. at the high name and honour conferred upon the person Jesus, or rather, because of the Name of Jesus,—*propter nomen*, meaning the honour and dignity conferred upon him." (p. 144.) "I think it a very useful truth, which had it been attended to, would have prevented many controversies that have disturbed the Christian Church, viz. that our chief concern with the Son of God is as Mediator. We are neither concerned to know precisely what he was before he was incarnate, how employed in the world above, nor what he will be, and how employed, after his mediation is finished. No doubt he will be in high honour, be looked upon with exceeding great pleasure by the redeemed world, and receive their grateful homage. They will remember his services, and according to the laws of that state (yet very much unknown) pay him honours. Even when the kingdom is delivered up, they will remember what a sort of a King he was, how advantageous his government, and what benefits they have received by his means. And whilst they are worshipping before the Throne, and him that sits upon it, they will give many an affectionate glance to the Lamb that was slain. But I would not intrude into things unrevealed. Our present business is with the Mediator, whom God hath exalted, and to whom every knee must now bow and shall bow at last, till the end cometh, and he hath delivered up the kingdom to his Father. And even then we may be sure he shall be no sufferer, lose no honour, having gone through so mighty a trust with such glorious success, though the method of paying it may be different from what at present it is." (p. 171.)

† "The meanest saint in heaven, no doubt, will exceed the greatest philosophers on earth in knowledge; and 'tis likely, in the knowledge of natural things, have a more extensive knowledge of God's works, of the several systems that compose the universe, and better understand the philosophy of them than any, even the greatest masters, now do.—All the great mysteries of religion will be then unveiled, and lie open to their view. For instance, with reference to the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement made by the Son of God in our nature, with the several questions consequent thereupon, either now too high for our faculties, or, at least, set

1728. A lecture founded at All-Saints, and settled upon Mr. Henry Bourne, the curate, for instructing the people in the rubric and liturgy.

March 24. Story, accompanied by John Doubleday, jun., of Alnwick Abbey, went from that place to Newcastle, and lodged with his "old friend and acquaintance, Widow Middleton." He was again

in too dim and faint a light for our eyes." (p. 281.) "And who can imagine the saints in heaven will have nothing to improve their minds in the midst of the many glorious objects that surround them; and that they shall know as much of God and of his works the first day of their arrival there as after several ages of contemplation." (p. 282.) "That there is a God, a being of eternal, necessary existence, and absolute perfection, is demonstrable; but after all, what obscure notions have we of this matter! The very idea and notion of an eternal being, (a necessary being that always was the same, never derived from another, never began to be, but always was necessarily and unchangeably what he is,) the notion, I say, of such a being, is too great for our faculties, as the most thoughtful persons find. We are convinced there must be such a being, and yet the idea of it almost overwhelms and confounds the mind.—Further, our knowledge of the blessed Jesus and of the Holy Ghost, the other persons in the glorious Trinity, is of the same nature.—There is an intricacy and darkness in these things, otherwise learned men had never been so much divided in their opinions about them. And I reckon I may affirm, that those who have thought most closely on these heads find the most sensible conviction of this truth, that now we see through a glass darkly, but in heaven we shall see face to face; these great points will be unravelled, and the mystery of them laid open, so far, at least, as necessary and fit, and so far as our happiness requires, and the measure of our capabilities will admit." (p. 305.) "Whatever God has revealed concerning himself, concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the mystery of the Trinity or Incarnation, the Resurrection of the Body, or any other doctrines of our religion, we are not to cavil against these things, because we do not understand how they are or how they can be. We must not, indeed, pretend to understand more than God has revealed, but what he has revealed is to be embraced without objecting." (p. 321.) "Besides assent, there is consent in divine faith:—an assent to, or belief of, all that God has revealed concerning his Son the Lord Jesus, and salvation by him; as that he is the promised Messiah; that he came into the world, was made flesh, died for our sins, and rose again for our justification; that eternal life is in him; that in him we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins according to the riches of his grace." (p. 323.) "Christians are one, as having one God and Father, in whom they believe, and in whom they center; one Lord and Head, the Lord Jesus; one Spirit, by whom they are baptized into one body, all partaking of his sanctifying influences; one faith in the great essential articles of it, and as being called in one hope of their calling. Thus Christians are one, and where there is this union, all acts of communion, as far as circumstances will allow, and all offices of charity are due, and that notwithstanding different opinions in lesser matters, different modes of worship, or any little accidental varieties among them." (p. 352.) "In short, *nothing* should divide Christians from one another (divide them, I mean, in heart and affection) *but what may be thought to divide them from Christ.* We are to love all Christians as *such*, and be ever disposed to join in that of the Apostle, Eph. vi. 24, 'Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.' O let us study this catholick large charity!—It is most directly opposite to the odious sin of schism.—Guard against schismatical principles and opinions. Some are so sadly tainted here, that whatever the Scripture saith of loving others, loving their brethren, they presently apply to their own little *Party*; as if religion was nothing, unless it was distinguished with their peculiarities, which, it may be, are whims and fancies; I do not say inconsistent with religion, but, however, a diminution and disgrace to it. Enlarge your minds, and love Christ in all his members, whether they wear your distinguishing badge or not." (p. 355.)

here in Aug. 1731, and again in Feb. 1733, staying with Jean Middleton.

July 15. Vicar Bradford died aged 32. He was buried in Westminster Abbey. "He was universally beloved, being a man of great humanity and condescension, and of an open generous temper; and very much lamented at his death on account of these, and his many other good qualities."

Aug. 2. THOMAS TURNER, inducted vicar. "He came in by option, having been presented by the executors of Sir William Dawes, Archbishop of York." He was vicar at the time of the publication of Bourne's History.

Oct. 7. Monday. The corpse of Sir William Blackett, Bart., who had been one of the representatives in Parliament for the town of Newcastle upon Tyne since the year 1710, after lying in state for several days, was interred in St. Nicholas' church. "His funeral was solemnized with great decency and order. First came the Charity scholars, who were supported by his liberality in the school of St. Andrew's parish, singing and new cloathed in grey with black caps, who were followed by 26 mourners, among whom were 8 of his menial servants in deep mourning. After them 12 of his stewards. Next THE CLERGY OF THE CORPORATION, followed by the Vicar alone. Then the led horse, and after him the banners. Then the corpse, supported by 8 gentlemen. After them a number of clergy and gentry. Then came the Mayor and Aldermen in their robes, before whom the mace and sword were carried in deep mourning. After them followed the Common Council. Next upwards of 200 gentlemen to whom were given scarves and gloves. Then upwards of 2000 freemen, who had gloves; and the stewards of the companies were presented with rings. The procession was brought up with a great number of coaches: the first of which was his own, in mourning, drawn by 6 horses, and on the forehead of each was his crest most curiously emblazoned." (Newcastle Courant.)

Feb. 7. Mr. Robert Lever, a Dissenting Minister [vide 1684] buried at St. Oswald's, Durham.

1728-9. Gateshead. "Sacrament wine and several bottles of canary upon sundry clergymen preaching the first time in Gateshead church, 8*l.* 13*s.*"

1729. Jan. 20. Vicar Turner requests the salary usually given by the Corporation to the Vicar for the time being, which was granted him by the Common Council.

1730. "The Truth, Inspiration, and Usefulness of the Scripture Asserted and Proved. In several Discourses on 2 Tim. III. XVI. By the Late Reverend and Learned Mr. Benjamin Bennet. Published from his Manuscripts By L. Latham, M.D.—London: Printed for John Gray, at the Cross-Keys in the Poultry. MDCCXXX." 8vo. pp. viii. and 412. "The discourses were mostly composed and preached in the year 1724." Latham published the work because of the growth of infidelity, and had intended to have added illustrative notes, but,

not to swell the book, only "subjoined a very few." The price was 4*s.* 6*d.*

New bells at Gateshead. See Sykes, i. 146. The Corporation of Newcastle, the Trinity House, and the Ellison family, were the principal benefactors.

All Saints'. "Paid for flowers, 1*s.*"

Feb. 28. St. Nicholas'. "Received for Mr. Wm. Horsley for the great bell." This is the first occurrence of such a charge.

1731. June 22. James Henderson, a smith, went to morning prayers at St. Nicholas' church in NC. and died there. He was found sitting on his knees in one of the pews by those who came to prayers in the afternoon.

June 30. Died, Thomas Barnes, Minister of the Independents.

Aug. 27. Died Leonard Shafto, Rector of Gateshead, "a very useful preacher, a man of great generosity and hospitality, a hearty and sincere friend, and one of extensive charity and benevolence." He was interred in the choir. Robert Stillingfleet succeeded.

Sep. 6. Vicar Turner preached a Sermon before the Sons of the Clergy, in St. Nicholas', on James i. 27. It was printed at Newcastle by J. White and dedicated to the Bishop of Durham.

1731-2. Gateshead. "The sexton shall not toll the great bell for any person dyeing or at their burying, without they pay 5*s.* to the churchwardens for the use of the parish, and one shilling to the sexton." "Expenses with the tryers of the new bells."—1732-3. "Propping the steeple and taking down the bells." "Going to Durham Sessions about the brief for taking down and rebuilding the steeple."

1732. All Saints'. "Paid the gardener for flowers and herbs, 8*s.*"

"A Layman's Faith: Being a Review of the Principal Evidences of the Truth of the Christian Religion; Interspers'd with several Curious Observations. By a Free-Thinker, and a Christian. Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed and Sold by John White, and the Booksellers of London and the Country MDCCXXXII. Price 6*d.*"

Sep. 10. The Chapel of St. Thomas on Tyne Bridge, having been beautified and pewed, was set apart by the Corporation for a chapel of ease to St. Nicholas. Divine service had previously been performed in it to some extent.

1733. William Lambe, Rector of Gateshead, p. res. Stillingfleet.

1733. Feb. 16. Died Henry Bourne curate of All Saints, Historian of Newcastle.

1733. Nov. 22. "Charity as a rule of conduct in the affairs of a religious society, explained and recommended. A Sermon preached to a congregation of Protestant Dissenters in Newcastle upon Tyne, Nov. 22, 1733, a day religiously kept, previous to their consultation about the choice of a pastor." This was by W. Wilson (vide 1720), and was published at London in 8vo. 1734. The occasion was the election of the rev. Richard Rogerson, then a minister at Alcester in Warwickshire, to succeed Dr. Lawrence at Hanover Square Chapel. Lawrence had re-

moved to Monkwell-street chapel, London. He died in 1760. Dr. James Fordyce was his colleague there, and succeeded him a few months before his death. Rogerson, during his residence at Newcastle, married a Miss Halliday, and thus became connected with the Carrs of Dunston-hill, at that time members of his congregation. Miss Halliday's sister married the rev. Thomas Walker, M.A. in early life a member of the congregation, and an eminent minister at Cockermouth, Durham, and Leeds. Walker's nephew and successor at Durham, was the rev. George Walker, also a member of the Hanover-Square congregation, the eminent mathematician, of one of whose political works Burke declared that he had rather be the author than of all his own productions. Wilson, until his death in 1751, continued to assist Rogerson, and was succeeded by the rev. Samuel Lowthian, who was "remarkable for his fervent eloquence and fearless deductions. But his people freely allowed their minister the right of individual judgment which they claimed for themselves. This liberal conduct he strongly recommends to other societies, in a sermon he preached Aug. 26, 1756, at the ordination of the rev. Caleb Rotherham, his tutor's son and successor, at Kendal. On Mr. Rogerson's death in 1760, Mr. Lowthian became the sole minister." The subsequent history of the congregation is well known.

1734. All Saints'. "A silk cap for the curates, 7*s.* 6*d.*—for whitewashing the church 5*l.*"

St. John's. The organ purchased by subscription. The Corporation gave 20 guineas and settled 20*l.* per annum on the organist. In 1748 it was out of order and had been long useless.

1735. St. Nicholas'. Mar. Sergt. Watson for carring the woman to the Tower of Bridge that stoal the Church Books, 1*s.*—Oct. 12. Paid the labourers for cleaning the Earl of Northumberland's Porch, 5*s.* 6*d.*

St. Nicholas. "Formerly there were two kinds of church rate as appears by the following extracts, viz., *The Structure Cess* for the necessary repairs of the building, which was rated upon the lands and houses and paid by the landlord. The other was called *the Personal Cess* and applied to the payment of salaries &c. or what may not improperly be called the household expenses of the church, which was rated upon the tenant or occupier."

1735-6. Gateshead. A new order of the pews. Men and women principally separate. The custom giving way a little.

1736. "The History of Newcastle upon Tyne: or, the Ancient and Present State of that Town. By the late Henry Bourne, M.A. Curate of All-Hallows in Newcastle.—Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed and Sold by John White. M.dcc.xxxvi." * This work doubtless

* "St. Mary's Well" in Jesmond, "which was said to have had as many steps down to it as there were articles in the Creed, was lately inclosed by Mr. Coulson for a bathing place, which was no sooner done than the water left it. This occasioned strange whispers in the village and the adjacent places. The well was

gives a fair idea of ecclesiastical practices in the town for sometime previously.—Most of his accounts of church works have already been taken into their dates. He also notices that "The altar of [St. Andrew's] church is very pretty and decent, it was beautified a few years ago." And that St. Mary's, Gateshead, "is at present a very neat pretty church, being exceeding well pewed, having a small organ, and a ring of eight bells, which were last year founded by contribution."

The following lists may be interesting. Bourne ignores the Dissenters.

MINISTERS AND STIPENDS in Newcastle, 1736.

	£
Vicar of Newcastle, 150*l.* per annum, to which the Corporation adds	90
Curate of St. Nicholas', 4*l.* from the Vicar, 6*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* from the Crown, the stated fees of the church and from the Town	35
Assistant to the Curate, the fees of the Upper clerkship.	
Afternoon Lecturer of St. Nicholas', from the Corporation	100
Curate of All Saints', 4*l.* from the Vicar, 5*l.* from the Crown, fees, &c.	
His assistant curate, clerk's fees, about 50*l.*	
Morning Lecturer there, from the Town	100
Afternoon Do.	100
Curate of St. John's, 3*l.* from the Vicar, 5*l.* from the Crown, and Surplice fees, and, as Lecturer to the Corporation, from the Town	90
His assistant curate, paid by the Curate.	
Curate of St. Andrew's, 3*l.* from the Vicar, 5*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* from the Crown, 10*l.* from the Town for reading prayers to the prisoners in Newgate, and from the Town as Lecturer	100
His assistant curate, paid by the Curate.	
Two Lecturers at St. Ann's, from the Town	90
Gratuities from the Corporation to the Clergy	£705

SERVICES AT THE NEWCASTLE CHURCHES, 1736.

St. Nicholas'. Every day, morning and evening prayers, at 10 a.m. and 3 p.m. The lecturer preaches on Sunday afternoon. He is also the Holyday lecturer. In those weeks in which are no holydays, the vicar, the morning lecturer of All Hallows', the lecturer of St. John's, and the lecturer of St. Andrews', in their order, give a catechetical lecture for the instruction of the boys of the Grammar School, and

always esteemed of more sanctity than common wells, and therefore the failing of the water could be looked upon as nothing less than a just revenge for so great a prophanation. But alas! the miracle's at an end, for the water returned awhile ago in as great abundance as ever."

those of the Charity Schools, who are examined in their turns. This catechetical lecture ceases during Advent and Lent, because during those times the whole clergy of the town in turn and order preach a sermon twice a week, on Wednesday and Friday.

All Hallows'. Every day, prayers at 10 a.m. and 4 p.m. A lecture every other Sunday in the Summer at 6 p.m. from Low-Sunday until the Sunday after Holy Cross.

St. John's. Weekly prayers on Wednesday and Friday at 9 a.m. and 2 p.m., and on Saturday at 2 p.m.

St. Andrew's. Prayers in the 'Worky days', Wednesday and Friday, in the morning.

The Sacrament administered every month at—

St. Nicholas',	the first	Sunday.
All Hallows'	„ second	„
St. John's	„ third	„
St. Andrew's	„ fourth	„

The Town was wont to give to the churches at Easter wine as follows:—

St. Nicholas' . . .	13 gallons.
All Hallows' . . .	21 gallons.
St. John's	15 gallons.
St. Andrew's . . .	12 gallons.

There are also sermons, morning and afternoon, at St. Thomas's chapel, on Sunday.

The two daily services at Newcastle continued to at least Wallis's time, 1769. Doubtless Gateshead saw daily prayers also. "The Ven. Robert Thorp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, who died at the age of 76 in 1812, invariably used the Bidding Prayer before Sermon, both in his own parish churches and wherever else he might preach. He also had daily prayer in his church of Gateshead." (Ornsby, ex inf. Dr. Thorp.)

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of playing at Cards or Tables, or any other game consisting in chance. Offered to the religious consideration of all such as make conscience of all their waies.—Imprinted at London for Richard Boile." [1594]. 12mo. 8 leaves. 2. "To the-Maior, Aldermen, and Inhabitants of N[ewcastle-upon-Tyne]. A Dialogue against playing at Cards and Tables.—Imprinted at London for Richard Boile." [circa 1594]. A broadside in black letter.]
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issue consisted of William, John, William, Thomas, and Michael, all married men, and Elizabeth, the wife of Sir George Freville. William, the eldest son, was the father of a Robert Jenison, who died unmarried. In 1628, Sir Humphrey Lynd published a volume in 8vo, called "Via tuta; The safe way to the true, antient, and Catholic Faith now professed in the Church of England." This was answered by *Rob. Jenison*, alias *Frevil*, a Jesuit, in a book entitled "A Pair of Spectacles for Sir Humph. Lynd," &c., Roan, 1631, in 8vo.; which Jenison was born in the county palatine of Durham, and died in England, 10 Oct., 1656 (Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ii., 602, ed. Bliss). One of Kerslake's catalogues ascribes a 4to. book, of 1612, to a "Rob. Jenison, a Jesuit." It is entitled "The Overthrow of the Protestantt Pvlpit-Babels, convincing their Preachers of Lying & Rayling, to make the Church of Rome seeme mysticall Babell, particularly W. Crashawe's Sermon at the Crosse, by J. R." Probably other works by the same person are known to those better versed than I am in literature of this class.
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a letter addressed by Durant, and the other clergy of Newcastle, to Oliver Cromwell, in 1651. In it complaint is made of one Captain Everard, who, by beat of drum and by insidious persuasion, induced the garrison and the townspeople to listen to the insidious delusions of Arminianism and Socinianism, 'that cursed doctrine (as the letter states) that so much pulls down God and sets up man, and then came in upon them like a flood.' Of Cromwell's reply to this letter nothing is known; but it is interesting to read another letter, of several years' later date, from some of the same Newcastle clergy (and William Durant amongst them), in which Cromwell is thanked for his letter to the Mayor, and for his 'inculcated exhortations to love the whole flock of Christ, though not walking in the same order of the Gospel;' and the writers profess their determination to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. In this same letter there is a touching allusion to the Pilgrim Fathers of America, 'who had fled into a roaring wilderness to enjoy the tabernacle of God.' Besides this Captain Everard, there was another heretical captain, who was for a time governor of Newcastle, and of whom Edwards, in his Gangraena, records with much wrath that he taught the abominable doctrine that Christ came not to reconcile God to man, but to reconcile man to God." The intolerance and death-code of the Pilgrim Fathers oddly contrast with the professions, and to some extent the practice, of the Presbyterians and Independents of Newcastle, but the allusion to them might be in ignorance and good faith.
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